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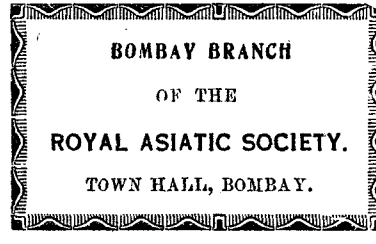

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PUBLIC ECONOMY OF ATHENS.

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THE TRANSLATOR'S

PREFACE.

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THE work, of which a translation is now offered to the English public, was published by Professor Boeckh at Berlin in the year 1817. The present translation is substantially a reprint of that which was published in 1828; but I have carefully revised the whole; and moreover, the text has been throughout compared with the original by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz, a philologer well skilled in both languages, from whom the public may shortly expect a translation of the third volume of Niebuhr's Roman History.

The author appended to the original work a collection of inscriptions, illustrating various departments of the public economy of the Athenian state, and accompanied with an ample commentary. These inscriptions have, however, been all included in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, subsequently published by Professor Boeckh, where he has repeated the substance of his former commentary, with such modifications as subsequent reflection or research suggested; and has moreover, in several instances, followed more accurate transcripts than those to which he had access at the time of his first publication. I have therefore omitted these inscriptions from the present translation; and the references to these and other Greek inscriptions in the notes have been altered

by the insertion of the numbers in the author's *Corpus Inscriptionum.* In a few instances the author has, in the latter work, seen reason for modifying his first opinions: these corrections have been inserted in the notes at their proper places.

In connexion with the subject of inscriptions, I may here mention that, in the course of his work, the author, in speaking of the tenure of public land in Attica, has occasion to quote a proposal or advertisement of a lease, from the original document engraved on stone and still extant*. The inscription is given in the Appendix from a very incorrect transcript made by Chandler, several of whose errors are there rectified. It has since been published in a more correct form by the author in his collection of inscriptions; but as the copy which he has used is in many parts very defective, there still remained some difficulties which he could not overcome. As the inscription is preserved in the British Museum, I have made a more accurate copy of it, and taken the liberty of arranging the version in the text, partly according to the latest improvements of the author himself, partly according to what appeared on the inspection of the stone to admit of no doubt.

The Dissertation upon the Silver Mines of Laurion, of which a translation is given in this volume, was published separately by Professor Boeckh, in the Memoirs of the Berlin Academy. It is frequently referred to in the notes to his chief work; and, notwithstanding the abridgment given in the third book†, may be considered as an interesting, if not necessary, addition to it.

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* Book iii. ch. 2. Compare the note, p. 467. † Ch. 3.

In addition to his Collection of Greek Inscriptions, the author has, since the appearance of the present work, published two treatises closely connected with some of the subjects which it comprehends.

The first of these is entitled, "Metrological Enquiries concerning the Weights, Coins, and Measures of Antiquity*." It includes a full investigation of the subjects which are more summarily discussed in the first chapters of the first book of the Economy of Athens.

The second contains a series of Inscriptions, recently copied by Mr. Ludwig Ross, a professor at the University of Athens, which relate to the maritime administration of the Athenian state. The inscriptions are illustrated with a detailed commentary, and some elaborate dissertations are prefixed, in which the principal subjects of the inscriptions are fully explained; and in particular, the additional information on the trierarchy, to be derived from the new inscriptions, is collected and examined, with reference to the explanation of that branch of the Athenian administration which had been given in his previous work†.

The subsequent discoveries of Attic inscriptions, and the great activity of the recent German writers in the field of ancient Greek literature and history, have, however, served generally to confirm the results of the author's work, and have only suggested the development of subordinate parts, or the rectification of unimportant errors.

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* "Metrologische Untersuchungen über Gewichte, Münzfüsse und Masse des Alterthums in ihrem Zusammenhange." Berlin, 1838; 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 481.

† See b. iv. ch. 11—15. The work is entitled, "Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates, hergestellt und erläutert von August Böckh." Berlin, 1840; 1 vol. 8vo. pp. 579.

Even if it were the province of a translator to pass any judgment on the work which he translates, it would be superfluous for me to commend a book of which the reputation is firmly established amongst the students of Greek antiquity. I will only, in conclusion, express my regret that no person should hitherto have attempted to write a work, of similar comprehension and research, upon the interesting subject of the Public Economy of the Roman State.

London, *May*, 1842.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 30, note 115, *for* end of vol. ii. *read* end of the volume. The same correction is to be made in p. 50, note 208; p. 64, note 266; p. 68, note 298; p. 73, note 331.

Page 36, note 139. The passage referred to is in the Discourse on the History, Manners, and Character of the Greeks, from the conclusion of the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Chæronea, p. vi., prefixed to Gillies' translation of Lysias and Isocrates (London, 1778, 4to.)

Page 51, note 224, *for* note 456 *read* note 458.

Page 68, note 301, *for* less amount *read* small amount.

Page 71, note 318, *add* Herod. vi. 79.

Ibid., note 320. *Add* According to Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 274, a talent was hardly a ransom for a rich man.

Page 75, note 343. The Choiseul Inscription is in Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 147.

Page 86, note 391. The decree cited from Chishull's Ant. Asiat. is in Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 3052.

Ibid., note 393, *for* note 225 *read* note 224.

Page 87, note 397. The inscription cited from Chandler is in Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 213.

Page 118, note 556. The inscription cited from Chandler is in Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 87.

Ibid., note 557, *add* Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 147.

Page 124, note 596. The inscription cited from Montfaucon is in Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 1845.

Page 130, note 629. The inscription cited from Muratori is in Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 354: compare below, book iv. note 222.

Page 134, note 653, *for* ναὐλα *read* ναῦλα, and see Meineke, Fragm. Com. Gr. vol. iv. p. 394, v. 20.

Page 140, note 665. The decree cited from Chishull is in Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 3052.

Page 160, note 36. The inscription cited from Chandler is in Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 102.

Page 166, note 69. The passage of Gillies is in the Discourse above cited (addendum to book i. note 139), p. lxxx.

Page 172, note 97. The inscription cited from Chandler is in Corp. Inscript. No. 107.

Ibid., note 98. The two inscriptions cited are in Corp. Inscript. Gr. Nos. 87 and 106.

Page 186, note 156. See Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 191.

Page 187, note 159. The inscriptions cited from Chandler are in Corp. Inscript. Gr. Nos. 190, 191, 192, 193: that cited from Spon is ibid. No. 184.

Page 197, note 200. See Corp. Inscript. Gr. vol. i. p. 176—291

Page 228, note 332. See Meineke, Fragm. Com. Gr. vol. iv. p. 700.

Page 229. For the reference to Niebuhr, see Philol. Museum, vol. i. p. 259.

Page 232, note 356, *for* vol. ii. p. 261 *read* book iv. note 113.

Page 234, note f, *add* Plutarch. Prov. Alex. 111.

Page 237, note 379. The inscription cited from Chishull is in Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 3052.

Page 238, note 381. The inscription cited from Chandler is in Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 107.

Page 292, note 622. The inscription cited from Chishull is in Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 106, where the author retracts his remark as to the exetastæ mentioned in the inscription, and considers them as identical with the military functionaries so called.

Page 298, note 4. Compare book iv. note 413.

Page 303, note 24. Compare book i. note 456.

Page 460, note. Compare book iv. note 405.

Page 468, note 1. Concerning the fragment of Aristophanes, see Dindorf's edition, vol. ii. p. 502, ed. Oxon.

Page 492, note 102. See the Discourse cited above (addendum to book i. note 139), p. xii.

THE

PUBLIC ECONOMY OF ATHENS.

BOOK I.

ON THE PRICES OF COMMODITIES, WAGES OF LABOUR, RENT OF LAND AND HOUSES, AND PROFITS OF STOCK, IN ATTICA.

CHAPTER I.—*Introduction.*

IF the greatness and importance of a nation were to be estimated only by the extent of its territory and population, the Athenian state would rank far below the hordes of the Huns and Mongols. But mere space and numbers are of little avail, without the presence of that spirit by which alone the great body of a people can be animated and combined. To the operation of this cause must the superiority of the Athenians be ascribed; by this power their scanty bands overthrew the countless hosts of the barbarians at Marathon, at Salamis, and at Platæa; and hundreds of subject states submitted to the dominion of one small city, as large armies obey the command of one general. Not that Athens, while thus signalizing [illegible] in the field, was regardless of the more beneficial pursuits of peace: and having conceived and executed all that was most beautiful in art and profound in philosophy, she became the instructress of all liberal sciences and arts; the teacher [illegible] of her own times and of posterity. The intellectual faculties, however, are not of themselves sufficient: to produce effective action they require the aid of physical force, the direction and combination of which are wholly at the disposal of [illegible]

that mighty spring by which the whole machinery of human energies is set in motion. For a state, and for a family, a regular and settled economy are alike necessary; and as the relations between the state and its members depend in great measure upon the regulations of the public economy, so it becomes impossible to obtain a correct insight into the life of the ancients, without a knowledge of their finances; nor of their financial system, without an accurate knowledge of the organization of their governments.

For these reasons I have undertaken to explain, as fully as my abilities and extent of knowledge will permit, the Public Economy of Athens, the greatest and most noble among the Grecian states. In the prosecution of these inquiries, truth has been my only aim; nor shall I regret, if it be made apparent from my labours, that the unbounded admiration for the ancients must be limited, and that they, as well as the moderns, were not free from stain in their pecuniary dealings. Or are the histories of past ages to be written merely for the inspiration of youth; and shall the historian of antiquity conceal, that in those as well as the present days, nothing among men was perfect? Let us confess rather, that of the most excellent men of antiquity, many laboured under the failings common to the human race; that in their more passionate natures these vices broke out so much the more powerfully and rudely as their hearts were less awakened to piety by the mildness and humility of a more benevolent religion; that, lastly, these faults (so long encouraged and cherished) undermined and overthrew the lordly edifice of antiquity itself.

Of the vast range of topics which here come under con- few have hitherto been subjected to a comprehen- and accurate scrutiny. General views and ingenious do not supply the place of sound investigation; the more scanty are our sources of information, the more becomes the obligation to use the materials faithfully, from them to deduce general conclusions equally removed dippant and vague superficiality on the one hand, and of learning on the other, which adorns itself specious tinsel of critical and grammatical display.

Every other method either leaves the reader (as is the custom with most writers on ancient history) to wander among innumerable and almost isolated particulars, having no essential connexion with one another; or leads him into errors, which captivate and bias the judgment by their apparent beauty. Thus, for example, it has been attempted to account for the indifference of the ancients to productive labour and their inattention to matters of finance, by the dominion of religion over their minds; but (not to mention that piety accords better with a well than an ill regulated economy) the supposition itself is false; for neither do we find that the ancient states attached less importance to the public income and expenditure, than is attributed to them at the present day; nor that individuals had a greater disregard for worldly possessions. If the system of finance in the Grecian states was ill regulated, the defect must be assigned to other causes, which are to be sought for in their civil institutions.

With regard to the science of political economy, it was, I admit, uncultivated among the ancients; its relations were too simple to be made the subjects of a scientific analysis; for the ancients until the time of Aristotle (and he also in some degree), treated the sciences under very general heads, without allotting a particular science to each separate department of practical life. For this reason, Aristotle in his Politics speaks both of education and finance, but only as incidental topics: in the Œconomics, falsely attributed to this philosopher, political economy is treated of scientifically, and in the manner of Aristotle, but briefly and imperfectly. Plato's work upon the Republic contains indeed nothing of a system of finance; for in such ideal states as that of Plato, a well regulated economy was no more requisite than an explicit code of laws.

The ancients, moreover, laid down the limits more strictly between those things which are capable of scientific investigation, and such as do not admit of it; but the art of finance, whilst it rests only on uncertain conditions, teaching us how to provide for perpetually varying wants from a perpetually varying revenue, and how to assign to both their due limits and proportions, in conformity with the powers and circum-

stances of the state, seemed to the ancients not to admit of a scientific examination. Rules for practice were not by any means wanting, although they varied according to time and place, and were brought to unequal degrees of perfection. Sparta, with her simple form of government, was unfitted for the adoption of a regular system of finance; while in Athens the expenditure and revenue were so considerable, that attention to matters of finance soon became imperatively necessary. But it was not until the Persian war, that all the ramifications of her financial institutions were finally developed; and after the time of Alexander, they necessarily lost their peculiar character with the loss of national independence.

To the interval between these two epochs my inquiries will therefore be confined: subjects both of earlier and later date, as well as the constitutions of other Grecian states, I only touch upon incidentally. In Athens, however, and within the period just mentioned, the public economy of Greece is seen upon its largest scale; and all the democratic states of the Greeks had doubtless, upon the whole, similar institutions of finance, with such variations only as were necessarily induced by the peculiar situation and circumstances of individual countries. For these reasons, therefore, we must the more regret, that writings such as Aristotle's "Constitution of Athens," and the work of Philochorus, from which detailed explanations of such peculiarities might have been looked for, have been for ever lost; and that others, as, for example, Xenophon's Essay upon the Sources of Revenue (*περὶ πόρων*), have yielded an amount of information so lamentably small.

CHAPTER II.

Subject of the First Book stated. Gold and Silver the Standard of Prices.

THE amount of money required for the public service, and how far the income received was capable of providing for it, together with the amount of the revenue, and the proportion which it bore to the means of the people, cannot be ascertained without knowing the prices of commodities, the customary wages of labour, and the ordinary profit and interest of stock. Upon the last of these subjects it is unnecessary to say much after the labours of Salmasius: and every indulgence should be shown to any one who attempts to give an account of the prices of commodities: for their necessary mutability, and the uncertainty of the few sources from which information can be derived, impede the investigation at every step; the chief authorities on this subject being either the incidental statements of comic poets, or the assertions of orators, who mould every fact to suit their particular purpose. Nor have my inquiries been assisted by the labours of any previous writer[1], as Barthélemy[2] has allowed himself to be deterred by the apparent difficulty of the task; although not the Roman only, but even the Hebrew antiquity, has been subjected to such investigations[3]. It will be the object therefore of the first book to ascertain the rates of prices, wages, and interest.

The precious metals, silver and gold, are the standard of prices; although it is obvious that silver or gold may be said,

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[1] Meursius de Fort. Att. cap. iv. or Gillies' Observations upon the History, Manners, and Character of the Greeks, from the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war until the battle of Chæronea, in the Introduction, and single scattered notices cannot be considered as forming any exception.

[2] See Anacharsis, tom. vii. p. 286, 4ième éd.

[3] Hamberger de Pretiis rerum apud veteres Romanos disputatio, Götting. 1754, 4to. Keffenbrink über das Verhältniss des Werths des Geldes zu den Lebensmitteln seit Constantin dem Grossen bis zur Theilung des Reichs unter Theodosius dem Grossen, und über desselben Einfluss. Berlin, 1777, 8vo. Both these writings received the prize. Michaelis de Pretiis rerum apud Hebræos ante exilium Babylonicum. Comm. Soc. Reg. Sci. Gotting. tom. iii. (1753,) p. 145.

with the same propriety, to be dearer or cheaper in comparison with other commodities, as other commodities to be cheaper or dearer in comparison with the precious metals. And in fact, when we hear in ancient times of a smaller quantity of the precious metals being given in exchange for other commodities, it did not arise from the value of those commodities being less than at present, but from the value of the metals being greater. For the aggregate stock of all commodities requisite for the purposes of life, exclusive of gold and silver, doubtless upon an average maintained the same proportion to the demand as in modern times, with the exception only of particular articles, the use of which is not indispensably necessary for human existence: while the quantity of the precious metals has in the course of centuries been augmented by the continued working of mines, at the same time that their durability and value have on most occasions preserved them from destruction.

CHAPTER III.

Gradual Increase in the quantity of the Precious Metals in Greece.

THE quantity of the precious metals in Greece, particularly that portion of them which was in circulation as coin, although at first it increased but slowly, afterwards experienced a more rapid augmentation, when the invasion of Xerxes had opened the treasures of the East; and prices rose in the same proportion; so that in the time of Demosthenes the value of money appears to have been five times less than in the age of Solon. Both in Rome and in Greece, at an early period, the quantity of metals, particularly of gold, was very inconsiderable: in the time of Crœsus, according to Theopompus, it was not to be purchased in Greece. The Lacedæmonians, wishing to obtain some gold for a sacred offering, tried to purchase it of Crœsus, manifestly because they could not procure it nearer home[4].

[4] Concerning Rome, see Plin. Nat. Hist., xxxiii. 5 sqq. 6 sqq. 47 sqq. On the other points, see Theopomp. ap. Athen. vi. p. 231 sq. cf. p. 230. B. Herod. i. 69.

Alcmæon the Athenian laid the foundation of the wealth of his family, when Crœsus permitted him to take as much gold out of his treasury as he could carry at once[5]. Even during the period from the seventieth to the eightieth Olympiad (500—460 B. C.) gold was still a rarity. Hiero of Syracuse, wishing to send a statue of Victory and a tripod of pure gold to the Delphian Apollo, was unable to procure the requisite quantity of that metal, until his agents came to Architeles the Corinthian, who had long bought up and collected gold in small portions, as the same Theopompus and Phanias of Eresos relate[6]. In Greece proper there were not many mines of the precious metals. The most remarkable among these were the Athenian silver mines of Laurion, which at first were very productive. Thessaly contained mines of gold, Siphnos both of silver and gold, and Epirus, which bordered upon Greece, possessed silver mines; the same metal was also found in Cyprus[7]. But the mountains of Pangæa upon the confines of Thrace and Macedonia contained immense riches; from them flows the Hebrus, celebrated for its golden sands[8]. And in addition to the gold and silver mines which were in the mountains themselves, the precious metals were found on both sides of them, to the west as far as the Strymon and Pæonia, and to the east as far as Scapte Hyle[9]. Even in Pæonia, it was said that the husbandman turned up particles of gold in ploughing[10]. On the eastern side were the important gold mines of Scapte Hyle, and the precious metals extended across the sea as far as Thasos, where very considerable and productive workings had been set on foot by the Phœnicians, who had also first established mining in that region upon the mainland, which was afterwards taken up by the Thasians, until the

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[5] Herod. vi. 125.

[6] Athen. vi. ubi sup.

[7] For more on this subject, see Reitemeier, Ueber den Bergbau der Alten, p. 64 sqq. Concerning Laurion, see book iii. c. 3.

[8] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 21, and others.

[9] Herod. vii. 112. Strab. vii. p. 228 (ed. 1587), and elsewhere. Xenoph. Hellen. v. 2, 12. Plin. Nat. Hist. vii. 57. Athen. ii. p. 42. B. Lucian. Icaromenip. 18, and the Scholiast. Clemens Alexand. &c.

[10] Strab. ut sup.

Athenians obtained possession of these mines[11]. Upon the western side in Macedonia the mines were so productive, that Alexander the First, the son of Amyntas, in the time of the Persian war, received from them a talent of silver daily[12]; but the chief places were Daton and Crenides, afterwards Philippi, which, about the first year of the 105th Olympiad (360 B. C.) was in the possession of the Thasians; subsequently, however, Philip of Macedon is said to have worked the mines with so much success, that they yielded 1000 talents a year, although previously they had not been very productive; and it was in this spot that, according to the common belief, the gold grew again[13]. When therefore ancient historians affirm[14] that Philip had a golden chalice, which he guarded with such anxiety, that he laid it under his pillow when he went to sleep; and again, that before the time of Philip a silver vessel was a rarity; it does not by any means follow that the quantity of precious metal extracted from the earth was inconsiderable, for extensive mines had long been worked both in Greece and the neighbouring regions, and much gold and silver had been brought over from the East; we can only infer from these statements, that little gold had been wrought for private use, and that luxury had not yet attained its greatest height.

Asia and Africa furnished by far the larger proportion of the precious metals; some also was supplied from places which remained for a time in the possession of the Greeks; thus, for instance, there were gold mines at Astyra, near Abydos, which were still worked in the time of Xenophon[15], but subsequently became exhausted[16]. Not to dwell upon Egypt and the rest of Africa, or many single spots where the precious metals occurred, I shall only notice some prominent points: Colchis, Lydia, and Phrygia, were celebrated as countries rich in gold: from the gold washings at Colchis arose the fable of the golden fleece[17];

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[11] See book iii. c. 3.

[12] Herod. v. 17.

[13] Strab. ut sup. Diod. xvi. 3, 8. Appian. Bell. Civ. iv. 106. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 15. Pseud-Arist. Mirab. Aus. cap. 42.

[14] Ap. Athen. vi. ut sup.

[15] Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 8, 37.

[16] Strab. xiii. p. 407.

[17] Strab. i. p. 31; xi. p. 343, and the Commentators. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 15.

and who has not heard of the riches of Midas, of Gyges, and of Crœsus; the gold mines of Tmolus and Sipylus, and the golden sands of the Pactolus? Pythes, or Pythius, the Lydian, the prince of Celænæ near the sources of the Mæander, the richest and most unfortunate man of his time, possessed, according to report, from his mines and gold washings, 2000 talents of silver, and 3,993,000 golden darics, which Xerxes increased to 4,000,000[18]. If we only take the third part of this amount as the true sum, what enormous riches are these for a petty prince! Upon the whole there were immense sums of money accumulated in Persia, which prove the abundance of the precious metals, although not in circulation. Cyrus, according to the account of Pliny[19], acquired 34,000 lbs. of gold by the conquest of Asia, besides wrought gold and other vessels; and of silver, which is difficult to believe, 500,000 talents, i. e. probably Egyptian talents of eighty Roman pounds. Deducting whatever sums might be consumed by the satraps for their personal expenses, or for those of the government of their province, in the time of Darius the son of Hystaspes, there flowed yearly into the royal treasury 7600 Babylonian talents of silver[20], each of which, according to Herodotus[21], is equal to 70 Euboic minas, altogether 8866⅔ Euboic talents. In the text of Herodotus, however, the whole amount is reckoned at 9540, and only one M.S. gives 8800, an error which it is now impossible to rectify. Besides this, the Indians paid an annual tribute of 360 Euboic talents of fine gold, which, reckoning the ratio of gold to silver as 13 to 1, amounts to 4680 talents of silver; so that, according to the text of the historian, the revenue of the king of Persia amounted to 14,560, or (if we only reckon what is stated in Herodotus according to the present reading) to 13,546 Euboic talents. From the productive mines of India, and from its rivers, of which the sand contained particles of gold (among which in particular the Ganges may be mentioned), arose the fable of the ants which dug up gold[22].

[18] Herod. vii. 28, and the Commentators.

[19] xxxiii. 15.

[20] Herod. iii. 95.

[21] Herod. iii. 89.

[22] Herod. iii. 102 sqq. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii. 21, and Strabo, in the 15th book in several places.

From these annual receipts the treasure of the king was accumulated, and an immense mass of the precious metals was thus kept out of circulation: it was obviously their principle to coin only just so much gold and silver as was necessary for commerce and the expenses of the state[23]. Even in Greece large sums remained out of circulation, accumulated in the treasuries. 9700 talents of coined silver were kept in the Acropolis of Athens, besides the gold and silver vessels. The Delphian Apollo had an immense collection of the most precious treasures. Gyges sent many gold and silver offerings to Delphi; among these were six golden bowls, 30 talents in weight, which were deposited there in the Corinthian treasury[24]. Passing over the numberless gifts of others, I shall only make mention of the pious munificence of Crœsus[25]; in addition to the presents which he made to other temples, he offered up a large quantity of silver at Delphi, a bowl of this metal containing 6000 amphoræ, four silver casks, a gold and a silver cauldron, round silver pateræ, a golden statue, three cubits high, 117 half ingots of gold, weighing altogether, according to Herodotus, 232½ talents, of which 4½ talents were of pure gold, and the rest alloyed (Diodorus reckons inaccurately 120, each at two talents); a golden lion, weighing 10 talents, from which, at the burning of the temple during the reign of Pisistratus, 3½ talents of pure gold were melted away; a golden bowl, 8 talents and 42 minas in weight; and also, according to Diodorus, 360 golden cups, each of 2 minas; besides many other valuable gifts. The cups, the lion, and the female statue, three ells in height, Diodorus reckons at 30 talents, so that 8 talents remain for the weight of the latter. If the several items are added together, the sacred offerings of Crœsus, without counting many other precious ornaments, amounted in gold alone to more than 271 talents, exclusive of the gifts of which the weight is not mentioned. If we add the rest of the gold, the account of Diodorus, that subsequently gold coins were struck from it

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[23] Strab. xv. p. 505.

[24] Herod. i. 14.

[25] Herod. i. 50 sqq. Diod. xvi. 56. To examine what Wesseling says upon the latter passage would lead me too far.

equal in value to 4000 talents of silver, does not appear exaggerated. These accumulated masses of the precious metals were however gradually dispersed, and chiefly by the effects of war. When the king of Persia took with him into the field money and valuables sufficient to load 1200 camels[26], the misfortunes of his army enriched the Greeks in a corresponding proportion; and history has recorded many instances of persons who in this manner laid the foundation of their prosperity. The great king and his satraps were soon compelled to pay large sums of gold to the Grecian mercenaries, and to deal out subsidies, presents, and bribes. Sparta alone received more than 5000 talents from the Persians, for the purposes of war[27]. All the treasures that Athens had collected were dispersed into many hands by the numerous buildings undertaken by Pericles, together with the expenses of which he was author, for works of statuary, for theatrical spectacles, and military expeditions. The sacrilegious Phocians coined 10,000 talents in gold and silver from the treasures of Delphi, which were all dissipated by the war[28]; and, lastly, Philip of Macedon carried on his campaigns as much by the power of gold as of arms. Thus an immense quantity of gold came into circulation between the time of the Persian war and the age of Demosthenes; and the precious metals must necessarily have fallen in value, as they did subsequently, when Constantine the Great caused money to be coined from the treasures of the heathen temples[29]. How great however must have been the mass of the precious metals which was carried into the West by Alexander's conquest of Asia! admitting that the accounts of his historians are exaggerated, the chief point still remains unquestionable. Besides what was found in the camp and in Babylon, the treasures of Susa and Persis are reckoned at 40,000, or according to others, at 50,000 talents[30]. The treasure of Pasargadæ is stated at 6000, of Persepolis at 120,000 talents; and

[26] Demosth. de Symmor, p. 185.

[27] Isocr. συμμαχ. 32.

[28] Diod. ut sup. Athen. vi. p. 231, D.

[29] Monitio ad Theodos. Aug. de inhibenda largitate, Thes. Ant. Rom. vol. xi. p. 1415, according to Taylor's explanation ad Marm. Sandwic. p. 38.

[30] Strab. xv. p. 502. Arrian, iii. 3. Justin. xi. 14. Curt. v. 2. Plutarch. Alex. 36.

upon the whole, according to the account preserved in Strabo, 180,000 talents are said to have been collected from all parts to Ecbatana[31]: 8000, which Darius had with him, were taken by his murderers. The generosity and profusion of Alexander are in accordance with such enormous sums. The daily meals of this sovereign cost 100 minas: he gave great rewards to his soldiers, and paid their debts, amounting to 9870 talents; he offered 100 talents to Phocion, and presented 2000 to the Thessalians; the funeral of Hephæstion is said to have cost 12,000 talents, and Aristotle's researches into natural history 800[32]. He levied in Asia an annual revenue of 30,000 talents, and only left behind him a treasure of 50,000[33]. The riches of his satraps were also excessive; Harpalus is said to have amassed 5000 talents, although at Athens he only owned to the possession of 950[34]. Alexander's successors not only accumulated enormous sums, but by means of their wars set them again in circulation. The plates of gold and silver in the palace at Ecbatana were mostly taken away in the time of Alexander: Antigonus and Seleucus Nicator completed the robbery; notwithstanding which, Antiochus the Great was able to coin nearly 4000 talents from the few ingots of gold which remained, those of silver being more numerous, together with the gold obtained from the chasing of the columns of a temple[35]. The immense taxes which were raised in the Macedonian kingdoms, and the unbounded extravagance and liberality of the kings, are a proof that there must have been an immense mass of money in circulation at that time. The presents made by the kings of this time to the Rhodians, when about the 140th Olympiad (220 B.C.) their town and island were laid waste by an earthquake, are almost without example[36]. One festival of the Ptolemies did not cost less than 2239 talents, 50 minas[37]. The

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[31] Strab. ut sup. and others.

[32] Concerning the debts of the soldiers and of Phocion, see Plut. Alex. 70, Phoc. 18; the other statements are collected by Rambach on Potter, vol. iii. p. 186, 187.

[33] Justin. xiii. 1, and the commentators.

[34] Diod. xvii. 108. Lives of the Ten Orators, p. 264, in the Tübingen Plutarch.

[35] Polyb. x. 27.

[36] Polyb. v. 88, 89.

[37] Athen. v. p. 203, B.

expense which they incurred for their naval force and other public objects was extraordinary. Appian[38] states upon the authority of official documents, that the treasury of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the second king after Alexander, amounted to 740,000 talents, either Egyptian talents of 80 Roman pounds, or the small Ptolemaic[39]. If we take the former, which were about equal to the Attic, it gives, in the money of the present day, the enormous sum of 180,375,000*l.*; if they were the small talents it amounts at least to a fourth part of this number. An account of this kind appears fabulous; but I venture not to call its credibility into question. Let it be remembered, that a great part of this treasure was wrought silver and gold[40]; that the revenues of the Ptolemies were excessive, as the countries where their dominion extended were completely drained; the taxes and tributes were collected by the rapacious farmers of the revenue, with the assistance of an armed force, consisting rather of organized bands of robbers than of regular soldiers. The revenues of Cœlesyria, Phœnicia, and Judea, together with Samaria, were alone let by Ptolemy Euergetes for 8000 talents; on one occasion a Jew purchased them at twice this amount, and moreover agreed to pay into the royal treasury the proceeds of the confiscated goods of offenders against the state, which usually accrued to the farmer of the public revenue[41]. In short, the precious metals in the times of the Macedonian kingdoms were spread in great abundance over the eastern shore of the Mediterranean; and if there had not been so much that was either wrought, or hoarded up in treasuries, their value must have fallen far lower in comparison with other commodities, than was actually the case.

The universal dominion of the Romans afterwards transported a part of the riches of the East to Italy, while Greece became impoverished: thither also flowed the silver and the gold of Western Europe. The golden stream-works and gold mines of Italy were neglected on account of those of Gaul and

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[38] Hist. Rom. proœm. 10.

[39] Upon this point see the commentators of Pollux, ix. 86.

[40] Cf. e. g. Callixen. ap. Athen. v. p. 196—203.

[41] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. xii. 4, § 4.

Spain. The Po, and all the Alpine torrents, carried down gold: there were extensive gold mines in the territory of the Salassi, an Alpine nation. Not far from Aquileia, gold, nearly in a state of purity, was found at the depth of two feet, of the size of a bean or a lupine, of which only the eighth part went to dross, together with other impurer metal, which was however found only to the depth of fifteen feet; as Strabo and Polybius relate. The neighbouring countries were also possessed of gold-washings. In the reign of Nero 50 lbs. of gold were for a considerable period extracted daily from the mines of Dalmatia. Gaul abounded in gold ores, of which some contained only a thirtieth part of silver: it had also silver mines. The mountains and rivers of Spain, as, for example, the Tajo, contained much precious metal, and had been worked by the Carthaginians before they fell into the hands of the Romans. Private individuals gained in plentiful times an Euboic talent of silver within three days; and the silver furnaces of New Carthage, which, together with the mines, kept 40,000 men in employment, produced to the Roman people 25,000 denarii per diem, or, as Polybius expresses himself, 25,000 drachmas. Gallœcia, Lusitania, and especially Asturia, produced in many years 20,000 lbs. of gold[42]. The value of the precious metals did not, however, fall in proportion to their increase, as large quantities, wrought for works of art, were taken out of circulation.

Chapter IV.

Of the Silver Money, and the Silver Talent in particular.

Coined metal, or money, is, as well as uncoined metal, a commodity; and it is obvious that in the ancient days of

[42] Everything that is here said may be found in Strabo, in the third, fourth, and fifth books, in Pliny in the thirty-third, and in Diodorus in the fifth, particularly in chap. 27 and 36. Whoever wishes to obtain more precise information with regard to the situations of the mines in ancient times, will find a satisfactory account in Reitemeier's treatise über den Bergbau der Alten. I have only here incidentally mentioned the subject. Concerning the Spanish mines, Bethe, de Hispaniæ antiquæ re metallica, ad locum Strabonis, lib. iii., is worth referring to.

Greece, as well as in modern times, it would be an object of trade with the money-changers. If we exclude the arbitrary value which individual states are able to give to a particular kind of coin for the use of their own citizens, the current value of money is determined by the fineness of the standard: and upon this point, in reference to the Greeks, and to Athens in particular, I will only say as much as appears necessary to make what follows intelligible to the reader.

In Attica, and in almost all the Grecian states, and even out of Greece, the talent contained 60 minas, the mina 100 drachmas, the drachma 6 oboli. At Athens the obolus was divided into 8 chalci, and the chalcûs into 7 lepta. As far as the half obolus downwards, the Athenian money was generally coined in silver: the dichalcon, or quarter obolus, either in silver or copper; the chalcus, and the smaller coins, only in copper. Upon a single occasion, in the early times of the republic, copper was coined instead of silver, probably oboli, but they did not long remain in circulation[43]. When in later writers, in Lucian[44] for instance, we read of copper oboli, they should not on any account be considered as ancient Athenian money. Among the larger silver coins, the tetradrachms are the most common, called also staters[45]. The value of the Attic silver talent has been differently determined by different writers, as they set out upon the weight and fineness of different tetradrachms: for all agree that the early coins are better than the more recent. According to the inquiries of Barthélemy[46], which seem preferable to those of Eckhel[47], the ancient tetradrachms, coined in the flourishing times of Athens, weigh 328 Paris grains (nearly 269 Troy grains, i. e. about 67¼ to a drachma), if we add four grains, which they might have lost by wear in the course of so many centuries. The silver is nearly

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[43] See chap. 6, near the end.

[44] Vol. i. p. 504, ed. Reiz.

[45] According to Heron of Alexandria, who has been already quoted by others. The same is evident from Hesych. in v. γλαυξ, cf. in v. γλαῦκες Λαυριωτικαί. Phot. in v. στατὴρ, and Lex. Seg. p. 253, in v. ἐπιτρίτας, comp. Harpocrat. in the same word, and lastly Lex. Seg. p. 307, in v. τετράδραχμον.

[46] Anachars. tom. vii. table xiv.

[47] D. N. vol. i. p. xlv. sqq.

pure, for Athens did not, like other states, alloy it with lead or copper, on which account this money was particularly valued, and everywhere exchanged with profit[48]. It appears however probable, that the average was not so high as represented by Barthélemy; and that it is safer to take the Attic drachma at nearly 65½ Troy grains: which, as the shilling contains about 80¾ grains of pure silver, is nearly equal to 9¼*d.* of English coinage; whence the mina amounts to 4*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*, and the talent to 243*l.* 15*s.*[a] It may be moreover observed, that as the Romans reckoned in sesterces, so the Greeks generally reckoned in drachmas; and where a sum is mentioned in the Attic writers, without any specification of the unit, drachmas are always meant[49].

Before the time of Solon, the weight of the Attic money was greater than in the standard that was afterwards used. The weights commonly employed in trade were also in later times heavier than those by which the money was measured. Comparing these facts together, it may be assumed with the greatest probability, that Solon intended 100 drachmas to be coined out of 75, but that the new money proved in fact rather too much debased, so that 100 new drachmas were only equal to 72$\frac{3}{4}\frac{3}{9}$ of the old coinage; the old weights being however retained for everything except money[50]. In comparison with the heavy drachma of Ægina (δραχμὴ παχεῖα), the Attic is called the light drachma (δραχμὴ λεπτή); the former was equal to ten Attic oboli; so that the Æginetan talent weighed rather more than 10,000 Attic drachmas[51]. The Corinthian talent was equal to the latter in value[52]; the Corinthians however had staters or deca-

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[48] Xenoph. de Vectig. 3; cf. Aristoph. Ran. 730—736. Polyb. xxii. 15, 26.

[a] In adapting this computation to English money, the translator has followed the weight and value assigned to the Attic drachma by Mr. Hussey, Essay on the Ancient Weights and Money, p. 48.—TRANSL.

[49] Thus διακόσιαι, χίλιαι, δισχίλιαι, &c., in the Orators and elsewhere. See Taylor ad Marm. Sandwic. p. 29, 30.

[50] See Note (A) at the end of the book.

[51] Pollux, ix. 76, 86, and the commentators. Hesych. in v. λεπτὰς and παχείᾳ δραχμῇ.

[52] Gell. Noct. Att. i. 8, whether the words ἢ τάλαντον are genuine or interpolated: in the latter case they are a learned interpretation.

litras of 10 Æginetan oboli in weight[53]; 3600 of which were consequently equal to the Corinthian talent. The computation by litras was transmitted from Corinth to Syracuse: therefore the Sicilian litra, which was struck in silver, was equal to an Æginetan obolus, according to the statement of Aristotle[54]. Probably the Sicilian nummus was the same as the litra. The accounts of Aristotle[55], who only estimates the nummus at $1\frac{1}{2}$ Attic oboli, and of Festus, who, according to the same proportion, reckons 12 nummi to 3 denarii (whereas the litra was equal to $1\frac{2}{3}$ Attic oboli), are perhaps inaccurate, although they may come near the real value of the coin, if, as is probable, the Syracusan nummi or litras, of the same weight as the Æginetan oboli, were struck from less fine silver than the Attic drachmas. Twenty-four nummi of this kind, composed, according to Aristotle, the old, 12 the new Syracusan or Sicilian talent, which last Festus makes equal to 3 denarii[56]. According to our supposition therefore, the former was equal to 4, and the latter to 2 Æginetan drachmas, both doubtless, like the decalitron, being coined in silver. Why so small a sum was called a talent, I shall not attempt to decide; remarking only, that by a similar idiom a few golden drachmas were called a talent[57].

The ancient writers frequently reckon in Euboic talents, which appear to have come into use in the Italian colonies of Magna Græcia, chiefly on account of the spreading of the Chalcideans, and which for that reason frequently occur in the treaties of the Romans with other nations, as well as in Herodotus, who, as is well known, composed or altered many parts of his History after his migration to Thurii.

In addition to these values, it would be desirable, for the

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[53] Pollux iv. 175; ix. 81.

[54] Pollux iv. 174, 175; ix. 80, 81; cf. Salmas. de Modo Usur. vi. p. 242.

[55] Ap. Polluc. ix. 87.

[56] Pollux, ix. 87. Suidas, in v. *τάλαντον*, where, according to the correct observation of Scaliger, *νούμμων* should be read instead of *μνῶν*, as well as in the intricate passage of the Scholiast to Gregor. Naz., which Jungermann quotes in the place of Pollux. A small talent of this kind, probably only of 12 nummi, is that which occurs in the account of the Gymnasia of the Tauromenitani in d'Orville's Siculis, and in Castello the Prince of Torremuzza.

[57] See chap. v.

sake of many statements of which we must avail ourselves, to ascertain the amount of the Egyptian and Alexandrian talents; but we here meet with obscure and contradictory statements. The chief difficulty is removed if we distinguish between the Egyptian and Alexandrian talents. According to Varro[58], the Egyptian talent was equal to 80 Roman pounds, and therefore must have been absolutely or nearly identical with the Attic, as the Attic mina was to the Roman pound nearly as four to three[59]. This must have been totally different from the talent mentioned by Pollux[60], which is said to be equal to 1500 Attic drachmas, but otherwise, like all talents, was divided similarly to the Attic. This is corroborated by the statement of Hero, who only assigns a fourth part of the value of the Attic talent to the Ptolemaic, which appears to have been the same as the

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[58] Ap. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxiii. 15.

[59] The Roman senate reckoned the Attic talent, or 60 minas, as equal to 80 Roman pounds. Liv. xxxviii. 38, Polyb. xxii. 26. According to the testimonies of the ancients in Eckhel, D. N. vol. v. part ii. p. 6, there were 84 denarii to the Roman pound, and not till the time of Nero, 96, (see Eisenschmid de Pond. et Mens., p. 33,) but the old denarius of Augustus was to the Attic drachma as 8 to 9; consequently $74\frac{2}{3}$, or, in round numbers, 75 drachmas were equal to a Roman pound. We sometimes read in ancient writers, that a Roman pound was equal in weight to 84 drachmas, which is sufficiently accounted for by the inexactitude of almost all ancient authors, who used drachmas and denarii, on account of their small difference (9 and 8) as convertible terms. According to Romé de l'Isle's accurate researches, founded upon the weighing of golden denarii, the Roman pound weighed 6048 Paris grains; hence the Attic mina must have weighed 8064, whereas, if the tetradrachm is taken at 328 Paris grains, the mina contained 8200. It must however be remembered, that it was assumed that the tetradrachm had lost four grains by time, which Romé de l'Isle, in computing the weight of the denarius, probably did not take into account; and then it will be found, that the difference nearly vanishes, and Romé de l'Isle's enquiries concerning the Roman pound agree tolerably well with the proportion of the latter to the Attic mina as three to four. It is besides worthy of remark, that Ideler's accurate determination of the Roman foot tallies remarkably with Romé de l'Isle's determination of the pound. See Memoirs of the Berlin Academy of Sciences for 1812 and 1813. Thus perhaps the supposition that the tetradrachms had lost four grains of their weight might be modified (see p. 15.), and on the other hand, some grains might be added to the Roman pound over 6048. The supposition of some writers, that the Romans had two different pounds, is entirely unfounded, at least as far as money is concerned.

[60] ix. 96, where the commentators should be consulted upon what immediately follows.

small Egyptian talent: the very same authority, however, reckons the Ptolemaic mina as the fifth part of the Æginetan; which again does not agree; not to mention, that, in the confusion of language which prevailed at Alexandria in later times, the name of drachma was given to coins of the value of an Athenian obolus. According to Festus[61], whose text is so corrupt that no reliance can be placed upon his authority, the Alexandrian talent was equal to 12,000 denarii. The safest way, in my opinion, is to consider the Alexandrian talent as something less than the Attic, although there were at Alexandria many other talents of less amount, which were used at certain times and for certain purposes. For, according to the assertion of Appian, the Euboic talent was equal to 7000 Alexandrian drachmas[62]; but the Euboic talent, as far as I am able to discover, was only somewhat greater than the Attic; consequently the Alexandrian talent appears to have been to the Attic, nearly as six to seven.

As to the Euboic talent, Herodotus[63], if the present reading is correct, reckons that the Babylonian talent contained 70 Euboic minas, Pollux, 7000 Attic drachmas[64]. Here then the Attic and Euboic talents are considered as equal. According to Ælian[65], on the contrary, the Babylonian talent contained 72 Attic minas, a statement which is evidently of more weight than the uncertain account of Pollux; and it thence follows that the Euboic talent was somewhat greater than the Attic. At the same time this statement may not be mathematically accurate; for according to it the Attic talent is to the Euboic as $72\frac{11}{12}$ to 75 (70 to 72), agreeably to Herodotus' computation of the Babylonian talent in Euboic minas. It is probable, however, that Solon, when he wished so to change the Attic money that 100 drachmas should be coined from the same quantity of silver as had formerly been made into 75, intended to make the Attic silver talent equal to the Euboic, which had undoubtedly been for a long time in

[61] In v. talentum, which passage however appears very uncertain.
[62] Appian. Rom. Hist. v. 2.
[63] iii. 89.
[64] Pollux ix. 86.
[65] Hist. Var. i. 22.

general circulation. According to this supposition, the Euboic talent would, before the time of Solon, have been to the Attic talent in the ratio of 75 to 100. Since, however, the money of Solon proved actually to be to the ancient Attic money in the ratio of $72\frac{3}{8}\frac{2}{9}$ to 100, strictly speaking, the new Attic silver talent must have been to the Euboic as $72\frac{3}{8}\frac{2}{9}$ to 75, that is, as 70 to $72\frac{9}{25}$: but as, upon an average, the new Attic was reckoned to the old Attic talent as 73 to 100[66], in the same manner it might be assumed, that the proportion of the new Attic to the Euboic was, in round numbers, as 73 to 75, which nearly coincides with the ratio obtained from Herodotus and Ælian, of $72\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{2}$ to 75, or 70 to 72. This method of viewing the subject agrees so well in all its particulars, that it relieves me from the trouble of entering into a more minute investigation of the confused and corrupt passage of Festus upon the Euboic talent[67]. On the other hand, the similarity of the Attic and Euboic talents seems to be additionally confirmed by the circumstance, that in the negotiations between the Romans and Antiochus, the calculations were at first made in Euboic, and afterwards in Attic talents of 80 Roman pounds[68]: for it is probable, that nearly the same standard of money was retained, as the whole amount might have been diminished, and was in fact diminished, by demanding a less number of talents than before.

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[66] See note (A) at the end of the book.

[67] *Euboicum talentum nummo Græco septem millium et quingentorum cistophororum est, nostro quattuor millia denariorum.* Both statements are absurd. As to the cistophori, they weigh on an average 240 Paris grains, consequently they were less than the Æginetan double-drachmas, and greater than the Corinthian stater. Nevertheless, it seems to me probable, that the cistophori were regulated according to one of these two coins, a point which cannot, however, be explicitly investigated in this place. The weight of the cistophori stated above is not then perhaps sufficiently accurate. I may remark here incidentally, that the account of the Etymologist in v. Εὐβοϊκὸν νόμισμα, which states it to have been named from a place in Argos, where Pheidon first coined gold, is fabulous, for the Euboic standard was too widely spread to have derived its name from thence; and if Pheidon had been the author of it, the Æginetan standard could not have been different from it. That Pheidon coined gold at all is also unquestionably a fable.

[68] Compare Polyb. xxi. 14. Liv. xxxvii. 45, with Polyb. xxii. 26. Liv. xxxviii. 38.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Gold Coins, and the Gold Talent.

THE value of gold is more variable than that of silver, which therefore may be considered as a standard of price for gold as well as for other commodities[69]. In European Greece there were many gold coins in circulation, some of which belonged to foreign states. Of these I will now mention the most important.

Gold, and probably silver, was first coined in Lydia[70]; in which country Crœsus caused the stater called by his name to be coined, at a time when Greece was extremely poor in gold. If Pylocrates of Samos really deceived the Spartans with false gold coins about the 60th Olympiad, (which Herodotus[71], indeed, considered an idle tale,) the Greeks at that time could have seen but little gold; for even the Lacedemonians would not have been deceived by so clumsy a fraud.

Soon after that period, Darius the son of Hystaspes coined darics of the finest gold[72], which passed over into the circulation of Greece. Their weight, which Philip of Macedon, Alexander, and Lysimachus retained, was equal to 2 Attic drachmas, both according to the testimonies of writers who make them the same as the Attic golden stater, and the ascertained weight of coins now extant[73]; whence their value is fixed by the grammarians at 20 silver drachmas, and 5 are reckoned to a mina, and 300 to a talent[74], according to the ratio of gold to silver as 10 to 1.

That the Athenian golden stater also weighed 2 drachmas, and was estimated at 20 silver drachmas, is proved by

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[69] It is upon this notion that Xenophon's encomium upon silver (de Vectig. 4) is evidently founded.

[70] Herod. i. 94.

[71] Herod. iii. 56.

[72] Herod. iv. 166. It may however be observed, that there were also silver darics. Plutarch. Cim. 10.

[73] Harpocr. in v. Δαρεικὸς, and thence Suidas, Schol. Aristoph. Eccleiaz. 598, Lex. Seg. p. 237. Comp. Barthélemy Mém. de l'Académie des Inscript. vol. xlvii. p. 201, 202. Eckhel. D. N. vol. i. p. xli.

[74] Harpocr. Schol. Aristoph. and Lex. Seg. ut sup. Xenoph. Anab. i. 8, 14. Harpocration also states in this passage, that the Attic chrysus was equal to 20 drachmas.

good authorities[75]: according to this value, 5000 staters are, in the calculation of Conon's property in Lysias, computed at about 100,000 drachmas[76]. But as no undoubted Attic stater has been preserved to our days[77], Eckhel has questioned the fact of its ever having been coined[78]; not only, however, does Pollux[79] enumerate the golden stater among coins upon the authority of Eupolis, but we know with certainty that gold coins were issued at Athens, and more especially in the Archonship of Antigenes, one year before the Frogs of Aristophanes, (Olymp. 93, 2, B. C. 407,) that money was coined from the golden statues of Victory, which Aristophanes, as they were much debased with copper, calls wretched pieces of copper[80].

The most common golden staters, besides those of Crœsus, Attica, and Persia, were the Phocaic and Cyzicenic, which have likewise been falsely taken for imaginary coins by writers on ancient money. The probable reason why none are extant, is, that the Macedonian kings supplanted all the gold coins of the cities by melting them down, in order that, with the exception of the darics, there should be no gold coin which did not bear their image[81]. The Phocaic stater occurs, both

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[75] Polemarch. ap. Hesych. Poll. iv. 173.

[76] Lysias pro Aristoph. bonis, p. 639, ed. Reiske. The property of Conon amounted, according to this passage, to about 40 talents; and it consisted of 5000 staters, and three other sums of 10,000 drachmas, 3 talents, and 17 talents. If the 500 staters are reckoned at 100,000 drachmas, the sum is equal to 38⅓ talents, which agrees perfectly with the expression "about 40 talents."

[77] See Barthélemy ut sup. p. 206.

[78] D. N. vol. i. p. xli. sqq. vol. ii. p. 206, 207.

[79] Pollux ix. 53. [The following passage of Aristophanes appears decisive. It is from the Plutus (v. 816), where Carion is describing the sudden increase of wealth caused by the arrival of the god of riches: *στατῆρσι δ' οἱ θεράποντες ἀρτιάζομεν χρυσοῖς.* TRANSL.]

[80] Aristoph. Ran. 731, and the scholiast upon the authority of Philochorus and Suidas in v. *χαλκίον*. Suidas in v. *γλαῦξ ἵπταται* and Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 1091, state, that the Attic gold coins had the device of the owl. This may be very true; but the passages can prove nothing, as in the same writer, as well as in Hesychius in v. *Λαύρεια*, the mines of Laurion are taken for gold mines, and consequently the owls of Laurion for gold coins, whereas they are silver coins. See my Dissertation upon the Silver Mines of Laurion, at the end of vol. ii.

[81] This supposition is controverted by Mr. Hussey, Essay on the Ancient Weights and Money, p. 88, *note*. TRANSL.

in inscriptions and in writers, as coined money[82]; nor can it be supposed, that silver pieces are meant, as the idea of a gold coin is inseparably associated with the name of Phocaic stater. Its weight is unknown; it passed however as the least valuable gold coin[83]. Also, that the Cyzicenic staters were coined money, is proved from many passages of ancient writers. In the oration of Demosthenes against Lacritus, 100 Cyzicenic staters are expressly mentioned as coined money[84]. Lysias reckons among his ready money 400 Cyzicenic staters, with 100 darics and 3 talents of silver; and, according to another passage in the same orator, 30 Cyzicenic staters were actually paid down[85]. The troops in the Pontus, according to the account given in the Anabasis of Xenophon, were sometimes paid in Cyzicenic staters, and at other times in darics; these staters are also mentioned as coins in several inscriptions. Hesychius, Suidas, and Photius, also describe the impression of the Cyzicenic stater, which upon one side was a female figure of the mother of the gods, who was worshipped at Sipylus, and upon the reverse, the forepart of a lion; and can it be supposed, that by this any other Cyzicenic stater than the common gold one is meant? Lastly, Demosthenes[86] remarks, that 120 Cyzicenic staters passed in the Bosporus for 3360 Attic drachmas, one for 28; probably not because their weight was greater than 2 drachmas, but because the value of gold was then higher in that country, being to silver in the

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[82] Στατὴρ Φωκαεὺς Demosth. cont. Bœot. de dote, p. 1019, 15. Φωκαΐτης Thucyd. iv. 52. Two Phocaic staters as a sacred Offering in Inscript. 150 (t. i. p. 231, ed. Boeckh.) placed together with other Phocaic coins, can no more be unstamped or imaginary coins, than the Æginetan staters in the same inscription, the false staters in Inscript. 151 (ibid.), and the tetradrachm in Inscript. 139.

[83] Hesych. in v. Φωκαΐς, calls this τὸ κάκιστον χρυσίον, whether staters or parts of staters (perhaps ἕκται Φωκαΐδες, as in Inscript. 150 (ut sup.) are meant.) Concerning the Phocaic stater as a coin, see also Pollux ix. 93.

[84] P. 935, 13. ὅτι ἑκατὸν στατῆρες Κυζικηνοὶ περιγένοιντο, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον δεδανεικὼς εἴη, &c. Χρυσίον and ἀργυρίον in the ancient writers always mean *small*, that is, coined or wrought, gold or silver.

[85] C. Eratosth. p. 391, c. Diogit. p. 894 sqq. cf. p. 903.

[86] C. Phorm. p. 914, 11, ὁ δὲ Κυζικηνὸς ἐδύνατο ἐκεῖ εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτὼ δραχμὰς Ἀττικάς: and 13, τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι στατήρων γίγνονται τρὶς χίλιαι τριακόσιαι ἑξήκοντα.

ratio of 14 to 1. Each gold stater probably weighed about 2 drachmas. Lysimachus and others, however, coined double and quadruple staters[87]; and there were also half pieces of the same coin (ἡμίχρυσοι)[88].

Scaliger[89] considers the Damaretion to have been a half stater, which Damarete, the wife of Gelon and the daughter of Theron, according to Diodorus, caused to be coined about the 75th Olympiad from the crown of a hundred talents, that the Carthaginians presented to her at the conclusion of peace, or, according to Pollux, from the ornaments of the women, which they had surrendered to defray the expenses of the war with the Carthaginians[90]. Other writers have expressed their astonishment at this supposition; but Scaliger's remark is perfectly accurate; for the Damaretion was equal in value to 10 Attic drachmas, and was thus only half the common stater. The Sicilians called this gold coin Pentecontalitron, from its weight[91], as Diodorus asserts. Since however 50 Sicilian litras were equal to 13 drachmas 5⅓ oboli of the Attic standard, it is evident that the weight in gold of the Damaretion cannot be meant (which could only be a drachma), but the weight of silver which in Sicily was equal in value to the Damaretion. The Damaretion being equal to 10 Attic drachmas according to the decuple proportion of gold to silver, the Sicilians, among whom gold was probably higher, made it equal to 50 silver litras, at the ratio of 13⅓ to 1. Golden Æginetan staters likewise occur[92], but nothing is known of their weight.

The meaning of the terms talent and mina, when applied to gold, has been frequently a subject of enquiry. According to Pollux[93], the gold stater was equal in value to a mina; a statement which seems wholly inexplicable, unless, with Ram-

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[87] Eckhel D. N. vol. i. p. 50.

[88] Pollux vi. 161; ix. 59.

[89] De re numm. p. 13, 17.

[90] Diod. xi. 26; Pollux ix. 85; Schol. Pind. Olymp. ii. 29.

[91] Ἀπὸ τοῦ σταθμοῦ.

[92] See Boeckh, corp. Inscript. 150, § 43. [Mr. Hussey, Essay on the Ancient Weights and Money, p. 96, has shown that the inscription referred to, if properly read, contains no mention of golden staters of Ægina.—TRANSL.]

[93] ix. 57.

bach[94], we understand gold coins of 8 or 10 drachmas in weight, which would certainly agree with the value of a silver mina. But Pollux is speaking with particular reference to the common gold stater of 2 drachmas in weight; unless then he confuses the entire question, according to some method or other of computing, a weight of 2 drachmas of gold must have been called a mina. That, however, in speaking of gold, an entirely different language must have existed, is probable from the circumstance that the same grammarian in two other places[95] calls 3 Attic gold staters, or a chrysûs, a talent of gold. The reason which prevents me from receiving the emendation proposed by Salmasius[96] is, that Pollux repeats the same statement twice. I am therefore inclined to follow the opinion of J. F. Gronovius[97], that a weight of 6 drachmas of gold was called a talent, according to an idiom customary upon certain occasions, perhaps, as it has been conjectured, because this was the value of a talent of copper, the ratio of gold to copper being as 1000 to 1. This small gold talent could only have contained 3 minas, each 2 drachmas in weight. This supposition is completely established by the fact of the talent of Thyateira being equal to 3 gold staters[98]; and Eustathius even calls 2 chrysûs, and Hero of Alexandria 1 chrysûs, a talent. Probably the goldsmiths reckoned by these small talents; and when we read of golden crowns of many talents in weight, this smaller kind is doubtless intended. Who can believe that the Carthaginians presented to Damarete a crown of 100 talents of gold[99], if a talent of gold were the usual weight of the silver talent, or even only a portion of gold equal in weight to the value of a silver talent? Are we to suppose, that the inhabitants of the Chersonese would have given a crown of 60 talents to the senate and people of the

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[94] On Potter, vol. iii. p. 169.

[95] iv. 173; ix. 53, 54.

[96] Instead of τρεῖς χρυσοῦς (Γ') he writes τριακοσίους or Τ', as 300 chrysûs, according to the decuple proportion of gold to silver. If the text is to be altered, τρισχιλίους might be written for τρεῖς, from which the compendium of the former word is not very different; 3000 gold staters are equal in weight to a talent.

[97] De Pec. Vet. iii. 7.

[98] Lex. Seg. p. 306.

[99] Diod. xi. 26.

Athenians[100], if the silver and gold talents were of the same weight? And even if we suppose that 100 talents of gold were equal to 600 gold drachmas, and 60 talents of gold to 360 drachmas, these crowns still remain of considerable weight. Excepting the crown of Jupiter at Tarracona, 15 lbs. in weight, and that which the Carthaginians sent to the Capitoline Jupiter in the year of the city 412, of 25 lbs. of gold (1875 Attic drachmas), and the immense one in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, of 10,000 gold staters (which, at a festival in the time of that king, was laid upon the throne of Ptolemy Soter), together with another, 80 cubits in length, of gold and precious stones, I find no example of such large crowns as those two were, even if they only weighed 600 and 360 drachmas. In the Acropolis of Athens there were golden crowns of 17½, 18½, of 20, and 25 drachmas or rather more; also another of 26½; four of which the joint weight was 135½ drachmas; one of 29, others of 33, 59, and 85 drachmas. A crown, which the celebrated Lysander sent as a sacred offering to the Parthenon of Athens, weighed 66 drachmas 5 oboli. Two crowns, honorary gifts to Minerva of the Acropolis, weighed, the one 245 drachmas 1½ oboli, the other 272 drachmas 3½ oboli. Another for the same goddess weighed 232 drachmas 5 oboli. A crown, dedicated to the Delphian Apollo at the great festival which was celebrated every fourth year, cost only 1500 drachmas of silver; and consequently, if the workmanship is estimated at the lowest possible rate, can hardly have weighed a hundred drachmas of gold[101]. According to these facts then, the talents in which the weight of the Carthaginian and Chersonetan crowns is stated, must have been small talents of 6 drachmas of gold. Yet there can be no question but that as much gold as was equal to the value of a silver talent, is often called a talent of gold; as also that a quantity of gold

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[100] Demosth. de Corona, p. 256, 25. Concerning the crown at Tarracona, see Suetonius in the Life of Galba, cap. 12, the gifts of the Carthaginians to the Capitoline Jupiter, Liv. vii. 38. Concerning the crown of Ptolemy, see Athen. v. p. 202, B. D.

[101] Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. 150, § 13, 141; § 11, and 139, 1, 20; 141, § 15, 20; 150, § 16; 141, § 10; 139, 1, 21, 22; 150, § 14, 15, 12; also 150, § 40, 10; 151, 1, 28, 29; and 145.

weighing 6000 drachmas was known by the same name; which therefore in this case is manifestly dependent upon its relation to the value of silver[102].

Chapter VI.

The Prices of Gold and other Metals compared with that of Silver.

The usual price of gold can be as well determined from the data already cited, as from other authorities. The most frequent proportion in ancient times appears to have been that of 10 to 1, as follows from what has been said concerning the stater which weighed 2 drachmas; and although the lowness of this ratio does at first sight appear surprising, when we consider the scarcity of gold in early times, it must be remembered that the quantity of silver in circulation was likewise very inconsiderable[103]. The price of gold however gradually rose, partly on account of the proportionally greater increase of silver, until it arrived at ratios similar to those of modern Europe (from 13½ to 1 to 15 to 1), although these experienced occasional variations. When we find so late as in Menander[104], a talent of gold reckoned only equal to 10 talents of silver, the price of gold at Athens must either have been depressed at that time by Alexander's campaigns in Asia, which opened the treasures of Persia to the Greeks, or Menander follows the original proportion, which was still remembered after it had ceased to be actually in force, as it afforded a particularly easy calculation. In the dialogue upon the desire

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[102] Herod. iii. 95; Menand. ap. Poll. vi. 76; Polyb. xxii. 15; the latter concerning the mina. The confused passage of Suidas in v. ὀβολὸς, and of Photius, quoted there by Küster, cannot be taken into consideration in reference to the value of the gold talent.

[103] Compare also, on the subject of this proportion, J. F. Gronovius de Pec. Vet. ii. 8; the same proportion is given by Hesychius in v. δραχμὴ χρυσίου, according to the correct emendation proposed in the notes, and Suidas in v. δραχμή. In some regions of the East, gold was certainly cheaper: thus Strabo, in the 16th book, speaks of a country near the Sabæi, where gold had only twice the value of silver, and three times the value of brass.

[104] Ap. Poll. vi. 76.

of gain[105], which formerly, under the name of Hipparchus, passed for the production of Plato, and which certainly belongs to the age of Socrates and Plato, the value of gold is stated at twelve times that of silver; Herodotus, however, reckons the proportion as 13 to 1[106]; according to the former the chrysûs was equal to 24, according to the latter to 26, drachmas of silver. To conclude from the value of the Damaretion, the proportion of gold to silver in Sicily had, in the time of Gelo, risen to $13\frac{8}{9}$, although Diodorus, following the ancient custom, estimates the silver value of the Damaretion at the ratio of 10 to 1. There cannot therefore be much risk of error in assuming that the Cyzicenic stater only weighed 2 drachmas of gold, but that at a certain period during the life of Demosthenes, it passed in the Bosporus for 28 drachmas of silver, the value of gold in comparison with silver having risen to 14. The price of gold at Rome was still more variable. At the payment of the Ætolians in the year of the city 564 (190 B.C.), when they were allowed, if they wished it, to pay a third part in gold, the proportion between the two metals was prescribed to them (manifestly to their great disadvantage) at 10 to 1[107]. In the year of Rome 547 (207 B.C.), the ratio of gold to silver was as $17\frac{1}{7}$ to 1, afterwards as $13\frac{5}{7}$ to 1. In the time of Cæsar, on account of the great influx of gold out of Gaul, it fell as low as $8\frac{1}{14}$; as at a former period, according to the account of Polybius, its price had fallen for a time in Italy a third part, in consequence of the rapid increase in the quantity of gold from the mines of Aquileia[108]. We also find the ratio of $11\frac{7}{24}$ to 1; and in the 422nd year of the Christian era, the ratio of gold to silver had risen to 18[109].

The rise in the price of gold in Greece may have been owing to several other causes besides the increase in the quantity of silver in circulation. The increasing consumption of gold for ornaments, utensils, and works of art, especially for

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[105] p. 40 of my edition.

[106] iii. 95.

[107] Polyb. xxii. 15; Liv. xxxviii. 11.

[108] Sueton. Cæs. 54; Polyb. xxxiv. 10.

[109] Upon the price of gold at Rome, see Hamberger *de pretiis rerum*, p. 7 sqq.

sacred offerings, would have contributed to produce that effect. The greater activity of commerce must also have forced up the price of gold; for, from the want of bills of exchange, much money was necessarily carried from one place to another, for which purpose gold was the most convenient. The pay of the troops was given out in gold. The military chests therefore required a considerable store, and the demand for gold must have been very considerable during the continual wars. Probably much coined gold passed out of circulation by being accumulated in public and private treasuries. Sparta, during a period of several generations, swallowed up large quantities of the precious metals, as in Æsop's fable the footsteps of the animals which went in were to be seen, but never of those which came out[110]. The principal cause of this stagnation probably was, that the state kept the gold and silver in store, and only re-issued them for war and foreign enterprises[111]; although there were instances of private individuals, who amassed treasure contrary to the law. Lysander sent home 1000, or, according to Diodorus, 1500 talents, 470 at one time[112]. Must we not then suppose that the Spartans stored up large quantities of gold, especially as it was generally used for the payment of the soldiers[113]?

Besides the pure silver and gold, many Grecian States had a coinage, which in other countries was either wholly or nearly devoid of value, and was only destined for the internal circulation (*νόμισμα ἐπιχώριον*). Of this description were all copper and iron coins, the current value of which was mostly raised

[110] Plat. Alcib. ii. p. 122 ad fin.

[111] See book iv. c. 19.

[112] Plutarch in Nic. 28; Lysand. 16—18; Diod. xiii. 106, who however probably exaggerates, if we are to suppose that this whole sum was sent at once to Sparta after the conquest of Sestos. For the latter fact of the 470 talents, see Xenoph. Hellen. iii. 2, 6.

[113] According to Plutarch, most of what Lysander sent was stamped with the device of an owl; he then adds as a conjectural reason, that most money had the Attic device. On the other hand, Corsini Fast. Att. vol. ii. p. 235 may be consulted: only Plutarch's words are not to be altered, but his statement is either false, or the money which Lysander brought home had not been raised from Athens, but from other states, where Athenian coins were in circulation. Upon the whole, most of the silver which was in circulation had been probably issued from the Athenian mint; and this perhaps is what Plutarch means to say.

by public ordinance far above its proper amount. In Athens, with the exception of the smallest coins, no money of this description was ever used, excepting that in the Archonship of Callias (Olymp. 93. 3. 406 B.C.) a copper coinage was issued, which was afterwards recalled[114], and some other instances occurred in the times of the Roman emperors.

Concerning the prices of copper, tin, and iron, in Greece, I have been unable to find any definite statement. With regard to lead, the author of the second book of the Œconomics ascribed to Aristotle, relates that it was generally sold for 2 drachmas, but that Pythocles counselled the State to obtain the monopoly of this native product of the mines of Laurion, and to sell it for 6 drachmas. The weight is not mentioned, but the commercial talent (*τάλαντον ἐμπορικὸν*) is doubtless intended. If we assume that the commercial talent is the talent that was in use before the time of Solon, it is equal in weight to 8280 drachmas of the silver standard, about 93 lbs. troy; which therefore commonly sold for nearly 1*s.* 8*d.*, and after the proposal of Pythocles, if it was followed, for about 4*s.* 10½*d.* In Rome a hundred lbs. of common lead, which were only equal to 7500 drachmas, sold for 7 denarii[115]; consequently the price was higher than the rate demanded by the Athenian State.

CHAPTER VII.

Population of Attica.

NEXT to the quantity of money in circulation, prices depend upon the demand in comparison with the supply; and as the demand is connected with the number of the people, it will be necessary to treat of the population. The area of Attica is not easily determined, for only the coasts have been laid down, and not even these with perfect accuracy. According to the map of Barbié du Bocage, which is attached to the Travels of

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[114] See book iv. ch. 19.

[115] Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiv. 48. I have said that the lead of Attica came from the mines of Laurion; the proof of this assertion is given in my Dissertation upon these mines at the end of vol. ii.

Anacharsis[116], Attica contains $36\frac{17}{72}$, Salamis $1\frac{13}{40}$, Helena $\frac{5}{16}$ German geographical square miles, *i. e.* respectively $579\frac{7}{9}$, $21\frac{1}{8}$, and 5, together nearly 606, English geographical square miles. According to the map since published by the same person, in 1811[117], which is hitherto the most accurate, Attica contains $39\frac{1}{16}$, Salamis $1\frac{5}{8}$, and Helena $\frac{5}{16}$ square miles, or in English miles 625, 26, and 5, amounting altogether to 656. If then we take the English geographical mile to the statute mile as 4 to 3, the area of Attica and the two islands would upon this computation be about 874 square miles*.

To ascertain how this small space was peopled, has engaged the attention of many writers. The ancients not only assert in general terms that Athens was the most populous of all the Grecian cities[118], but they also have given definite accounts which establish the same result. The credibility of these statements has been indeed called into question by Montesquieu[119], Hume[120], and other English and French writers, but has been not unsuccessfully defended by others. Of the latter I will mention only Ste. Croix, who, with the assistance of his predecessors, has treated last and the most at large of this important subject[121], and has also taken into consideration the circumstances which at certain periods produced an increase or diminution in the population; to these, however, in the following inquiry I shall pay no attention, partly on account of the want of adequate authorities, partly because the object of this work does not admit of my inquiries going so far into details; nor will I animadvert upon the unimportant errors of this learned writer, which have no influence upon the main point.

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[116] L'Attique, la Mégaride, et partie de l'Isle d'Eubée, 1785.

[117] Carte générale de la Grèce et d'une grande partie de ses colonies tant en Europe qu'en Asie, pour le voyage du jeune Anacharse, par J. D. Barbié du Bocage, commencée en 1798, terminée en 1809. Paris, 1811. The calculation of the area after this map has been made for me with great accuracy by Mr. Kloeden, who is well known as skilled in this point.

* See Mr. Clinton's computation of the Area of Attica, founded on different data, in his Fast. Hellen. vol. ii. p. 473, ed. 3.—TRANSL.

[118] Meursius de F. A. iv. p. 24. See Thucyd. i. 80.

[119] Esprit des Lois xxxiii. 7.

[120] Essay upon the Populousness of Ancient Nations, p. 237 sqq.

[121] Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tome xlviii.

I pass over all attempts to determine the population of Athens from its military force, since the data, which in this case it would be necessary to consider, are in a great measure too general, without any exact distinction between the classes of the citizens, slaves, and resident aliens, and also because in every State the persons incapable of bearing arms form a considerable number; on which account the native military force can only prove that a nation had not fewer inhabitants than this or that definite number, but not accurately how great the whole amount was.

The whole population of Attica would be known, if we could separately ascertain the number of the citizens, resident aliens, and slaves, together with their wives and children. The largest part of the accounts extant are of the number of the citizens; but they differ widely, according to the difference of the periods, and the greater or less accuracy of the statements; but that their number was considerable, may be collected from Xenophon[123], who states that the Athenians were equal in number to all the Bœotians—that is, the citizens of the one country to the citizens of the other. All particular statements, with the exception of one only, which belongs to the most ancient times, vary between nearly twenty and thirty thousand. Philochorus[124] indeed related, that even in the reign of Cecrops, 20,000 men had been enumerated, by which the writer probably meant citizens; this, however, is manifestly a fabulous tradition, which was probably adapted to a later census of the citizens. The following account of Pollux[125] is more worthy of attention. He states that each of the 360 ancient houses which were included before the time of Cleisthenes in the four ancient tribes, contained 30 men, whence the houses were called τριακάδες; from which it results that the number of citizens was 10,800. If to this it is objected that a limited number is in such a case impossible, it may be fairly answered, that at some one period, when the constitution of the tribes was

[123] Mem. Socrat. iii. 5, 2.

[124] Ap. Schol. Pind. Olymp. ix. 68, where the words τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον καὶ τὸ πλῆθος are not opposed to one another, but πλῆθος (whole number of the people) is a more accurate expression.

[125] viii. 111.

regulated, this number was taken as an average, although it did not remain so. In the same manner that the Romans called the captain a centurion, even if he commanded only 60 men, a house might have been called a *τριακάς*, although it contained 50 or more men. That the number of the citizens amounted to 30,000, was a customary assumption from the time of the Persian to the end of the Peloponnesian war. Herodotus supposes Aristagoras of Miletus to speak of 30,000 Athenians who had the right of voting[126]. Aristophanes in the Ecclesiazusæ[127], which was written after the Anarchy, speaks even of more than 30,000; and the author of the Axiochus[128] also states that the assembly in which the generals were condemned after the victory of Arginusæ, was attended by a greater number than that just mentioned: these accounts, however, are manifestly overrated. Aristagoras, to express himself with effect, would not fail to select the highest number; nor need the words of a comic poet be taken so exactly; and the author of the Axiochus could not have seen accurate accounts of the population, which, after the great defeats in Sicily, and a war carried on so long with alternate success, would doubtless have shown a very different number. Even if we were to assume that in the above enumerations of citizens who voted in the assembly, many were comprised who had not properly any right of voting, but who assumed that privilege unlawfully, still we should never arrive at so high a number as 30,000, especially since all the citizens, even on the most important affairs, never attended the assembly. The accounts which are founded upon real enumerations are of a very different character. On an occasion of a distribution of corn, which, like all other distributions, was made according to the registers of the lexiarchs among the adult citizens of 18 years of age and upwards, a scrutiny was instituted in the Archonship of Lysimachides (Olymp. 83, 4, 445 B.C.) into the genuineness of their birth (*γνησιότης*). There were then found, according to Philochorus, only 14,240 genuine Athenians; and 4760, who had assumed the rights of citizenship unjustly, were in consequence sold as slaves. Previously,

[126] v. 97. [127] Vs. 1124. [128] Cap. 12.

therefore, there were 19,000 persons who passed for citizens. The amount is perhaps stated in too round a number to be considered as completely exact. Plutarch, who probably only follows Philochorus, gives 14,040 as genuine, assuming that 5000 were rejected[129]. At the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, besides 13,000 hoplitæ appointed for service in the field, there were also 16,000 others in Athens, who consisted of the oldest and youngest citizens and a certain number of resident aliens[130]; the number of citizens must therefore at that time have been higher. Whatever vacancies were caused by war, and not replaced by a fresh growth, were filled up by the occasional creation of new citizens, as was the case for example during the Archonship of Euclid (Olymp. 94, 2, 403 B.C.) Thus in the first speech of Demosthenes against Aristogeiton[131], we find the number of citizens reckoned as nearly 20,000. Plato, in the Critias, assumes the same amount for the most ancient times of Athens, in which he has, doubtless, transferred the number that was commonly computed in his own time to the earliest periods of the state; and the later Grecian writers, as Libanius, follow the same statement[132]. An occurrence of the same period exactly coincides with the statement in the speech of Demosthenes. When Lycurgus divided the property of Diphilus, amounting to 160 talents, each citizen received 50

[129] Philochorus ap. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 716. Plutarch. Pericl. 37. [The word in Plutarch is *ἐπράθησαν*, for which Mr. Clinton (vol. ii. ad a. 444, and app. p. 479, ed. 3) reads *ἀπηλάθησαν*; and in addition to the authorities which he quotes, see Photius in v. *ἔφεσις*, Bekk. Anecd. p. 201, 17, and p. 439, 32. It appears that each borough inquired into the genuineness of its own members; and that those who were rejected by the votes of the burghers (*ἀποψηφισθέντες*) lost the rights of citizenship. If they then appealed to the decision of a court of justice, and were a second time rejected, their persons were sold, and their property confiscated.—TRANSL.]

[130] Thucyd. ii. 13.

[131] P. 785, 24. The spuriousness of the second speech is acknowledged by both ancients and moderns. Dionysius doubts whether the first was the production of Demosthenes; and in Harpocration (in v. *θεωρὶς*) it is quoted with a suspicion of its authenticity. I leave this point undecided, but it certainly belongs to that period. For the usage of *δμοῦ* in the passage referred to, see Hesych. Suid. Harpocr. and Phot. in v. *δμοῦ*.

[132] See Meursius de F. A. iv. According to the interpretation of the Scholiast, the same number of citizens may be inferred from Aristoph. Vesp. 707; it is not, however, distinctly expressed in the words of Aristophanes.

drachmas, which gives 19,200 for their whole number[133]. The assertion that in the reign of Antipater (Olymp. 114, 2, 323 B.C.) Athens contained 21,000 citizens[134], is inadmissible, as being taken from a later enumeration; and Diodorus[135] even goes so far as to suppose that there were 31,000, reckoning 22,000 instead of 12,000 as in Plutarch, who were deprived of the rights of citizenship, and he assumes 9000 as the surplus, agreeing in the latter point with Plutarch. These 12,000 rejected citizens, some of whom had left the country, were restored to their rights in Olymp. 115, 3, 318 B.C.[136] Soon after this an enumeration of the people occurs, which is the very one to which the number mentioned in Plutarch of the citizens who remained and were disfranchised in the reign of Antipater, was adapted. It was carried on by Demetrius Phalereus when Archon in Olymp. 117, 4, 309 B.C.[137], and yielded, according to Ctesicles[138], 21,000 citizens, 10,000 resident aliens, and 400,000 slaves. From this very important statement, the whole number of the population of Attica has been variously determined. According to the usual rule of statistics, the adults have been generally taken as a fourth part of the population. This gave for the citizens 84,000, and for the aliens 40,000. But when they came to the slaves, these calculators fell into an embarrassment; for, according to the same, or a somewhat lower proportion, their number came out far above what could be deemed probable. Hume, wishing to show that the population of ancient times has been greatly overrated, contends with many reasons against this number of slaves, and ends by substituting 40,000 in the place of 400,000, whom he considers as the adults, to which it would be then necessary to add the women and children. But his arguments are partly inconclusive, and partly founded upon false suppo-

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[133] Lives of the Ten Orators near the end of the Life of Lycurgus. The addition, ἢ ὥς τινες μυρίων, does not deserve any attention.

[134] Plutarch. Phoc. 28.

[135] xviii. 18. It appears to me that the passage ought by no means to be altered, as Diodorus so frequently exaggerates numbers.

[136] Diod. xviii. 66.

[137] This is the right date which Ste. Croix has given, p. 64.

[138] Ap. Athen. vi. p. 272, B.

sitions. Thus all that he says concerning the national wealth of Attica, that it was only equal to 6000 talents, is completely false; and, in the next place, slaves were not computed by adults or fathers of families, which is a term wholly inapplicable to slaves; but they were counted, like sheep or cattle, by the head, and were regarded in the same light with property, as Gillies[139] has already observed, for they were in the strictest sense a personal possession: 400,000 is therefore the sum total of the slaves; and the population of Attica, deducting the non-settled aliens, would amount, on this supposition, to 524,000 souls. Wallace's computation is higher, for he makes the whole population amount to more than 580,000; and Sainte Croix goes as far as 639,500. The latter writer erroneously adds 100,000 children to the number of slaves, and likewise 4½ and not 4 for every male adult or father of a family, so that the free as well as the slave population is made more numerous. As, however, this proportion appears to be more correct for southern countries, the citizens with their families may be fairly taken at 94,500, and the resident aliens at 45,000. In order, however, not to proceed solely upon the period of Demetrius, but upon the mean average of 20,000 citizens, I reckon only 90,000 citizens, and 45,000 resident aliens. With regard to the total amount of slaves, it is stated too much in round numbers for perfect accuracy; the historian doubtless added whatever was wanting to complete the last hundred thousand, although the correct number might not have been so great by several thousands. It will be sufficient to reckon 365,000 slaves, together with women and children, which latter, however, were proportionally few. Adding to these 135,000 free inhabitants, we may take, as a mean average of the population, 500,000 in round numbers, of whom the larger proportion were men, since fewer female than male slaves were kept, and not many slaves were married.

The ratio of the citizens to the slaves can be consequently taken as rather more than one to four; and the ratio of the

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[139] Essays on the History, Customs, and Character of the Greeks, p. 15 of the German translation of Macher.

free population to the slaves as nearly one to three. In some of the American sugar islands the ratio of the slaves to the free population was as great as six to one. This number of slaves cannot appear too large, if the political circumstances of Attica are taken into consideration. Even the poor citizens used to have a slave[140] for the care of their household affairs. In every moderate establishment many were employed for all sorts of occupations, such as grinders, bakers, cooks, tailors, errand-boys, or to accompany the master and mistress, who seldom went out without an attendant. Any one who was expensive, and wished to attract attention, took, perhaps, three attendants with him[141]. We even hear of philosophers who kept 10 slaves[142]. Slaves were also let out as hired servants; they performed all the labour connected with the care of cattle and agriculture; they were employed in the working of the mines and furnaces; all manual labour and the lower branches of trade were in a great measure carried on by them; large gangs laboured in the numerous workshops, for which Athens was celebrated; and a considerable number were employed in the merchant vessels and the fleet. Not to enumerate many instances of persons who had a smaller number of slaves, Timarchus kept in his workshop 11 or 12[143]; Demosthenes' father, 52 or 53, besides the female slaves in his house[144]; Lysias and Polemarchus, 120[145]. Plato expressly remarks that the free inhabitants had frequently 50 slaves, and the rich even more[146]; Philemonides had 300, Hipponicus 600, Nicias 1000 slaves in the mines alone[147]. These facts prove the existence of an immense number of slaves.

But Hume raises an objection out of Xenophon. Xenophon[148] proposed to the state to buy public slaves for the mines, and particularly mentions how large a revenue the state would receive from them, if it had 10,000 to begin with: at the same time, he

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[140] See for example the beginning of the Plutus of Aristophanes.

[141] Demosth. pro. Phorm. p. 958, 14.

[142] Ste. Croix, p. 172.

[143] Æschin. cont. Timarch. p. 118.

[144] Demosth. cont. Aphob. A. p. 816, *cf.* p. 828, l.

[145] Lysias cont. Eratosth. p. 395.

[146] De Republ. ix. p. 578, D E.

[147] Xenoph. de Vectig. 4.

[148] Ut. sup.

adds the following remark: "that the mines are able to receive many times this number, every body will allow, who remembers how much the slave-duty produced before the occurrences at Decelea." From this statement, Hume infers that the number cannot have been so excessive, for that the diminution by the war of Decelea only amounted to 20,000[149], and the increase of 10,000 does not stand in any considerable proportion to so large a number as 400,000. It must, however, be considered that after the war of Decelea, the Athenians probably ceased to keep many slaves on account of the facility of escape, and that a still greater number than ran away may have been dismissed. Xenophon himself says that the number had been very great formerly; and he means that their numbers before the war of Decelea prove that the mines, of which alone he is speaking, could afford employment to many times 10,000. At the same time, I will not deny that the passage has a very strange appearance, and is obscured by manifold difficulties; but this is the very reason why we should avoid founding any argument upon it[b].

There are two other statements, equally called into question by Hume, which are far more incomprehensible, viz.: of Timæus, that Corinth once had possessed 460,000, and of Aristotle, that Ægina had contained 470,000 slaves[150]. Nevertheless the numbers do not appear to be corrupt. That the Corinthians kept a very large number of slaves is proved by the expression *Chœnix-measurers* (*χοινικομέτραι*) by which they were distinguished; nor is it possible that Ægina before and during the Persian war, up to the time of its decline, could have been a great commercial town, and have had an extensive naval force, without a large population, and above all, many slaves. Its naval dominion, and its powerful resistance against Athens, are incompatible with a small population. Why, then, may we

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[149] Thucyd. vii. 27.

[b] An important statement contained in a fragment of Hyperides with regard to the slave-population, which has been overlooked by the author, is quoted by Mr. Clinton from Suidas in v. *ἀπεψηφίσατο* (F. H. vol. ii. p. 480, ed. 3), where it is mentioned that the slaves employed in the silver mines and in country labour were more than 150,000.—TRANSL.

[150] Athen. vi. p. 272, B. D. Schol. Pind. Olymp. viii. 30.

not suppose that 470,000 slaves[c] lived in this small island, whose area scarcely exceeded forty English square miles? there still remained sufficient space, as slaves never occupied much room. Ægina, as well as the Peloponnese[151] and particularly Corinth, received supplies from the countries upon the Black Sea. In the mean time, it is hardly necessary to remark, that this large population of Corinth and Ægina must only be understood of the early times, before Athens had obtained possession of the commerce of Greece and the sovereignty of the sea.

In what manner this population of 500,000 souls in Attica was distributed, cannot be accurately determined. Athens itself contained above 10,000 houses. In general only one family lived in a house, and fourteen free inhabitants were at that time a large number for one house or for one family[152]. Lodging houses (*συνοικίαι*) were however inhabited by several families, and manufactories contained many hundreds of slaves. The district of the mines must also have been very thickly peopled. The circumference of the city, together with the sea-ports, was equal to 200 stadii. The mines were in a space 60 stadii in width: the other dimension is not known. If 180,000 persons are reckoned for the city and harbours, and 20,000 for the mines, and the space for both taken at 32 square miles English, the number assumed would not be too high. There then remain 300,000 souls for the other 608 square miles, which gives something less than 493½ to a square mile, which, with the number of small towns or market-places, villages, and farms, that were in Attica, is not to be wondered at. Now this population necessarily required a large supply of provisions. It should, however, be borne in mind, that slaves were badly fed, and above all, that corn alone was requisite for their sustenance. How large a quantity of corn was required, and how the necessary supplies could be procured, I shall endeavour to determine presently.

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[c] Mr. Clinton proposes, in the passage of Athenæus, to reduce the number of slaves at Corinth to 60,000, and the number of slaves in Ægina to 70,000. Fast. Hell. vol. ii. p. 515, ed. 3.—TRANSL.

[151] Herod. vii. 147, and thence Polyænus in the Strategics.

[152] Xenoph. Mem. Soc. ii. 7, 2.

Chapter VIII.

Agriculture, and Native Products of Attica.

All commodities which are necessary for the purposes of life are procured either by the domestic production and manufacture of the raw material, or by foreign commerce. Attica was not so unsuited for agriculture as is often supposed. The soil was indeed stony and uneven in many places; a great part was bare rock, where nothing could be sown; the less fertile soil, however, produced barley[153] and wheat, the latter indeed with great difficulty; and the mildness of the climate allowed all the more valuable products of the earth to ripen the earliest, and to go out of season the latest[154]. Every sort of plant and animal throve, in spite of the poverty of the soil[155]. Art also undoubtedly performed its share; for the ancients in all concerns of common life were possessed of sound principles founded on experience; and at so early a period as the time of Socrates, writings upon agriculture were in existence[156]. Agriculture was in as great estimation among the Athenians as with the Romans, if we may judge from the high encomiums of Xenophon and Aristotle[157]. The latter calls an agricultural people the most just; agriculture is represented as that species of industry which is most just and conformable to nature: the most just, because it does not gain from men, either according to their wills, as in paid labour and commerce, or against their wills, as in war; the most agreeable to nature, because everything receives nourishment from its mother, and the earth is the mother of men. The ancients also esteemed agriculture, because it made their bodies and minds strong and active, and

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[153] Thucyd. 1, 2, where the commentators quote other passages upon the sterility of the soil. See more particularly the Introduction to Xenophon's Treatise on the Revenues.

[154] Xenoph. Ibid.

[155] Plat. Crit. p. 110, E.

[156] See my Preface to the Dialogues of Simon the Socratic Philosopher, p. xix.

[157] Xenoph. Œcon. 4 sqq. Aristot. Polit. vi. 4, and the first book of the Œconomics attributed to Aristotle, which at least contains the principles of that philosopher.

trained them for service in the field, whereas most kinds of manufactures and commerce weakened and enervated both. The opulent, however, only occupied themselves with the superintendence; and most of the manual labour fell upon the slaves, who were servants, and frequently also stewards, and who unquestionably lessened the expenses of cultivation, whatever the moderns may advance against the cheapness of slave labour. Thus the cultivator derived sufficient support from his own farm, and in dear times the agriculturists even grew unduly rich[158].

The most considerable produce was of wine, olives, figs, and honey; wine was probably better in other places; but the oil and honey were particularly excellent[159], the latter especially in the district of the mines[160], and upon Mount Hymettus. The figs likewise were very much esteemed. Even now the keeping of the bees is carried on to a considerable extent in Attica. The olive-trees make regular woods, and the wine is considered wholesome[161]. For the protection of this branch of industry, laws were enacted that these products should not be diminished, and that one person should not be injured by another in raising them; hence the ordinances of Solon with regard to the keeping of bees[162]; hence no olive-tree could be rooted up, excepting that each proprietor was allowed to destroy two in each year for public festivals, or for his own use in the case of a death[163]. Many of these products of the soil were exported, although, according to Plutarch[164], Solon prohibited all export of provisions, as might be seen from the first Table of the Laws of Solon; but, fortunately, this writer afterwards contradicts himself, when in another place he mentions the famous prohibition to export figs as no more than probable[165]. The exportation of oil alone is said to have been permitted by Solon, as Plutarch also remarks, and in this point his testimony is confirmed by examples[166]. As to the prohibition of the export of

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158 Orat. cont. Phænipp. p. 1045, 12.

159 Pseud-Æschin. Epist. 5.

160 Strab. ix. p. 275.

161 See Wheler, Chandler, and other travellers. Concerning oil comp. Meursius Fort. Att. chap. x.

162 Petit Leg. Att. v. 1, 6.

163 Demosth. cont. Macart. p. 1074.

164 Solon. 24.

165 De Curiositate, ad fin.

166 Plutarch Solon. 2, where Plato is said to carry on a trade in oil; and

figs, I am entirely convinced that it did not exist in the times of which we have any certain knowledge. All that occurs in ancient writers upon this subject, only serves to explain the meaning of the word sycophant. Plutarch himself ventures to adopt it at the most for the very early times. If, however, the ancients had possessed any account of such a law, that could be at all depended upon, they would not speak in so vague and indefinite a manner concerning the origin of this appellation. If a prohibition ever did exist, it certainly was not caused by the reason which is jocularly mentioned by Hume[167], that the Athenians thought their figs too delicious for foreign palates, although Athenæus[168] nearly uses the same expression; but the object of the measure must have been to increase the quantity of figs in the country, while they were as yet very scarce in the most ancient times. This view of the case may be formed from the Scholiast upon Plato[169], who dates the origin of the name of sycophant at a period when this fruit was first discovered in Attica, and did not grow in any other country. But the account is far more probable which states that the sacred fig-trees were robbed of their fruit during a famine, and that the wrath of the gods being felt in consequence of this sacrilege, accusations were brought against the suspected[170]. In the same manner, persons who injured the sacred olive-trees might be subjected to heavy penalties, of which Lysias in his defence concerning the sacred olive-trees, affords a remarkable instance. Here then it would be impossible to understand a prohibition of exportation, which can only exist with regard to articles necessary for the consumption of the community, such as corn.

The keeping of cattle unquestionably existed to a consider-

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although it refers to later times, the law of Solon may still have been in force in reference to such cases. Petit Leg. Att. v. 5, 1, absurdly limits the permission to export oil to the cruise filled with oil given to the victors in the Panathenaic games.

[167] Ut sup. p. 81.

[168] iii. p. 74, E. where see Casaubon. The same writer treats of the Sycophants ad Theophrast. Char. 23, cf. Ast. ad Plat. de Repub. p. 361, ed. 2. Petit Leg. Att. v. 5, 2, does not give any clear account of this point. To the passages quoted by earlier writers Lex. Seg. p. 304, may also be added.

[169] P. 147, Ruhnk. cf. Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 874.

[170] Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 31.

able extent: sheep and goats were the most numerous. From the latter animal one of the four ancient tribes, Ægicoreis, took its name, which, from the time of Cleisthenes, remained only a borough; of the former there were many different breeds, and particularly of the finest kinds[171]. In order to encourage the keeping of sheep, it was forbidden in a law of extreme antiquity to kill them before they had lambed or been shorn[172]: but this and similar regulations had been long abolished in the time of Solon. Pigs were also kept, and of larger cattle, asses and mules in tolerable quantities. Horses and horned cattle were evidently scarce in early times. Philochorus[173] mentions a very ancient law which prohibited the killing of horned cattle; and the scarcity of horses is manifest from the early insignificance of the Athenian cavalry, which, after the establishment of the Naucrarias, only amounted to 96 or 100 men, and was not even in existence at the time of the battle of Marathon. Subsequently horses and oxen were kept in sufficient quantities, for which the pastures of Eubœa afforded great facilities.

The woodlands for the most part only supplied firewood; the ship-building was carried on with imported timber. The fisheries were productive; the mines, in addition to silver, yielded lead, metallic colours, coloured earths, perhaps also copper; and the products of the Athenian foundries were particularly esteemed. The quarries of Pentelus and Hymettus furnished the most beautiful kinds of marble, which were much exported to foreign parts[174]. Commercial occupations were nowhere in great esteem among the ancient Greeks. Probably no person of ancient nobility ever condescended to them, although conversely a manufacturer might raise himself to the head of public affairs, such as Cleon, Hyperbolus, and others. The early statesmen, however, encouraged industry, especially Solon, Themistocles, and Pericles,

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[171] Demosth. cont. Euerg. et Mnesib. p. 1155, 3, or whoever is the author of this speech, which is called in question by the ancients (see Harpocrat. in v. *ητημένην*), Athen. xii. p. 540, D.

[172] Androt. ap. Athen. ix. p. 375, C, Philochorus ibid. i. p. 9, C. Other ancient laws to the same effect have been collected by Petit v. 3.

[173] Ap. Athen. ix. p. 375, C.

[174] Cf. Xenoph. de Vectig. 1.

partly with the intention of improving the condition of the lower classes, and partly of increasing the population of the city; as well as advancing the cause of commerce, and of manning the numerous fleets, by which, after the time of Themistocles, the Athenians held the mastery of the sea[175]. And it was this circumstance that rendered the resident aliens indispensable for Athens[176], who carried on manufactures and commerce to a great extent, and were bound to serve in the fleet. It even appears that the useful arts were encouraged by honorary rewards[177]; though even by these means they could not gain in the public estimation: they were prizes for the common people, for which the higher ranks did not envy them. At the same time the

[175] Proofs of this occur everywhere. Diodorus (xi. 43) in particular expresses himself very clearly with regard to Themistocles.

[176] Xenophon de Rep. Ath. i. 12. The genuineness of this Essay stands and falls with the other Treatise on the State of the Lacedæmonians, which Demetrius the Magnesian (ap. Diog. Laërt. ii. 57) abjudged from Xenophon. But the Essay upon the Revenues of Athens is so similar to those two in style, that it must be included in their condemnation; and it is certainly possible to raise doubts against the latter writing, which however I consider as futile. The predilection for Sparta which predominates in the two first writings, is very like Xenophon, who, even in his history, is the constant eulogist of the Spartans, and frequently allows his predilections to give a colour to real facts. A certain irony in the tone, which occurs in the pamphlet upon the State of Athens, is not very much in Xenophon's manner, but it might have been easily produced by particular circumstances and by the nature of his subject. It should be observed, that contradictions may be discovered between this writing and the other upon the Revenues; thus in Rep. Ath. i. 10, the freedom of the aliens is found fault with, whereas in the Treatise on the Revenues (hap. 2) he recommends favouring them, and lightening their burdens, together with other discrepancies of the same kind: but the difference of the times, objects, and circumstances must be taken into consideration, from which these contradictions are easily accounted for, if Xenophon wrote on the State of Athens during his exile, and on the Revenues after his recal, a short time, as it is asserted, before his death took place at Corinth. The arguments also learnedly brought forward by Schneider concerning the date of his writing, which tend to prove it not to be the production of Xenophon, are not entirely tenable, as I have shown in book iii. chap. 5, note. At the same time I am willing to allow that the genuineness of this and other short writings of Xenophon is not sufficiently established, and that the Essay on the State of Athens may easily have been written by another author. All I wish to assert is, that the arguments which have as yet been brought against their genuineness, are not sufficient, and that a farther investigation is necessary.

[177] Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 775.

respectable citizens, who had none of the high aristocratical notions, like Pericles, Alcibiades, or Callias the son of Hipponicus, (whose pride yielded in nothing to the haughtiness of the modern nobility,) were not ashamed of superintending extensive manufactories worked at their own expense. The inferior citizens were as much reduced to the necessity of manual labour as the poor aliens and slaves. It was only in times when the balance had been turned in favour of the aristocracy, that measures of severity were brought forward; as for example, Diophantus proposed that all artizans should be made public slaves[178]. There was again another reason why no restriction could be imposed upon the freedom of industry, viz. the little importance that was attached to it; an alien was allowed to carry on any trade, although he was prohibited from holding any property in land; with regard indeed to sales in the market, strangers were on a less advantageous footing than natives, as they were obliged to pay a duty for permission to expose their goods there. The law of Solon that men should not deal in ointments[179] was only founded on principles of education, in order to withdraw men from womanish labours; subsequently however it became a dead letter, for Æschines the philosopher had a manufactory of ointments.

With this entire freedom of industry, with the large numbers of aliens and slaves, and the possibility of an extensive market by means of foreign commerce, and with the magnitude of the internal demand, which was increased by the resident foreigners, all branches of industry flourished, and Athens contained many manufactories, which employed a corresponding

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[178] Petit, v. 6, 1. [The passage of Aristotle's Politics, ii. 7, ad fin. which alludes to the measure of Diophantus, does not give it the extent which is assigned to it in the text. Aristotle, criticizing Plato's plan of a perfect commonwealth, objects to Plato's proposal that all the persons who labour for the body of citizens are to be public slaves; and he then adds, that, at all events, if this is to be so, it should resemble the practice at Epidamnus, and the arrangement formerly made by Diophantus at Athens. This allusion is too concise to indicate clearly the nature of the measure of Diophantus. Diophantus, the author of this measure, appears to have flourished during the boyhood of Aristotle. —TRANSL.]

[179] Petit, v. 6, 3.

quantity of labourers. Athenian arms and other metallic fabrics, implements and materials for dress and furniture, were in great request; tanners, arm-smiths, lamp-makers, cloth-weavers, even millers and bakers, who understood their art well, lived in abundance[180]. With regard to the prices of commodities, it would be natural to suppose that they must have been proportionally low, as all the labourers, and part even of the overseers, were slaves; as the rate of wages was moderate, and there existed a complete freedom of industry; but to counterbalance these causes there was the extensive exportation, which together with the high rate of interest, and the proportionally high profits, which the manufacturers and merchants obtained, operated to force up the prices of commodities. At the same time many articles, such as bread and clothing, were prepared in most families at home, and not purchased from retail dealers.

CHAPTER IX.

Foreign Trade of Attica.

THE commodities which Attica did not produce within her own territory, were obtained by foreign commerce, and unless the importation was prevented by some extraordinary obstacle, such as war, there could be no danger of a scarcity, even in the case of a failure of the crops, because it consumed the surplus produce of other countries[181]. Although not an island, yet it possessed all the advantages of insular position, that is, excellent harbours conveniently situated, in which it received supplies during all winds; in addition to which it had sufficient facilities for inland traffic: the intercourse with other countries was promoted by the purity of the coin, as the merchant, not being obliged to take a return freight, had the option of carrying out bullion, although Athens abounded in commodities which would meet with a ready sale[182]. For prohibitions to export money

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[180] Only to quote one passage, see Xenoph. Mem. Socr. ii. 7, 3—6. With regard to the exportation of manufactured goods, see Wolf ad Leptin. p. 252.

[181] Cf. Xenoph. de Repub. Ath. ii. 6.

[182] Xenoph. de Vectig. 1, 7, 3, 2.

were unknown in ancient times, and are only compatible with the use of bills of exchange. If a stagnation in trade was not produced by war or piracy, all the products of foreign countries came to Athens; and articles which in other places could hardly be obtained singly, were collected together at the Piræus[183]. Besides the corn, the costly wines, iron, brass, and other objects of commerce which came from all the regions of the Mediterranean, they imported from the coasts of the Black Sea, slaves, timber for ship-building, salt-fish, honey, wax, tar, wool, rigging, leather, goat-skins, &c.; from Byzantium, Thrace, and Macedonia, timber, slaves, and salt-fish; also slaves from Thessaly, whither they came from the interior; and carpets and fine wool from Phrygia and Miletus[184]. "All the luxuries," says Xenophon[185], "of Sicily, of Italy, Cyprus, Lydia, the Pontus, and the Peloponnese, Athens, by her empire of the sea, is able to collect into one spot:" to this far extended intercourse the same author even attributes a mixture of all dialects which prevailed at Athens, and the admission of barbarous words into the language of common life. On the other hand, Athens conveyed to different regions the products of her own soil and labour; in addition to which the Athenian merchants trafficked in commodities which they collected in other countries. Thus they took up wine from the islands and shores of the Ægean Sea, at Peparethos, Cos, Thasos, Mende, Scione, and elsewhere, and transported it to the Pontus[186]. The trade in books appears alone to have made but small advances in Greece, a branch of industry which was more widely extended in the Roman empire after the reign of Augustus. There was, it is true, a book market (τὰ βιβλία)[187] at Athens, and books were exported to the Pontus and to Thrace[188]; but there can be no doubt that the books meant were merely blank volumes. The trade in manuscripts was in the time of Plato so little com-

[183] Thucyd. ii. 38, Isocrat. Paneg. p. 34, ed. Hall.

[184] Upon most of these points see Barthélemy, Anachars. tom. iv. chap. 55, Wolf ad Leptin. p. 252.

[185] De Rep. Ath. 2, 7.

[186] Demosth. c. Lacrit. p. 935, 6.

[187] Pollux ix. 47, and the commentators.

[188] Xenoph. Cyr. Exped. vii. 5, 14, and the commentators.

mon, that Hermodorus, who sold the books of this writer in Sicily, gave occasion to a proverb, "Hermodorus trades in writings[189]," at a subsequent period, while Zeno the Stoic was still a youth, dealers in manuscripts are also mentioned as having been at Athens[190]. The merchant-vessels appear to have been of considerable size; not to quote an extraordinary instance, we find in Demosthenes[191] a vessel of this kind, which, besides the cargo, the slaves, and the ship's crew, carried 300 free inhabitants.

Athens had many regulations for the protection of trade, and for the maintenance of the commercial police. Among the officers belonging to this branch of the public service we may mention the overseers of the harbour (*ἐπιμεληταὶ τοῦ ἐμπορίου*), ten men annually appointed by lot[192]; the Agoranomi, five in the city and as many in the Piræus[193]; the Metronomi, who had the inspection of the measures, ten in the city and five in the Piræus[194]; and the Prometretæ, probably subordinate to the latter officers, who measured corn

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[189] Cicer. Epist. ad Attic. xiii. 21. Zenobius and Suidas in v. *λόγοισιν Ἑρμόδωρος ἐμπορεύεται.*

[190] Diog. Laërt. in Vit. Zenonis.

[191] Cont. Phorm. p. 910, 12.

[192] Demosth. cont. Lacrit. p. 941, 15; Orat. cont. Theocrin. p. 1324, 10; Dinarch. cont. Aristog. p. 81, 82; Lex. Seg. p. 255; and what Sigonius iv. 3, has upon the Constitution of Athens.

[193] Aristot. ap. Harpocrat. in v. *ἀγορανόμοι*, &c.

[194] The passage in Harpocration is as follows: *ἦσαν δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν πεντεκαίδεκα, εἰς μὲν τὸν Πειραιᾶ δέκα, πέντε δ' εἰς ἄστυ.* I read it the contrary way, *εἰς μὲν τὸν Πειραιᾶ πέντε, δέκα δ' εἰς ἄστυ.* The same correction should be made in Suidas in v. *μετρονόμοι* and in Photius. For what Meursius and Küster say upon the passage in Suidas is highly absurd. In the same manner there were ten Sitophylaces in the city and five in the Piræeus: see below chap. 15. Both divisions must necessarily have been closely connected, and for this reason the similarity of the number is also probable. In addition to this, the merchants were obliged to bring two-thirds of the corn from the harbour into the city, which fact agrees completely with my emendation. The Lex. Seg. p. 278, certainly has in v. *μετρονόμοι, δέκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὧν πέντε μὲν ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ, πέντε δ' ἐν ἄστει*, nearly as Photius in the first article. But although it might appear more natural that their number should agree with that of the Agoranomi, and seem singular that there should have been ten in the city and five in the Piræus, this very circumstance makes it more credible that my hypothesis is true, and that the statement in the Lex. Seg. is the arbitrary alteration of a grammarian according to what appeared to him the most natural. A different account is given by Kühn ad Poll. iv. 167.

and other grain for hire[195]. Upon the whole, there was sufficient attention paid to weights and measures; as may in part be seen from a valuable fragment of a decree upon this subject, which has fortunately come down to our days[196].

Credit was at a low ebb in Greece, although we find that there were large firms in all the different Grecian states, which were possessed of extensive credit, and were able to raise money on the single security of their name[197]. Merchants belonging to particular cities, as the Phaselitans for example, were in bad repute on account of their want of honesty[198]. The absence of credit was supplied by security or bail; which, according to the laws of Athens, was in force for one year[199]. The severity of the laws relating to debtors contributed materially to the support of credit, for the Athenians knew well how important these laws were to commerce and industry[200]. "In the Athenian laws," says Demosthenes, "there are many excellent protections for the creditor; for commerce proceeds not from the borrower but from the lender; without whose assistance no vessel, no captain, no passenger can stir." Even a citizen, who in the capacity of a merchant, withdrew from a creditor a pledge for a sum vested in bottomry, could be punished with loss of life[201].

No less severe were the regulations against false accusers of merchants and captains of vessels[202]. Their disputes were heard before the commercial court of the Nautodicæ, where the Thesmothetæ introduced the causes[203]; in law-suits between citizens of different nations, by virtue of particular agreements, there existed an appeal from one state to the other[204]. As early as in the time of Lysias, the Nautodicæ,

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[195] Harpocrat. in v. *προμετρηταὶ*, Lex. Seg. p. 290, &c.

[196] See Boeckh. Corp. Inscr. No. 123.

[197] Demosth. cont. Polycl. p. 1224, 3.

[198] Demosth. cont. Lacrit. init.

[199] Demosth. cont. Apatur. p. 901, 7.

[200] Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 958.

[201] Demosth. cont. Phorm. p. 922. Dilatory debtors were also liable to imprisonment, only however in commercial cases. See Hudtwalker *von den Diäteten*, p. 152 sq.

[202] Orat. cont. Theocrin. p. 1324, 1325, cf. inf. iii. 10.

[203] For the sake of brevity I refer to Sigonius R. A. iv. 3; Petit v. 5, 9; Matthiæ Misc. Philol. vol. i. p. 247. The Lex. Seg. also has an article upon this subject, as well as Photius, p. 212. It is worthy of remark that the *γραφὴ ξενίας* could also be brought before this court.

[204] These are the *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων*.

having been appointed to their office by lot, assembled in the month Gamelion, in order to sit during the winter, when navigation ceased[205], that the merchants and captains of vessels might not be impeded in the pursuit of their business. Advantageous as this regulation was, it did not obviate all the inconveniences to which traders were liable; for if the cause was not decided in the course of the winter, either the parties were obliged to prosecute it in summer to the prejudice of their business, or the case stood over till the following winter, and was heard before other judges. For this reason Xenophon proposed to establish a prize for the officer of the harbour who should pronounce the most rapid and just decisions of commercial causes[206]; and in fact soon afterwards, in the time of Philip[207], this evil was checked by the introduction of the monthly suits (ἔμμηνοι δίκαι), to which all causes concerning trade, eranus, dowries, and mines belonged[208]. These were heard in the six winter months, so that the merchants might quickly obtain their rights and set sail[209]; and a cause could not, as some have supposed, be protracted through this whole time, but it was necessary that it should be decided within the term of a month[210].

Lastly, the Greeks tolerated a species of consul in the person of the Proxenus of each state, who was considered as the representative of his country, and was bound to protect the citizens who traded at the place. If, for example, an inhabitant of Heraclea died at any place, the Proxenus of Heraclea was, by virtue of his office, obliged to make enquiries concerning the property which he left behind him[211]. On one occasion, when an inhabitant of Heraclea died at Argos, the Proxenus of Heraclea received his property[212].

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[205] Lysias περὶ δημος. ἀδικ. p. 593.

[206] De Vectig. 3.

[207] Vid. Orat de Haloneso, p. 79, 18, sqq.

[208] Pollux viii. 63, 101. Suidas in v. ἔμμηνοι δίκαι from Harpocr. in the same word, Lex. Seg. p. 237. That this is true of causes relating to mines, I have shown in my Dissertation upon the Silver Mines of Laurion, (at the end of vol. ii.)

[209] Demosth. cont. Apatur. p. 900, 3, cf p. 966, 17; Petit v. 5, 9.

[210] Vid. Orat. de Haloneso; Lex. Seg.; and Petit ut sup.; Salmas. de M. U. xvi. p. 691.

[211] Demosth. cont. Callipp. p. 1237 16.

[212] Ibid. p. 1288, 27.

Among the many proposals for the advancement of commerce which Xenophon makes in his Treatise upon the Revenues, there is nowhere an exhortation to restore the freedom of trade: either this was not one of the points which lay within the knowledge of antiquity, or it must have existed without any limit. The latter supposition is nearly maintained by Heeren[218]: "they were ignorant," says he, "of a balance of trade, and thus all the violent measures that flow from it naturally remained unknown. They had custom duties as well as ourselves; but these were intended only to increase the revenues of the state, and not, as in modern nations, by excluding certain articles, to give a particular direction to the course of industry. You will find no prohibition to export raw produce, no encouragement of manufactures at the cost of the agricultural classes. In this sense then there was a complete freedom of industry, of commerce, and of intercourse. And this was the general practice. At the same time, where everything was determined by circumstances, not by any theory, persons may find individual exceptions, perhaps discover particular cases in which the state may for a time have assumed to itself a monopoly. But yet what a wide difference is there between this and our mercantile and restrictive system."

I am ready to acknowledge that there is a great deal of truth in these remarks; but the other side of the question must also be considered. According to the principles of the ancients, which were not merely scientific, but were recognised by the whole of the people, and deeply rooted in the nature of the Greeks, the state embraced and governed all relations between man and man. Not in Crete and Lacedæmon alone, two states completely closed up and unsusceptible of free trade, but generally throughout the whole of Greece, and even under the free government of Athens, the poorest as well as the richest citizen was convinced that the state had the right of claiming the whole property of every individual. Any restriction in the transfer of this pro-

[218] Ideen über die Politik, den Verkehr und den Handel der alten Welt, vol. iii. p. 283.

perty, regulated according to circumstances, was looked upon as just; nor could it properly be considered an infringement of justice, before the security of persons and property was held to be the sole object of government; a light under which it never was viewed by any of the ancients. On the contrary, all intercourse and commerce were considered as being under the direction of the community, inasmuch as they originally owed their existence to the establishment of a regular political union: and upon the same basis was founded the right of the state to regulate trade, or even to participate in the profits of it. Any person who dissented from these principles was not a member of the state, and was at liberty to detach himself from it.

It was upon the same principle that the national monopolies were founded, which appear to have been not unfrequent in Greece, although of short duration; their productiveness had been tried in the cases of private individuals who had obtained them by engrossing particular articles[214]. It can, however, be safely asserted, that no republic ever demanded of its citizens that they should furnish commodities to the state in specified quantities and at prices arbitrarily fixed at a low rate, with a view to secure to itself a monopoly; such a demand could only have been enforced in countries under the government of a tyrant. The monopoly of lead, which Pythocles proposed to the Athenians, injured no proprietor of mines, provided it was exported: the producers were to receive the same price from the state, at which they had before sold it[215]. Equally innocent was the banking monopoly which the Byzantians in a pecuniary embarrassment sold to a private individual[216]. The proceeding of the Selymbriani in a similar difficulty was probably less defensible, who seized the whole stock of corn at a fixed price, with the exception of a quantity sufficient for the yearly consumption of each individual, and then sold it at a higher price with permission to export, which before had not been granted[217]. But how many kinds of monopolies may there not have been in Greece!

[214] Cf. Arist. Pol. i. 7.

[215] See above, chap. vi.

[216] See the second book of the Œconomics attributed to Aristotle. c. ii. 17.

[217] Ibid.

Probably it was then a principle in politics, that states should avail themselves of these aids when under the pressure of pecuniary distress[218]. In addition to this there are abundant proofs that the exportation and importation were regulated according to the exigencies and interests of the state; which is by no means consistent with perfect freedom of trade.

Aristotle[219] lays down five principles of policy as the most important, viz.: finance, peace, and war, the safeguard of the country, importation and exportation, and legislation; mentioning at the same time that "with regard to importation and exportation, it is necessary to know how large a supply of provisions the state requires, and what proportion of them can be produced in the country and what imported, and what imports and exports are necessary for the state, in order that commercial treaties and agreements may be concluded with those of whom the state must make use for this purpose." Trade was thus an object of national policy; whence various restrictions or preferences must necessarily have arisen.

Solon is related by Plutarch to have laid the exportation of all products of the soil except oil, under a malediction, which the Archon was obliged to pronounce or to pay a fine of a hundred drachmas[220]: although the law was not in my opinion so general as here stated[221], yet the main fact is unquestionable; and, considering the liberal disposition of Solon, is the more remarkable. The export of corn was always prohibited in Attica[222]. Similar laws doubtless existed in other states, for example the Selymbriani prohibited the exportation of corn, if not always, at least in time of scarcity[223]. There were also at Athens many commodities of which the exportation was prohibited (*ἀπόρρητα*), such as timber, tar, wax, rigging, and leathern bottles, articles which were particularly important for the building and equipment of the fleet[224]. It may indeed

[218] Cf. Arist. Pol. i. 11.

[219] Rhetor. i. 4.

[220] Plutarch. Sol. 24.

[221] See above, chap. viii.

[222] Ulpian. ad Demosth. cont. Timocr. p. 822.

[223] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. ii. 17.

[224] Upon this point see Aristoph. Ran. 365, 367, and the Scholiast, Spanheim upon this passage, and Casaubon ad Theophrast. Char. 23. Concerning the leather-bottles (*ἀσκώματα*) comp. besides the Scholiast of Aristophanes, the Etomologist, Suidas, and

be supposed that this prohibition only existed against the Peloponnesians during the continuance of war[225]; but how often did Greece enjoy the blessings of peace? and even in the time of Theophrastus, the exportation of timber, *i. e.* of timber for ship-building, was still prohibited, being only allowed to particular individuals free of duty[226].

It is obvious that war was necessarily attended with certain restrictions and limitations; for example the manufactories of arms at Athens supplied the consumption of many nations; it was natural therefore that laws should be directed against those who provided the enemy with arms; thus Timarchus decreed, that whoever furnished Philip either with arms or tackle for ships should be punished with death[227]. But in addition to these restrictions, even the importation of some commodities was occasionally prohibited in time of war; as for example of Bœotian lamp-wicks, of which the real reason cannot be, as Casaubon concluded from the jokes of Aristophanes[228], that the Athenians were afraid of these lamp-wicks causing a conflagration, but that all commodities imported from Bœotia were excluded, for the purpose of harassing this country by a stoppage of all intercourse, as indeed may be seen from another passage in the play just alluded to[229]. In like manner Pericles, according to the Acharnians of the same poet[230], and the testimonies of many other writers, had excluded the Megarians from all intercourse with Attica, in order to injure them.

Upon the whole, war was as much carried on by impeding commerce as by force of arms, and by her dominion of the sea Athens obtained the means of exercising a continual despotism over trade. "No state," observes Xenophon, "can

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Thomas Magister in v. θύλακος. [The passage of Theophrastus appears to refer to the exportation of timber from Macedonia, not from Attica. See Schneider's note on the passage, cited in Ast's edition, p. 205, and compare below, note 456.—TRANSL.]

[225] Which one should also be led to suppose from Aristophanes and his Scholiast ut sup. and from Aristoph. Eq. 278.

[226] Theophrast. Char. 23.

[227] Demosth. de fals. Leg. p. 433, 4. See the note to Petit's Leg. Att. p. 517, ed. Wessel.

[228] Aristoph. Acharn. 916, and the Scholiast, Casaubon ut sup.

[229] Acharn. 860 sqq.

[230] See more particularly the argument to this Play, Thucyd. i. 139; Plutarch. Pericl. 30; Diod. xii. 39 sqq.

ever export anything, if it be not submissive to the masters of the sea; upon them depends all the exportation of the surplus produce of other nations[231]." They laid an embargo upon all vessels, seized, and detained or captured merchant-vessels, even such as the state had no right to interfere with; and to recover by the prize courts the goods which had been unlawfully lost, was a matter of extreme difficulty. That these measures of the Athenians produced the greatest hatred against them, cannot excite surprise. Even the Spartans made a protest against the Megarian decree; its non-repeal was the immediate pretext of the Peloponnesian war.

These examples, although not applicable to a state of peace, prove at least, that the Athenians did not shrink from any restriction of commerce, so long as it appeared profitable to them; and from this it may be fairly concluded, that at times too when there was a cessation from war, they provided for their real or supposed interests by various regulations which were inconsistent with freedom of trade. They framed restrictive laws for the purpose of forcing the supply of those commodities which were necessary for the consumption of the country; or which should be brought to the market in the port of Athens, in order to be there sold, that by these means Athens might become a general emporium.

Some of these regulations are extraordinarily severe. No inhabitant, for example, was allowed to carry corn anywhere but to the harbour of Athens; those who violated this law were subject to a Phasis or an Eisangelia[232]. In the same manner it was fixed what portion of the corn of each cargo

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[231] Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. ii. 3, 11, 12. The words *πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄλλοσε ἄγειν οὐκ ἐάσουσιν, οἵτινες ἀντίπαλοι ἡμῖν εἰσὶν, ἢ οὐ χρήσονται τῇ θαλάττῃ*, are extremely difficult to understand, and certainly have not been understood by the commentators; but yet they do not appear corrupt. The sense is, "The states, from which we receive imports, will not permit our adversaries to export for their own use the materials necessary for ship building, or they will lose by that means the use of the sea." The subject to *ἐάσουσιν* and *χρήσονται* is *ἐκεῖνοι*, which refers to the preceding *παρὰ μὲν τοῦ, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ*. The words *ὅτινες ἀντίπαλοι ἡμῖν εἰσὶν* are to be taken instead of the accusative to *ἄγειν*, just as if it stood *πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐκεῖνοι οὐκ ἐάσουσιν ἄλλοσε ἄγειν τοὺς ἡμῖν ἀντιπάλους, ἢ οὐ χρήσονται τῇ θαλάττῃ*.

[232] See chap. xv.

which had arrived in harbour, should be retained in the city of Athens, as will be presently shown. There was also an exceedingly oppressive regulation, that no Athenian or alien resident in Attica should lend money upon a vessel which did not return to Athens with a cargo of corn or other commodities[233]. If indeed we listen to Salmasius[234], this law refers only to the corn trade, and means no more than that it was not permitted to lend money for the purpose of buying corn in other countries, except upon the condition that the corn should be imported into Athens: this supposition is, however, manifestly devoid of foundation. The meaning of the law is, that money could not be lent upon any ship which did not return to Athens with corn; but if these were all the provisions of the law, no money could have been lent on bottomry at all, except upon vessels employed in the corn trade. Since then this supposition leads to an absurdity, it is manifest that we do not possess the law in a complete state. And this in fact is sufficiently pointed out in the speech of Demosthenes against Lacritus; and corn, as being the most important article, was only first and expressly named. In several places it is distinctly stated, that it was not lawful to lend money which was to be sent to any foreign port, without corn being particularly specified[235].

In the agreement of bottomry given in the speech of Demosthenes against Lacritus (to which case this very law is applied), it is not fixed that either corn or anything else should be taken as a return-cargo; and the debtor himself affirmed that he had intended to return to Athens with a cargo of salt meat

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[233] Demosth. cont. Lacrit. p. 941, 9—20, from the Law, Ἀργύριον δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἐκδοῦναι Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν μετοίκων τῶν Ἀθήνησι μετοικούντων μηδενὶ, μηδὲ ὧν οὗτοι κύριοί εἰσιν, εἰς ναῦν ἥτις ἂν μὴ μέλλῃ ἄξειν σῖτον Ἀθήναζε, καὶ τἆλλα τὰ γεγραμμένα περὶ ἑκάστου αὐτῶν. The last words show that many other specific provisions followed which the Orator omits, and in these no doubt the other commodities were either individually or generally stated.

[234] De M. U. V. p. 193 sqq.

[235] Cont. Lacrit. ut sup. καὶ δίκη αὐτῷ μὴ ἔστω περὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου, ὃ ἂν ἐκδῷ ἄλλοσέ πῃ ἢ Ἀθήναζε. Demosth. cont. Dionysodor. p. 1284, 15, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δανείσαιμεν εἰς ἕτερον ἐμπόριον οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ εἰς Ἀθήνας. The passage in the speech against Lacritus p. 941, 15, ἐάν δέ τις ἐκδῷ παρὰ ταῦτ', εἶναι τὴν φάσιν καὶ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν τοῦ ἀργυρίου πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς, καθὰ περὶ τῆς νεὼς καὶ τοῦ σίτου εἴρηται, κατὰ ταῦτα, proves nothing against my assertion for many reasons.

and Coan wine[236]: nor in any similar document is the species of the commodities ever fixed which are to be taken as a return cargo, but the only stipulations we find are with regard to the security, and that the return-cargo should be of equal value with the original freight. Lastly, how could it have been possible to specify the goods which were to be taken up as a return-cargo, since the merchant would necessarily be guided in his selection by the state of the market, and no certain calculation could be made beforehand? We must therefore allow, that in general money could not be lent at Athens upon any ship or its cargo, except on the condition of its returning to that city, in order that no Athenian property might be employed to the profit of a foreign trading town. This is not inconsistent with the permission to lend money only for the time requisite for the voyage to a particular place, without including the return (ἑτερόπλους). If the master of a vessel had borrowed money for the time of his voyage from Athens to Rhodes, and instead of not paying the money till he returned to Athens, if he was obliged to repay it immediately upon his arrival at Rhodes, it does not follow from this that he was not compelled to return; by law he was bound to do so, just as much as if the money had been lent him until his return to Athens. The sole difference is, that in the former case the creditor was only exposed to the risk of the passage outwards, in the latter, of the passage inwards as well[237]. Money too could only be lent for the time of the passage outwards, upon the condition of the vessel returning to Athens: it was only absolutely prohibited when the ship was not to return. It should also be remembered, that heavy punishments were laid upon the violation of this law.

As to the laws relating to money lent out on other kinds of security, no complaint could be made. Those who failed to

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[236] P. 933, 15.

[237] To this view of the subject the passage in Demosth. cont. Dionysod. p. 1284, 8—20, cannot be opposed, for if rightly understood, it completely agrees with it. Dionysodorus and Parmeniscus wish to borrow money for the voyage from Athens to Egypt, and from thence to Rhodes; it is therefore a ἑτερόπλους without any obligation to return, to which the lenders naturally would not consent. Compare also upon the questions relating to this subject, book i. chap. 23.

pay could be prosecuted by a Phasis[238]; and the borrower, if he did not return, could be punished with loss of life[239]. If the Athenians imposed such restrictions upon trade, it may be conceived how the laws of other states were constituted. In Ægina and Argos, Athenian manufactures appear to have been in early times prohibited, although upon a pretended religious motive, and on the immediate occasion for sacred purposes[240].

In the inland traffic, too, there was not by any means unrestricted freedom; nor indeed did it consist with the principles of the ancients, among whom the police mixed itself with every thing, although the mode of its interference differed from that which prevails in modern states. Assize regulations were not unknown. In the time of Aristophanes the government of Athens on one occasion reduced the price of salt to a fixed rate; which, however, was not long retained, probably because it caused a deficiency in the supply of that article[241]. In corn we certainly find a great freedom of prices; yet engrossing was restrained within certain limits. Retail dealing in the market was originally interdicted to foreigners according to the rigour of the law; instances however occur of its being permitted upon the payment of a duty, which is different from the protection money of the resident aliens[242]. What is here said must not however be referred to the wholesale trade in the harbour; this in a great measure owed its existence to foreigners, who exposed samples of their goods at a particular place called Deigma[243], for the convenience of the buyers who came there from all regions to purchase commodities.

The prices of commodities could not, however, have been much enhanced by these restrictions, especially as the custom-

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[238] Demosth. cont. Lacrit. ut sup.

[239] Demosth. cont. Dionysod. p. 1295, 8 sqq. as the context shows.

[240] Herod. v. 88.

[241] Aristoph. Eccl. 809, and the Scholiast.

[242] Demosth. cont. Eubulid. p. 1308, 9, p. 1309, 5, where this is called ξενικὰ τελεῖν.

[243] Lysias Fragm. p. 31. Aristoph. Eq. 975, and Schol. Demosth. cont. Lacrit. p. 932, 20, cont. Polycl. p. 1214. 18, Harpoc. in v. δεῖγμα, Pollux ix. 34, and there Jungerman compare Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. 23, also Lex. Seg. p. 237. The Deigma at Rhodes is mentioned by Polybius v. 69. The specimens themselves were also called Deigma, Plutarch. Demosth. 23.

duties were very moderate; but they were raised by the great profit which the merchants obtained. That the rate of profits was high, is sufficiently proved by the high rate of interest on money lent upon bottomry (*fenus nauticum*), in which 30 per cent. for one summer was not unfrequently paid. Hume's remark[244], that a high rate of interest and profit is an infallible sign, that industry and trade are still in their infancy, applies with the greatest force to the ancient times of the Grecian nations, and in some measure to that of Pericles, and the period immediately succeeding. A Samian ship, which, as Herodotus[245] relates, had by accident made its way from Egypt to Tartessus in Iberia, at a time when no Grecians, not even the Phocæans, traded there, gained upon one cargo sixty talents; since the tithe to the goddess Hera amounted to six talents, probably it had received silver at a low rate in exchange for the goods carried out[246]. Greek merchants had never made a greater profit, with the exception only of Sostratus of Ægina, with whom no one could in this respect enter into comparison. The value of the cargo of the Samian ship cannot now be ascertained, as the quantity of goods on board different vessels was very various; we find instances of cargoes which did not exceed two talents in value, but larger sums are met with; thus a ship of Naucratis, mentioned in Demosthenes, was valued at nine and a half talents[247]. In the time of Lysias also, an Athenian vessel bound for the Adriatic is said to have made so large a profit upon its cargo, of the value of two talents, that it doubled the principal[248]. It is of course evident that the retail traders (*κάπηλοι*) obtained likewise a very large profit on the goods which they sold, if we take into consideration the high rate of interest.

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[244] Essays, p. 222.

[245] Herod. iv. 152.

[246] Compare what Diodorus v. 35, says of the Phœnicians.

[247] Demosth. cont. Timocr. p. 696 and passim.

[248] Lysias cont. Diogit. p. 908.

CHAPTER X.

Cheapness of Commodities in Ancient Greece.

IF allowance is made for accidental variation in different places, it may be stated that in the ancient world the necessaries of life were upon the whole cheaper than at the present time; but in individual cases many examples of the contrary occur. The chief reasons of the former phenomenon are the smaller quantity of money in circulation, the unusual fruitfulness of the southern regions in which the Greeks either dwelt or traded—regions, which though now neglected, were at that period in a state of the highest cultivation—and the impossibility of exportation to distant lands, which had little or no intercourse with the countries upon the Mediterranean. The latter is in particular the cause of the great cheapness of wine. The abundant quantity of this article which was produced in almost all the southern regions, was not distributed over so large a space of the earth as is the case at present.

It is to be observed, however, that in considering the general scale of prices in ancient states, the difference of time and place must be well weighed. In Rome and in Athens, at the most flourishing periods of these states, commodities were not so cheap as in Upper Italy and Lusitania. In Upper Italy, even in the time of Polybius[249], the Sicilian medimnus of wheat, which was the same as the Attic, being somewhat less than one and a half English bushel, frequently sold for only four oboli (eight asses), *i. e.* about sixpence, the medimnus of barley for half this sum, the metretes of wine, about ten wine-gallons, for the same price as the barley! Travellers used not, as in other places, to agree with the innkeepers for the price of each article, but only stipulated how much they should give in the gross for the whole consumption of an individual, and the sum demanded was generally a half

[249] Polyb. 1, 15. Polybius has changed the asses into oboli, reckoning two asses to an obolus, and the denarius equal to the drachma. He thus takes the Roman coins a small fraction too high.

as or quarter obolus, and seldom exceeded this rate. In Lusitania, according to the same historian[250], the Sicilian medimnus of barley cost a drachma, of wheat nine Alexandrian oboli, which appear to have been something less than the Attic[251]; the metretes of wine the same as the barley; a kid of moderate size an obolus, a hare the same, a lamb three and four oboli, a fat pig, weighing a hundred minas, five oboli, a sheep two, a draught ox ten, a calf five drachmas, a talent of figs, about fifty pounds, three oboli; game had hardly any value, but was included gratis in other bargains.

Such low prices as these do not apply to Athens after the Persian war. In the time of Solon, indeed, an ox cost only five drachmas, a sheep one drachma, and a medimnus of corn the same sum; but prices gradually rose to five times, in many things to as much as ten or twenty times their former amount, which after the examples of more recent times, is not surprising. The quantity of money in use was not only increased, but through a rising population and an extended intercourse its circulation was accelerated. Thus Athens, as early as in the age of Socrates, was considered an expensive place of residence[252].

Upon the whole, the cheapness of commodities in ancient times has been exaggerated by some writers, who thought that the nearest approach would be made to the truth by assuming that prices were on an average ten times lower than in the eighteenth century[253]; whereas the prices of corn, by which many other prices are necessarily regulated, prove the contrary. But that the reader may be enabled to form a more determinate judgment upon this subject, I will explicitly treat in succession of the prices of land, of slaves, of cattle, corn, bread, wine, oil, and other necessaries of life, and also of wood, clothing, and the different sorts of implements and furniture, as far as I have been able to find information upon these points.

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[250] xxxiv. 8, 7. Concerning the reading see Schweighæuser in the Lexicon Polyb. p. 555.

[251] See above, chap. iv.

[252] Plutarch. de Anim. Tranquil. 10.

[253] Gillies ut sup. p. 19. Wolf makes the same supposition in his Essay: Ueber sine milde Stiftung Trajans, p. 6.

CHAPTER XI.

Prices of Land and Mines in Attica.

THE value of the cultivated land in Attica was naturally very different according to its situation and goodness. The estates in the vicinity of the city bore a much higher price than those at a distance[254]; the wooded land (γῆ πεφυτευμένη) must have been dearer than the bare or unplanted land (γῆ ψιλή), the rich and good than the poor soils. Among the many passages upon the value of land, one alone contains an approximate statement of the area, and this without any particulars as to situation and quality. Aristophanes, according to the statement of Lysias[255], had bought a house for fifty minas and also 300 plethra of land; both together cost him more than five talents. If we assume that it cost him five talents and twenty minas, and subtract from this sum the value of the house, there remain for the land 27,000 drachmas, which gives ninety drachmas for one plethron. Now the plethron was equal to 10,000 feet of Greek square measure, 9620 Rhenish, or 9900 English feet, according to Ideler's researches. The English acre of 43,560 square feet would thus have cost 396 drachmas; which does not by any means agree with the exaggerated notion above alluded to, that prices were ten times lower in ancient than in modern times. It is however by no means improbable that much land bore a lower value; but fifty drachmas may be fairly assumed as the average price of the plethron, without taking into consideration accidental circumstances by which the value of the land might be lowered.

It should also be mentioned that in Attica the land was probably divided into portions of no very great extent. Alcibiades' paternal inheritance did not amount to more than the estate purchased by Aristophanes, although his was one of the

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[254] Xenoph. de Vectig. 4.

[255] Orat. pro Aristoph. bonis p. 633 and p. 642, where for οὐσίαν read with Markland οἰκίαν. [It is to be observed that Aristophanes is stated to have purchased not 300 plethra, but *more than* 300 plethra: γῆς πλέον ἢ τριακόσια πλέθρα. § 31, ed. Bekker.—TRANSL.]

most distinguished families. It was not until the time of Demosthenes that individuals purchased much land. The most extensive possessions were those which commonly went by the name of *boundary estates* (ἐσχατιαί), which were situated at a distance either upon the sea-shore or at the foot of the mountains[256]. Thus the boundary estate of Timarchus in Sphettus is stated to have been extensive, but it had run wild through his neglect[257]. The estate belonging to Phænippus in Cytheron contained more than forty stadia, or 1440 plethra[258].

Of other estates I have noted down the following prices. An estate situated in Sphettus is mentioned in Lysias as being worth five minas; another occurs in Isæus worth above ten minas, and in the former orator an estate in Cicynna is estimated by the creditor at ten minas[259]. In like manner in Terence[260], an estate is stated to be mortgaged for the latter sum. Timarchus sold an estate in Alopecæ, distant eleven or twelve stadia from the walls, under its value for twenty minas[261]. Again, an estate is mentioned in Prospalta, which was hardly worth thirty minas[262], and one in Œnoë for fifty minas[263]. An estate of Ciron's was, according to the expression of Isæus, well worth a talent: whence we may conclude that an estate no larger than this was thought a considerable possession; an estate of the same value occurs in Demosthenes, which appears to have contained vineyards[264]. The following sums are still more considerable, viz.: seventy minas, and seventy-five minas for an estate in Athmonon, two talents for a property in Eleusis, and two and half talents for the same in Thria[265].

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[256] Harpoc. in v. ἐσχατιά, Schol. ad. Æschin. cont. Timarch. p. 736, 737, ed Reisk. Lex. Seg. p. 256, and the Commentators upon Æschines and Demosthenes in the passages to be quoted. Herodotus also (vi. 127) calls distant estates ἐσχατιαί. The supposition that the estates on the boundaries of the boroughs were so called is undoubtedly false, unless indeed boroughs, as was the case with many, were bounded by the sea and by mountains.

[257] Æschin. cont. Timarch. p. 117, 119.

[258] Orat. cont. Phænipp. p. 1040, 15.

[259] Lysias περὶ δημοσ. ἀδικ. p. 594, cf. p. 593, 595, Isæus de Menecl. Hered. p. 221, ed. Orell.

[260] Phorm. iv. 3, 56.

[261] Æsch. cont. Timarch. p. 119.

[262] Isæus de Hagn. Hered. p. 298.

[263] Is. ut sup. p. 294.

[264] Is. de Ciron. Hered. p. 218. Demosth. cont. Onet. i. p. 872, ad fin. ii. p. 876, 10, cf. i. p. 871, 22.

[265] Isæus de Menecl. Hered. p. 220, 221, ed. Orell. de Philectem. Hered. p. 140, de Hagn. Hered. p. 292 sqq.

Concerning other kinds of landed property I have been unable to obtain any information, except that mine-shares were sold for a talent and ninety minas, although their price may at times have been enhanced by particular circumstance[266].

CHAPTER XII.

Prices of Houses in Attica.

WITH regard to houses, we know that Athens contained above 10,000[267]; which probably does not include the public edifices and the buildings without the walls; the city and the harbours being nearly 200 stadia in circumference, there were many places within so large an area upon which no buildings were erected[268]. The houses were for the most part small and mean in appearance, the streets crooked and narrow; "a stranger," says Dicæarchus, "might doubt upon a sudden view whether this were really the city of Athens;" the Piræus alone had been laid out according to rule, in the time of Themistocles, by the architect Hippodamus[269]. The upper stories often projected over the streets; staircases, balustrades, and doors opening outwards, obstructed and narrowed the way. Themistocles and Aristides, with the entire cooperation of the Areopagus, gained nothing more by their endeavours than that a stop was put to any farther narrowing of the streets by building, a measure which was adhered to in later times[270]. The plan of Hippias and Iphicrates for breaking down everything that projected into the public streets[271] was not carried into execution, because their object was not the embellishment of the city, but to obtain money by fraudulent means.

With the exception of the magnificent public edifices, they did not begin to build good houses until the time of Demos-

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[266] See my Dissertation upon the Silver Mines of Laurion, in vol. ii.

[267] Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. iii. 6, 14. To this Xenoph. Œcon. 8. 22, is also referred; but not with any certainty.

[268] Xenoph. de Vectig. 2.

[269] Dicæarchus p. 8, and Aristot. Polit. vi. 2, vii. 11, and the Commentators.

[270] Heraclid. Pont. and Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. 3.

[271] See Meursius F. A. p. 20.

thenes. "Formerly," says this orator[272], "the republic had abundant wealth, but no individual raised himself above the multitude. If any one of us could now see the houses of Themistocles, Aristides, Miltiades, Cimon, or the famous men of those days, he would perceive that they were not more magnificent than the houses of ordinary persons; while the buildings of the state are of such number and magnitude that they cannot be surpassed;" and afterwards he complains that the statesmen of his time constructed houses which exceeded the public buildings in magnificence. Meidias built a house in Eleusis larger than any in that place[273]. The greater number of houses were however even at this time badly built, as Photion's[274], for example; and, like those of Pompeii and Herculaneum, they occupied only a limited space, for which reason their price could not have been high. Labour was cheap, there was stone in plenty, and wood could be easily brought to the place of building; and another circumstance which diminished the price of houses was, that they were for the most part either built with a frame-work, or of unburnt bricks dried in the open air, which latter mode of building, as being more durable than with soft stones, was sometimes even employed in splendid and costly edifices[275]. An advantageous situation and the customary high rate of house rent, might however raise the value of houses. It was also of course possible for large sums of money to be expended by foolish and extravagant speculations upon an useless house[276]. It should be observed that the Attic idiom distinguishes between dwelling-houses (*οἰκίαι*), and lodging-houses (*συνοικίαι*); accidentally indeed a dwelling-house might be let out for lodgings, and a lodging-house have been inhabited by the proprietor himself; which will explain how learned writers could fall into the error of supposing that the latter word

[272] Demosth. cont. Aristocrat. p. 689 11—24, Olynth. iii. p. 35, 14—24, p. 36, 20, from both of which the passage in the Oration *περὶ συντάξεως*, p. 174-5, is made up. For the whole speech has been correctly abjudged from Demosthenes.

[273] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 565, 24.

[274] Plut. Phoc. 18.

[275] That the private buildings of the Athenians were constructed of bricks of unburnt clay is in part proved by Demosthenes ap. Plutarch. in Vit. Demosth. 11. For the rest see Hirt, Baukunst der Alten, p. 143.

[276] Xenoph. Œcon. 3, 1.

(συνοικία), frequently means a house in general without any addition of the idea of letting; whereas the derivation of the word plainly shews that it denotes a dwelling together of several families, of whom either some or all are lodgers.

The prices of houses, which are mentioned in the ancient writers, vary from 3 minas to 120, according to their size, situation, and condition. The data are as follows: a small house estimated by Isæus at less than 3 minas, though he probably depreciates its value; a house at Eleusis worth 5 minas, mentioned by the same orator[277]; a very small house near the temple of Hermes Psithyristes at Athens, sold for 7 minas, according to another orator[278]; another house which was pledged for 10 minas, according to Demosthenes, a possession belonging to poor people, as is evident from their inconsiderable dowry of 40 minas, and from other circumstances[279]; to these may be added a house noticed in Terence which is mortgaged for the same sum, a poet who generally represents the usages and customs of Athens[280]; a dwelling-house in the city, worth 13 minas, mentioned by Isæus[281]; a lodging-house in the country mortgaged for 16 minas, in Demosthenes[282]; a house in the city that had been let, worth 20 minas, in Isæus[283]; and several houses of the same value in Demosthenes and Æschines[284], one of them behind the Acropolis; a house sold for 30 minas, and another of the same value in Isæus and Demosthenes[285], the former in Melite; a lodging-house in the Cerameicus, worth 40 minas, given as a dowry, in Isæus; another in the city transferred for the sum of 44 minas, in the same orator[286]; likewise one for 50 minas in Isæus and Lysias[287]; a lodging-house belonging to the rich merchant Pasion, valued at 100 minas[288]; and, lastly,

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[277] Isæus de Menecl. Hered. p. 221; ed. Orell. de Hagn. Hered. p. 293.

[278] Orat. cont. Neær. p. 1358, 6—9.

[279] Demosth. cont. Spud. p. 1029, 20, cf. p. 1032, 21, p. 1033, 26.

[280] Phorm. iv. 3, 58.

[281] De Ciron. Hered. p. 219.

[282] Cont. Nicostrat. p. 1250, 18.

[283] Ut sup.

[284] Demosth. c. Onetor. ii. p. 876, 9, and passim; Æsch. c. Timarch. p. 119.

[285] Isæus de Hagn. Hered. p. 293; Demosth. c. Aphob. i. p. 816, 21.

[286] De Dicæog. Hered. p. 104; de Philoctem. Hered. p. 140.

[287] Is. de Dicæog. Hered. p. 105; Lys. pro Aristoph. bonis, p. 633.

[288] Demosth. c. Stephan. i. p. 1110, 8.

in Plautus a house purchased, with comic liberality, for 2 talents, having two wooden columns connected with it, valued, exclusively of the cost of the carriage, at 3 minas[289]. To these may be added 30 minas, the value of a bathing house at Serangium in the Piræus[290]; and another of which the value may be fairly estimated at 40 minas, as the person, who was cast in a law-suit on the occasion, was compelled to pay that sum for it[291].

CHAPTER XIII.

Prices of Slaves.

THE market-price of slaves, exclusively of the variations caused by the greater or less demand and supply[292], was very different according to their age, health, strength, beauty, natural abilities, mechanical ingenuity, and moral qualities. Some slaves, says Xenophon[293], are well worth 2 minas, others hardly half a mina; many sold for 5 or 10 minas, and Nicias the son of Niceratus is stated to have given no less than a talent for an overseer of the mines. The slaves employed in the mills and mines were undoubtedly the lowest. Lucian, in the ludicrous valuation of the philosophers[294], estimates Socrates at 2 talents, a Peripatetic at 20, Chrysippus at 12, a Pythagorean at 10, and Dion of Syracuse at 2 minas, and, to omit the value of Diogenes, reckons Philon the Sceptic at a mina, remarking at the same time that he was destined for the mill; the latter therefore is evidently the price of a slave employed in the mills. "Assuming," observes Xenophon, "that the Athenian state[295] purchases 1200 slaves, and lets them out on hire into the mines for a daily payment of one obolus a head, and that the whole revenue accruing from this source is annually applied to the purchase of fresh slaves, who

[289] Mostell. iii. 1, 113 sqq.; iii. 2, 138. I omit other passages which do not refer to Athens, such as that in the spurious Epistle of Æschines, 9.

[290] Is. de Philoct. Hered. p. 140 Compare also Harpocration in v. Σηράγγιον.

[291] Isæus de Dicæog. Hered. p. 101.

[292] Such for example as those paid for the Carthaginian soldiers, according to Liv. xxi. 41.

[293] Mem. Socrat. ii. 3, 2.

[294] Βίων πρᾶσις, 27.

[295] De Vectig. 4, 23.

should again be let out at a like profit, which receipts should be applied as before, and so on for ever, the state would, by means of these successive returns, have 6000 slaves in five or six years." If, as I believe, the original 1200 are comprehended in this number, the price is here taken at from 125 to 150 drachmas; if they are not comprised in the estimate, which appears to me improbable, a slave in the mines would be only reckoned at from 100 to 125 drachmas. According to the account of Demosthenes[296] 105 minas were lent upon the security of a mine, and 30 slaves employed in working it; this was arranged by a fictitious purchase made by two creditors, one of whom, Nicobulus, gave 45 minas, the other, Euergus, a talent; the latter held the mine, the former the slaves, as a pledge, which they were to cede as soon as the contract of purchase ceased to be in force[297]; consequently each slave was in this case estimated at 150 drachmas: nor could a slave of this description in general have been worth more, although the antagonists of Demosthenes' client maintained that the mines and slaves together were worth a much larger sum[298]. The statement of Barthélemy[299], who supposes that the value of the mine-slaves varied from 300 to 600 drachmas, rests upon an erroneous assumption.

Ordinary house-slaves, both male and female, could not have been worth much more than those just mentioned[300]. The valuation of two slaves, each at 2½ minas, is considered by Demosthenes[301] as high; in the same author we read of a slave who was sold for 2 minas[302]. Demosthenes' father was possessed of

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[296] Cont. Pantænet. p. 967.

[297] See p. 967, 18, and p. 972, 21.

[298] See my Dissertation on the Silver Mines of Laurion, in vol. ii.

[299] Anachars. tom. v. p. 35.

[300] Upon this point compare the vague statements in Aristoph. Plut. 147; Isæus de Ciron. Hered. p. 213—220.

[301] Cont. Nicost. p. 1246, 7. The author afterwards states in the Addenda, that "he had considered the estimate of two slaves at 2½ minas as high, because from the words τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀπογραφῆς he assumed a high valuation; and that therefore the words of the orator must be interpreted as if each of the two slaves was estimated at that sum; but that since μέγεθος might also be understood of a less amount, and as the context, although very obscure, seems to require this meaning, it might be preferable to suppose that the two slaves were together valued at 2½ minas."

[302] Cont. Spud. p. 1030, 8.

workers of iron or sword-cutlers, some of whom were worth 5, some 6, and the lowest more than 3 minas, and 20 chair-makers together worth 40 minas. The chair-makers with the 32 or 33 sword-makers, including a capital of a talent, are stated at 4 talents 50 minas[303]. But when in another place the same orator reckons 14 sword-cutlers (although they might have been of advanced age), together with 30 minas, at only 70 minas[304], and consequently each at 71 drachmas, he is manifestly guilty of an intentional falsehood. How great an influence a knowledge of any art had upon the value of the slave is shown by this example of the sword-cutlers; for the higher profit they afforded the greater was their value. While a slave in the mines only yielded a profit of an obolus a day, a worker in leather produced two, and the master of the workshop three oboli[305]; from whence it can be judged how large may have been the profit which the manufacturers of fine ornamental goods, such as head-nets (*σακχυφάνται*), or of stuffs of Amorgus and variegated cloths (*ποικίλται*), yielded to their possessors[306]. Five minas, which we found above to have been given for slaves skilled in some art, appear moreover not to have been at all uncommon[307], as is shown by an account in Diogenes[308]. The Roman soldiers whom Hannibal had sold in Achaia, were

[303] Demosth. c. Aphob. i. p. 816, 5.

[304] Cf. Demosth. c. Aphob. p. 815, p. 817, 23, and p. 821.

[305] Æschin. cont. Timarch. p. 118.

[306] Concerning the *σακχυφάνται* see Demosth. cont. Olympiod. p. 1170, 27; Pollux x. 192. The interpretation given in Lex Seg. p. 302, is incorrect. For the other points cf. Æsch. ut sup. Concerning the *ποικιλτὴς*, afterwards called *πλουμάριος* (*plumarius*, see Muratori Inscript. vol. ii. p. 906, 13, and again p. 924, 11, together with his Dissertation de Textrina in the Ant. Ital.); Pollux vii. 34, 35, and the commentators, Schol. Æsch. p. 730, ed. Reiske, and Lex Seg. p. 295.

[307] It might also be supposed that the price of 5 minas for slaves at the oars (*κωπεῖς*) was mentioned in Andocides de suo Reditu, p. 81, if in that passage we write *πέντε μνῶν* for *πέντε δραχμῶν*: for what Reiske (Ind. Andoc. Orat. Att. tom. viii. p. 503), infers from this passage, *Remigis erat ingens pretium quinque drachmæ*, will not mislead any reader. *Κωπεύς*, however, does not mean a rower, but a piece of wood for an oar, as may be easily seen by a comparison of the passages, where it was supposed to mean a rower. Of these is the passage in Andocides, where the context clearly shows, that pieces of wood for oars, and not slaves for the oars, are intended: and a piece of wood of this description was probably well paid for at 5 drachmas.

[308] Vol. ii. in the Life of Aristippus.

ransomed at a compensation of 5 minas each, the price having been fixed by the Achæans themselves, and the state paid it to their respective possessors[309]. These statements agree for the most part with the prices which were paid for some slaves sold to the Delphian Apollo, upon the condition that the individuals who thus became sacred property should in all other respects be free, and ever after be exempt from serving any person as slaves. In instruments of sale belonging to this kind of transfer we find 4 minas paid for a male, from 3 to 5 for a female[310]; yet in a sale which took place at Amphissa to the temple of Apollo not less than 1000 drachmas are given for a male slave. Plautus appears, as is frequently the case with the comic poets, to make a high estimate, when he values a strong useful slave at 20 minas, and supposes a child to be sold for 6 minas[311]. The father of Theocrines was condemned to pay to the state a fine of 500 drachmas for having attempted to emancipate a female slave of Cephisodorus. The sum paid to the state for an offence of this nature was, according to law, the half of the complete fine, the other half went to the injured master; and it is probable that this was a simple compensation for the loss sustained, so that the female slave appears to have been valued at 5 minas[312]. For women who prostituted their persons, and female players on the cithara, 20 or 30 minas occur as common prices[313]. Neæra was sold for 30 minas[314]. A negro-woman and an old eunuch are sold in a play of Terence for 20

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[309] 1200 cost the state a hundred talents according to Polybius, liv. xxxiv. 50. This was in Olymp. 146, 1, A. U. C. 558 (196 B.C.)

[310] See Corp. Inscript. Græc. Nos. 1607, 1608, 1699—1710. The sacred slaves, ἱερόδουλοι, were of this description, as e. g. the Venerii at Eryx in Sicily, the female servants of Aphrodite at Corinth, the Hieroduli of Comana upon the Pontus, which the priests could no more sell to another person, than the Thessalians could sell their bondsmen the Penestæ, or the Spartans their Helots, out of the country. Cf. Strab. xii. p. 384.

[311] Captiv. ii. 2, 103, v. 2, 21, 4, 15.

[312] Orat. cont. Theocrin. p. 1327, 1328, see book iii. ch. 12.

[313] Terent. Adelph. ii. 1, 37, 2, 15, iv. 7, 24, and elsewhere, Plaut. Mostellar. in several places, Curcul. i. 1, 63, ii. 3, 65, and passim, Terent. Phorm. iii. 3, 24, Isocrat. περὶ ἀντιδόσεως, p. 124, ed. Orell.

[314] Orat. cont. Neær. p. 1354, 16.

minas[315]. Even these prices were still further enhanced by luxury; and although at Athens an excellent slave could be bought for 10 minas, the price at Rome in the time of Columella exceeded even this amount[316], in the same manner that the value of negro-slaves has at the present day considerably increased: as early as in the age of the first Ptolemies, an Alexandrian talent was the price given for the males and females who attended at court[317].

The ransom-money for captives was only in part regulated by the price of slaves. This may be seen from the fact that the Chalcideans, who before the Persian war remained prisoners in Athens, were ransomed at 2 minas a head[318]; at which sum subsequently the indigent citizens of Potidæa were valued, and paid taxes for it as for property of the same amount. Again, Dionysius the elder, after he had conquered the Rhegini, first compelled them to make good the expenses of the war, and then demanded for each man a ransom of 3 minas, or, according to Diodorus, 1 mina[319]; Hannibal also agreed to ransom the Roman prisoners at 3 minas a head; and finally, in the time of Philip, when there were many Athenian prisoners in Macedonia, the customary ransom varied from 3 to 5 minas[320]. But since it frequently happened that not only the respectability and character of a man, but also his wealth and importance, were taken into consideration, a higher rate of ransom was in such cases arbitrarily fixed. Nicostratus, as appears in a speech attributed to Demosthenes[321], ransomed himself for 26 minas; Plato was freed from captivity by Anniceris for 20 or 30 minas; with which sum, the friends of the philosopher having raised the money for the ransom and

[315] Terent. Eunuch. i. 2, 89. In v. 5, 13, he inaccurately says that the eunuch cost the same sum. The negress appears to have been worth but little, cf. iii. 2, 18.

[316] Hamberger De pretiis rerum, p. 32. Cf. Jugler de Nundin. Serv. 7, p. 85 sqq.

[317] Joseph. Antiq. Jud. xii. 4.

[318] Herod. v. 77.

[319] The former according to the second book of the Œconomics attributed to Aristotle, from which the account of Diodorus xiv. 111, disagrees in several points. The date of this occurrence is Olymp. 98, 2 (B.C. 387).

[320] Polyb. vi. 56, Demosth. de fals. leg. p. 394, 13.

[321] Cont. Nicostrat. p. 1248, 23.

given it to Anniceris, the latter purchased him a garden adjoining the Academy[322]. Philip affirms in his Epistle to the Athenians[323] that the Attic general Diopeithes had refused to ransom Amphilochus, a man of consideration who was employed upon embassies, for less than 15 talents. Hence in order to prevent any arbitrary proceedings, Demetrius Poliorcetes concluded an agreement with the Rhodians that the free inhabitants should be ransomed for 10 and the slaves for 5 minas[324].

The rights of property with regard to slaves in no way differed from any other chattel; they could be given or taken as pledges[325]. They laboured either on their master's account or their own, in consideration of a certain sum tob e paid to the master, or they were let out on hire either for the mines, or any other kinds of labour, and even for other persons' workshops, or as hired servants for wages (*ἀποφορά*)[326]: a similar payment was also exacted by the masters from their slaves serving in the fleet. The profit derived from the slaves was necessarily very great; for the owner must have replaced his outlay of capital and ensured the usual high rate of interest, exactly in the same manner as if it had been vested in cattle, since the value of slaves was destroyed by age, and at their death the money vested in them was lost. To this must be added the great danger of their elopement, especially when there was war in the country, and they were with the armies[327]; it then became necessary to pursue them, and offer rewards publicly for their recapture (*σῶστρα*)[328]. The idea of an institution for the insurance of slaves first occurred to a Macedonian grandee, Antigenes of Rhodes, who undertook, for a yearly contribution of 8 drachmas for each slave that was in the army, to make

[322] Diog. Laert. iii. 21, Plutarch. de Exilio 10, Senĕca Epist. 74, Macrob. Sat. i. 11. The account of Diodorus xv. 7, is, as usual, confused.

[323] Demosth. p. 159, 15.

[324] Diod. xx. 84.

[325] Demosth. c. Pantænet. p. 967, c. Aphob. p. 821, 12, p. 822, c. Onetor. i. p. 871, 11.

[326] Demosth. c. Nicostrat. p. 1253, 1, 11, c. Aphob. I. p. 819, 26, Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. 1, in several places, particularly in chap. 11, which passage (as corrected by Heindorf) appears chiefly to refer to the pay of the sailors; Theoph. Char. 22, Andoc. de Myst. p. 19.

[327] Thucyd. vii. 13 and 27.

[328] Plat. Protag. init. Xenoph. Mem. Socr. ii. 10, 2.

good his price, as estimated by the owner at the time of elopement; which he was easily able to do, by compelling the governors either to return the slaves who had fled into their provinces, or to pay for them[329]. It cannot however be determined with any accuracy how high was the rate of profit which a slave returned. The thirty-two or thirty-three iron-workers or sword-cutlers belonging to Demosthenes, annually produced a net profit of 30, and the twenty chair-makers of 12 minas; the value of the former being 190, of the latter 40 minas[330]; the latter produced 30, the former only $15\frac{15}{19}$ per cent., a disparity sufficiently remarkable. It is however to be mentioned, that the master furnished the raw materials for manufacturing, and perhaps we ought to consider what he gained upon the raw materials as constituting a part of the whole profit. The leather-workers of Timarchus produced to their master 2, the overseer 3 oboli a day, but probably this return is not to be considered as arising only from the capital vested in the slaves, as it must have also included the profit which the master derived from the supply of the raw materials. Hence it may be concluded that when mine-slaves let out to a tenant yielded to their master a profit of an obolus a day, which, reckoning 350 working days and an average value of 140 drachmas, gives $47\frac{11}{17}$ per cent., the rent thus paid extended not only to the slaves, but also to the mines let out with them; an inference which I have supported with other arguments elsewhere[331].

CHAPTER XIV.

Prices of Horses, Cattle, Sheep, and other animals.

AMONG domestic animals, horses were in Attica sold for comparatively high prices, not only on account of their utility and the difficulty of keeping them, but from the disposition of the Athenians to extravagance and display: while the knights kept

[329] See Pseud-Arist. Œcon. ii. 2, 34. Antigenes for Antimenes is an emendation of Niebuhr. [Concerning this emendation, see some remarks in the Philol. Mus. vol. i. p. 139.—TRANSL.]

[330] Demosth. cont. Aphob. i. p. 816.

[331] Dissertation on the Mines of Laurion, in vol. ii.

expensive horses for military service and processions at the festivals, and while men of ambition and high rank trained them for the games and races, there arose, particularly among the young men, that excessive passion for horses, of which Aristophanes gives an example in the Clouds, and which is recorded by several ancient writers[332]; so that many were impoverished by keeping horses, although it is true that others were enriched by the same means[333]. In early times also technical principles had been laid down concerning the management of horses, and rules of this kind had been published before the time of Xenophon by Simon a celebrated rider[334]. The price of a common horse, such as a countryman used, was 3 minas. "You have not squandered your property," says the client of Isæus[335], by keeping horses, "for never were you in possession of a horse which was worth more than 3 minas." But a good saddle-horse, or a horse for running in chariot-races, according to Aristophanes, cost 12 minas; and since this sum is lent upon a horse in pawn, it must have been a common price[336]. But fashion or fancy for horses raised their price beyond all limits. Thus 13 talents were given for Bucephalus[337]. A yoke of mules, probably two animals, and not particularly good ones, but only destined for the ordinary purposes of country work, were sold for 5 and a half and also for 8 minas[338]. Asses were probably much cheaper in proportion; yet besides the ludicrous story of Lucian[339] that the ass Lucius, when no purchaser could be found for him, was at last disposed of to an itinerant priest of the Syrian goddess for the sum of 30 drachmas, I have been unable to meet with anything upon this point in reference to Greece, and even this passage proves nothing with respect to the usual price in ancient times, and particularly in Attica.

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[332] Cf. Xenop. de re Equestri, i. 12. Terent. Andr. i. 1. Bach ad Xenoph. Œcon. 2, 6, &c.

[333] Xenoph. Œcon. 3, 8. Many ancient writers speak of *καθιπποτροφεῖν*.

[334] Xenoph. de re Equestri, c. 1, and see Schneider's note.

[335] De Dicæog. Hered. p. 116.

[336] Aristoph. Nub. 20, 1226. Lysias *κατηγ. κακολ.* p. 306 sq.

[337] Chares ap. Gell. Noct. Att. v. 2.

[338] Isæus de Philoct. Hered. p. 140.

[339] Asin. 35.

With regard to the prices of cattle, I am at a loss to guess whence an English writer could have derived the statement that an ox in the time of Socrates cost 8 shillings; an assertion which is contradicted by the concurrent testimony of all writers who mention the subject. If indeed 2 drachmas were paid for an ox at the Delian Theoria[340], I will not deny that in the most ancient times this price may have existed; but of later times it is inconceivable, and the most that can be allowed is, that in the distribution of the prizes, which were merely a matter of honour, this primitive standard may have been retained. In Athens, at the time of Solon, an ox, probably one selected as a victim, was sold for 5 drachmas, five times as much as a sheep[341]; in Lusitania, according to Polybius, for 10 drachmas, and a sheep in like manner a fifth of this sum; in Rome the price of an ox was ten times that of a sheep[342]. If, therefore, in the flourishing times of Athens, a sheep, as will be presently shown, cost from 10 to 20 drachmas, according to its age, breed, and the variation in the market-price, an ox may be reckoned at from 50 to 100 drachmas. In Olymp. 92. 3 (B.C. 410) 5114 drachmas were paid for a hecatomb, and if we suppose that nearly 100 oxen were purchased for it, the price of an ox amounted to about 51 drachmas. But in Olymp. 101. 3. (B.C. 379) a hecatomb of 109 oxen cost 8419 drachmas, that is $77\frac{1}{4}$ drachmas a head; in both cases oxen selected for victims are meant[343].

Probably also in other countries except Athens, prices were not much lower at this period; in Sicily, which abounded with cattle, in the time of Epicharmus the price was the same as at Athens in the days of Solon. For a fine calf, according to that comic poet, was sold for 10 nummi[344], or 2 drachmas $4\frac{2}{3}$ oboli of Attic money[345]; and since it may be

[340] Pollux ix. 61, where the Commentators question the fact.

[341] Plutarch. Solon. 23, from Demetrius Phalereus.

[342] Hamberger in the Treatise above quoted. Taylor ad Marm. Sandw. p. 37.

[343] See the second Prytaneia of the Choiseul Inscription, and Barthélemy in the Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, vol. xlviii. p. 355, also Corp. Inscript. No. 158; cf. Taylor ad Marm. Sandw. p. 36.

[344] Ap. Poll. ix. 80.

[345] According to the assumption in chap. 4.

inferred, from the analogy of the prices in Lusitania, that the value of a full-grown ox was double, it is probable that at that time in Sicily, an ox of similar quality might have sold for 20 nummi, or 5 drachmas 3½ oboli of Attic money. A sucking pig was sold at Athens, in the Peloponnesian war, for 3 drachmas[346]. A small sheep for a sacrifice, picked out for the use of the temple, is estimated in Menander at 10 drachmas[347]. In the time of Lysias, the prices cannot have been at all lower; for otherwise the dishonest guardian mentioned in this orator could not have set down 16 drachmas for a lamb at the Dionysia, whatever might have been his eagerness to overrate the charges in his accounts[348]. A remarkable but rather indeterminate statement is supplied by the oration against Euergus and Mnesibulus. The person for whom this speech was written had been robbed by Theophemus of fifty fine sheep, together with the shepherd, and also a slave with a valuable water-pitcher, and some shepherd's implements[349]. But the injured party was indebted to Theophemus for a fine, which, together with Epobelia and Prytaneia, amounted to 1313 drachmas and 2 oboli[350]; and he maintains that the stolen sheep, together with the shepherd, were worth more than the fine[351]. If we reckon the shepherd at a very high rate, viz. at more than 3 minas, it results that fifty sheep were worth 1000 drachmas; according to this the price of a fine full-grown sheep was at the least 20 drachmas. Concerning the value of goats, which were very plentiful in Attica, I have not been able to find any information, except that in Isæus[352], a hundred goats, together with sixty sheep, a horse, and some implements, are valued at 30 minas. As an example of luxury, it may be worth mentioning, that Alcibiades gave 70 minas for a dog, which he shortly afterwards deprived of its chief beauty[353].

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[346] Aristoph. Pac. 373.

[347] Ap. Athen. iv. p. 146 E. viii. p. 364 D.

[348] Lysias cont. Diogit. p. 906.

[349] See p. 1155. These sheep are called *πρόβατα μαλακά*.

[350] See p. 1158, 24, p. 1162, 20, p. 1164, 10.

[351] P. 1156, 15, 23, cf. p. 1164, 5.

[352] De Hagn. Hered. p. 293. The passage in the Speech de Philoct. Hered. p. 140, is still more indefinite.

[353] Plutarch. Alc. 9. Pollux v. 44.

CHAPTER XV.

Prices of Corn and Bread.

ON the subject of corn it will be necessary to enter into a more detailed examination. The consumption of Attica required a very considerable supply of corn. "No state," asserts Demosthenes, "consumes so large a quantity of imported corn[354]." The Athenian ambassadors in Livy[355] boast of having supplied 100,000 measures, although their state was obliged even to import corn for the use of the countrymen. But the main points to which we must direct our attention are, in the first place, what quantity of corn did Attica require? secondly, how much of this was it able to produce at home? and, thirdly, what quantity was it compelled to procure by importation? To answer these questions, the knowledge of which the Athenians considered necessary in a statesman[356], is far more difficult for us moderns, and yet is indispensable for an accurate insight into the political and statistical relations of Attica. I now undertake the solution of these problems, without presuming to maintain that I may not fall into error.

According to the investigation in a former part of this book, Attica may be assumed to have contained a population of 135,000 free inhabitants and 365,000 slaves[357]. An adult slave received, according to accounts which can be fully depended upon, a chœnix, or the 48th part of an Attic medimnus, per diem, and consequently consumed in a common year of 354 days $7\frac{3}{8}$ medimni. The Roman soldiers, according to Polybius, received about the same quantity, that is to say, at the most $\frac{2}{3}$ of a medimnus of wheat per month. If we assume that among the slaves there were 25,000 children, the 340,000 adults would then consume 2,507,500 medimni a year. And if four medimni a year are reckoned for a slave child, the total slave population would have consumed 2,607,500 medimni. Among the free

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[354] Demosth. de Corona, p. 254, 21, and cont. Leptin. ut inf.

[355] xliii. 6.

[356] Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. iii. 6, 13, cf. Aristot. Rhet. i. 4.

[357] See above, ch. 7.

inhabitants, one-half must be reckoned as children; but the adults also, as they were better fed than the slaves, probably did not consume so much corn. It will be enough to reckon 2 medimni for a child, and 4 for an adult, altogether 405,000 medimni for 135,000 souls. According to this, the whole consumption of a common year would amount to 3,012,500 medimni, or since an exact calculation is impossible, in round numbers 3,000,000, exclusively of the seed corn, which is more difficult to determine. If, again, it should be alleged that a larger quantity than this must have been required for the supply of the foreigners serving in the navy and the army, it should be remembered that the absence of a large number of soldiers and sailors from Athens would have had the effect of lessening the consumption, as the army was chiefly supplied from abroad. On the other hand, it can certainly be conceded that the necessity of supplying their country with imported provisions, increased the difficulty to the Athenians of employing many mercenaries, who were also to be provided with corn[358].

Now that Attica did not produce these 3,000,000 medimni, we know for certain; and corn was brought from all quarters into the market of the Piræus, from the Pontus, Thrace, Syria, Egypt, Libya, and Sicily[359]. It is well known that the imports of corn from the Pontus were very considerable, which was the cause that Byzantium was of so great importance to the Athenians, and partly for that very reason Philip of Macedon endeavoured to obtain possession of this town[360]. In the time of Lysias private individuals imported corn from the Thracian Chersonese, probably from the Athenian Cleruchiæ[361]. Some corn was brought from other countries by the Athenian merchants, and part was supplied by Cyprus and Rhodes through the medium of a carrying trade. From the former island there came to Athens in the time of Andocides corn-vessels in considerable numbers; of the latter, which was itself obliged to import corn,

[358] Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 1, 4.

[359] Theophrast de Plantis viii. 4. See Anacharsis tom. iv. chap. 55, Wolf ad Lept. p. 253, Meursius F. A. chap. iv., and many scattered passages in the Orators.

[360] Demosth. de Corona ut sup.

[361] Cf. Lys. c. Diogit. p. 902.

and according to Polybius subsequently obtained it from Sicily, we find an account in Lycurgus[362]. In addition to this, Eubœa, which was colonized with cleruchi in the time of Pericles and Alcibiades, supplied corn and other products, which, before the occupation of Decelea by the Spartans, were imported over Oropus, but it subsequently became necessary to carry them in ships round Cape Sunium, which was fortified on this account[363]. A very large quantity of corn must consequently have been imported, although it was not all for the internal consumption of the country, but some to be sold in the Piræus to foreigners. This makes the statement of Demosthenes appear the more unintelligible[364], that the imports from the Pontus, which did not amount to more than 400,000 medimni, might be taken as nearly equal to the whole importation from other countries; so that the total of the imports would have been little more than 800,000 medimni, exclusively of that which was never unshipped, but was transferred in the port of the Piræus to other countries. Demosthenes appeals to the books of the Sitophylaces; but must we suppose that they agreed exactly with his words? All the Athenian orators, and even the noblest among them, Demosthenes, distorted the truth without the least hesitation, whenever it suited their own purposes. The total of the imports may be fairly taken upon an average in round numbers at 1,000,000 medimni: but in particularly bad years, when even the fertile Bœotia (at least after two successive years of deficient harvests) required foreign supplies[365], a much larger quantity was doubtless necessary for the consumption of Attica. If we compare this sum with the average number before assumed, it follows that Attica must have produced 2,000,000 medimni, which in my opinion was not impossible. The country, it is true, is mountainous; but the height of the mountains is not

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[362] Andocid. de suo reditu p. 35, 86, Lycurg. c. Leocr. p. 149, Polyb. xxviii. 2.

[363] Thucyd. vii. 28, cf. viii. 4.

[364] In Lept. p. 466, 467. The words *πρὸς τοίνυν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐμπορίων ἀφικνούμενον ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σῖτος εἰσπλέων ἐστὶν*, do not signify an equality, but only an approximation in the quantity of the corn from the Pontus to the supplies received from other places, of which there is an evident proof in Herod. viii. 44, cf. 48.

[365] Xenoph. Hellen. v. 4, 54.

so considerable as to have made them necessarily barren; the naked rock, which was not indeed uncommon in Attica, composed but a small portion of the area, and where the stony bottom was mixed with a little earth, barley could be cultivated; and art performed its share.

What portion of the area of Attica (amounting to 64,000 stadia, or 2,304,000 plethra) was corn-land, it is impossible for me to ascertain; but that it was possible for as much land to be under the plough as was sufficient to produce 2,000,000 medimni, cannot easily be denied. In the territory of the Leontini, in Sicily[366], the Roman jugerum, about two plethra and two-thirds, was sown with a medimnus of corn; that is, about a bushel and a half of seed was reckoned for an acre and a quarter, the jugerum being equal to 28,800 Roman, or 25,532 Rhenish, *i. e.* 34,468 English, feet. The fertile land yielded in good years eightfold, in the best tenfold. If we assume, as may be fairly done, the same measure of seed-corn for Attica, and the increase on account of the inferior productiveness of the soil as only sixfold (and even at the present day, when agriculture has undoubtedly fallen off, the multiplication of grain in Attica, according to Hobhouse[367], is five and six for one, and never more than ten), a plethron of land in Attica produced two and a quarter medimni, and to produce 2,000,000 medimni 888,890 plethra of land were requisite, and again for replacing the seed-corn 66,000 plethra besides. According to these suppositions the land in corn must have amounted to 955,500 plethra; the rest remained for fallow, plantations, vines, (which were however frequently cultivated together with barley, the branches of the vines being attached to the trees,) leguminous plants, gardens, pasture-grounds, bog, water, waste-land, roads, and dwellings. How little exaggerated this supposition is, appears also to be proved from the fact, that the property of Phænippus, containing 1440 plethra of land, although it was a boundary-estate with woods, produced yearly

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[366] Cic. Verr. ii. 3, 47.

[367] A Journey through Albania and other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, during the years 1809 and 1810. By J. C. Hobhouse. London, 1813, vol. i. p. 411.

more than 1000 medimni of corn, and more than 800 metretæ of wine[368]. To general principles of political arithmetic I have intentionally paid no regard, because, when applied to ancient times, they only yield doubtful and uncertain conclusions; and still less will I institute a comparison with the produce of Lacedæmon, since the estimate which has been attempted to be made from Plutarch[369] is founded upon false assumptions.

With an importation equal to a third part of the consumption, and in times of failure of the crops even this being insufficient, a great scarcity must necessarily have arisen[370], if judicious arrangements had not been devised in order to prevent the the occurrence of such an event. The arrangements for the supply of corn were therefore conducted upon a large scale; Sunium was fortified, as has been remarked, in order to secure the sailing of the corn vessels round the promontory; armed ships convoyed the fleets laden with corn, as for example that from the Pontus[371]; when Pollis the Spartan was stationed near Ceos, Ægina, and Andros, with sixty ships of war, Chabrias offered him battle, in order that the corn from Geræstus in Eubœa might reach the Piræus[372]. The exportation of all grain was absolutely prohibited: of the corn which arrived from foreign parts in the harbour of Athens the law required that two-thirds should be brought into the city, and compliance with this regulation was enforced by the Overseers of the Harbour[373]; that is to say, only one-third could be carried away to other countries from the port of the Piræus. In order to prevent the accumulation and hoarding of

[368] Orat. c. Phænipp. p. 1045, 5.

[369] Lycurg. 8. There were in Laconia altogether 39,000 estates, of which 9000 were Spartan: one of these estates brought the proprietor a return of 82 medimni of barley, from which the whole produce has been calculated. It was not however perceived that these 82 medimni were only the tribe or rent of the Helots; nor is it certain whether the passage is to be understood of the Spartan estates alone, or of the Lacedæmonian also.

[370] Cf. e. g. Demosth. c. Phorm. p. 918, 8, c. Leptin. p. 467.

[371] Demosth. de Corona, p. 250, 251, c. Polycl. p. 1211, 25.

[372] Xenoph. Hellen. v. 4, 61. Diod. xv. 34.

[373] Harpocr. in v. ἐπιμελητὴς ἐμπορίου, from Aristotle, and Lex. Seg. p. 255, where Ἀττικὸν should be written instead of ἀστικὸν, and the rest of the article restored from Harpocration.

corn[374], engrossing was very much restricted; it was not permitted to buy at one time more than fifty such loads as a man could carry (*φορμοί*)[375]. The violation of this law was punished with death.

The corn-dealers or the engrossers of corn were also compelled to sell the medimnus for only one obolus more than the price they themselves had given. Notwithstanding which regulations these men, who were for the most part aliens, raised the price of corn by competition in bad times, and often sold it upon the same day a drachma higher[376]. Lysias cannot say enough of the villany of these usurers, who were then as much detested as they are in modern times. They bought up corn under the pretence of providing for the interest of the people, or of having an order from the proper authorities; but if a war-tax was imposed, their pretended public spirit did not show itself. The public loss was their gain; and so much did they rejoice at the occurrence of any national calamity, that they never failed to have the first intelligence of it; or else they fabricated some disastrous news, such as that the ships in the Pontus had been taken or destroyed, that the trading-places were closed up, or the treaties were broken off: even when external enemies were at rest, they annoyed the citizens by buying up the corn, and refusing to sell when it was most wanted, in order that people might not contend with them about the price, but be content to take it on their terms[377]. Nor did even the merchants make any

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[374] Compare Plutarch. de Curiosit. ad fin.

[375] Φορμὸς, from *φέρω*, generally means a platted basket, in which corn was probably carried. Taylor upon Lysias compares with it the cumeras or cumera of the Romans, of which there were two kinds, a greater and a less; the latter contained 5 or 6 modii, *i.e.* about an Attic medimnus. See Acron ad. Horat. Serm. i. 1, 53. Probably at Athens the phormus was not very different from the medimnus; a medimnus of wheat weighed from about 80 to 90 pounds, and may therefore be fairly taken for a man's load: thus the army of Lucullus, according to Plutarch, was followed by 30,000 Gauls, who carried 30,000 medimni of corn. The explanations of the grammarians afford no information as to the size, but the notion of Petit that *φορμὸς* is the same as *κόφινος* ($\frac{3}{10}$ of the Attic medimnus) is absurd. See Leg. Att. v. 5, 7.

[376] See the Speech of Lysias against the Corn-dealers, particularly p. 715, 718, 720.

[377] Ibid. pp. 720, 721, sqq.

profit by it, a circumstance upon which much stress is laid by the modern teachers of political economy in favour of engrossing: on the contrary they suffered severe injury from the combinations of the corn-dealers and their continual persecution[378]. "If they were not menaced with the punishment of death," says Lysias[379], "they would be scarcely endurable."

Whilst, therefore, the sale of all other commodities was under the inspection of the Agoranomi, the state, in order to check the engrossing of corn, had set over this one branch of trade the separate office of the Sitophylaces[380], which originally consisted of three persons, afterwards of ten in the city and five in the Piræus, probably because their duties had increased. These officers kept accounts of the imported corn, and it was also a part of their duties to inspect the meal and bread, and to take care that it was sold at the legal weight and price[381]. But even the Sitophylaces could not at times control the importunate competition on the part of the engrossers; and they were punished with the greatest severity, and at times condemned to death[382]; where we are as much startled at the irregularity of

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[378] See the Speech of Lysias against the Corn-dealers, pp. 726, 727.

[379] Ibid. p. 725.

[380] Ibid. p. 722.

[381] Lysias ut sup. p. 717, mentions three Sitophylaces. The other statement rests upon the authority of Aristotle's state of Athens ap. Harpocrat. in v. *σιτοφύλακες*, where Valesius correctly reads *ἦσαν δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν πεντεκαίδεκα· δέκα μὲν ἐν ἄστει*, &c. Sigonius R. A. iv. 3, silently follows the first account; Petit v. 5, 7, perceived the truth, but his emendation is false with regard to the position of the words, and *δέκα* is only to be repeated. Photius (in whose article for *ἄριστοι* read *ἄρτοι*) has the same error; he moreover states that in later times there were thirty (Λ′) in the city, and five in the Piræus. All this is without doubt to be attributed solely to confusion, errors of the transcriber, and the false emendation of previously existing mistakes. The original passage, from which the different accounts were derived, was probably as follows: *ἦσαν δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν πύλαι μὲν τρεῖς, ὕστερον δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα, δέκα μὲν ἐν ἄστει, πέντε δὲ ἐν Πειραιεῖ*. Their duties may be seen from Demosth. cont. Lept. ubi sup. Harpocrat. and Lex. Seg. p. 300. The inspection of bread and prepared corn, particularly of barley meal (*ἄλφιτα*), occurs as early as in the age of Pericles. See the ancient comic poet ap. Plutarch. Præc. Polit. 15.

[382] Lysias ut sup. pp. 718, 723, 725, extr. 726, init. Perhaps Demosth. cont. Timocrat. p. 743, 4, also refers to this subject, according to whom persons who acted fraudulently in dealings relating to corn were sentenced to imprisonment.

the corn-police, as at the severe administration of justice. A still greater loss to the state was caused by the speculations of the merchants, who, as Xenophon remarks[383], fetched corn from different parts, and did not sell it at the first place they arrived at, but where they had ascertained the price to be highest. Andocides[384] gives an account of a plot for turning the corn-fleet from Cyprus, which was bound for Athens, in another direction; but he compelled the contrivers to relinquish their plans. No one with regard to corn did Athens and the other Grecian states so much injury as Cleomenes of Alexandria, Alexander's satrap in Egypt, who accumulated large stores of corn, fixed the prices arbitrarily, and on account of the number of servants whom he had engaged in the corn-trade, was enabled every where to ascertain the state of the market with accuracy. He employed three descriptions of persons, some who despatched the corn, the attendants of the latter, and others who received it and unshipped on the spot: accordingly he did not allow his corn-vessels to touch at any commercial town before his assistants in that place had given information with regard to the state of the prices; if they were high, the corn was landed and sold, and if not, the vessel proceeded to some other place. By these means the corn at Athens rose considerably, until the importation from Sicily produced a relief[385]. Of the contrivances of this notorious corn-dealer the author of the second book of the Œconomics, attributed to Aristotle, gives some additional examples At a dear time, when the medimnus sold for 10 drachmas, he convened the sellers for the purpose of ascertaining from them at what price they would transfer their corn to him; upon their agreeing to sell it to him cheaper than to the retail dealers, he gave them the same price, but afterwards fixed the medimnus at 32 drachmas! Upon the occasion of a great scarcity in foreign countries, and even in Egypt to a certain degree, he prohibited that any corn should be exported; upon the representation of the Nomarchs, that

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[383] Œcon. 20, 27.

[384] De suo reditu, pp. 85, 86. It is almost unnecessary to mention that Andocides was a merchant.

[385] Demosth. cont. Dionysod. p. 1285.

the taxes could not be paid if the exportation was not made free, he permitted it, but at so high a duty, that the exports were very limited; while the Nomarchs were deprived of their pretext for not paying the taxes, and moreover a large sum was raised from the export duty.

The Athenians endeavoured by various measures to ensure or to increase the importation of corn. Of these was the general law that no money should be lent upon any vessel which did not bring to Athens a return-cargo of goods, among which corn was expressly specified[386]; and also the more important law, which provided that no person dwelling in Attica should import corn to any other place than into the port of Athens; the transgressor was subject to a Phasis, and also, according to Lycurgus, to an Eisangelia, and consequently to the punishment of death[387]. Theophilus[388] asserts, that the corn-dealers at Athens had enjoyed a freedom from taxes; which evidently cannot be understood of the times of its independence, unless it was a transitory indulgence, or to a very limited extent. For the term Ateleia has several significations; it is either a general immunity (*ἀτέλεια ἁπάντων*), or a particular exemption from the liturgies, or from certain custom-duties and other taxes[389]. For example, the Athenians gave the universal exemption from taxes to the Byzantian and Thracian refugees who were resident at Athens in the time of Thrasybulus[390]; and to Leucon the ruler of the Bosphorus, who, together with his sons, had an exemption from custom-duties, as is particularly remarked[391]. In this general Ateleia was comprised the

[386] See above, chap. ix.

[387] Demosth. c. Phorm. p. 918, 5, cont. Lacrit. p. 941, 4, Lycurg. cont. Leocr. p. 156, and the speech against Theocrines. That the Phasis might be instituted in such a case is certain from the last-mentioned oration, from which (p. 1325, 28) it is to be particularly remarked that the informer received half the forfeited commodities. Concerning the Phasis against this offence see also the commentators of Pollux viii. 47, and Lex. Seg. p. 313, in v. *φαίνειν*, where the words *ἢ ἔμπορον ἀλλαχόθι ἐργαζόμενον* can only be referred to this practice. Concerning the Eisangelia against this offence see Matthiæ Miscell. Philog. tom. i. p. 231.

[388] Theophil. i. 2, according to the emendation of Salmasius de M. U. V. p. 195, upon the authority of MSS.

[389] See Wolf ad Lept. p. lxxi. sqq.

[390] Demosth. c. Lept. pp. 474, 475.

[391] Demosth. c. Lept. pp. 466—468. That he was free from custom-duties

exemption from custom-duties, and from the liturgies (with the exception of the trierarchy, which was only disallowed upon certain conditions regulated by law), and for aliens from the protection-money, and in particular cases from property-taxes; perhaps also the exemption from providing sacrifices (*ἀτέλεια ἱερῶν*[d]), concerning which very little is known. That the corn-merchants could not have enjoyed this universal immunity is alone evident from the fact of their not having possessed several of the individual exemptions. For, to say nothing of the general immunity, they must in the first place have had an exemption from the import duties upon corn; now in Athens the corn-duty was farmed out[392], and it must therefore have entirely disappeared, if all corn-merchants had been allowed by law to import corn free of duty; the assertion in question does not therefore require any refutation. It is still less conceivable that they should have had permission to import or export other goods free of duty, although individuals were allowed this privilege for all or certain articles[393]. Were they, however, exempted from the regular liturgies? Unquestionably not; since, according to Demosthenes, so small a number either of the citizens or resident-aliens were exempted from them[394]. Moreover, this orator would not have omitted to point out the prejudicial effects which the abolition of the immunity of the

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is evident from the comparison of the immunity given to him and to his sons with that granted by him to all the Athenians, p. 466, 29. This complete exemption appears to have been once given to the Thebans and Olynthians (Harpocrat. in v. *Ἰσοτελὴς*), unless it only means an exemption from protection-money and liturgies, in case they should come as denizens to Athens, in the same manner that the Byzantines, in addition to the rights of citizenship, gave an exemption from liturgies to all Athenians going to Byzantium. See the decree in Demosth. de Corona, p. 256, and compare the decree of the Arcadians in Crete in Chishull's Ant. Asiat. p. 119.

[d] "Mox vectigalia sacris faciundis a Plothensibus pendenda memorantur: a quibus ut *immunitatem* habeant, ex publico solvuntur ea vectigalia. Hinc vides quæ sit *ἀτέλεια ἱερῶν*, quam memorat Demosth. adv. Lept. § 105, ed. F. A. Wolfii, in qua jure hæsit editor Proleg. p. lxxi." Boeckh. ad Inscript. 82, tom. i. p. 122.

[392] See the speech against Neæra, p. 1353, 23.

[393] An instance of free exportation, particularly of wood, which is undoubtedly to be referred to Athens, is furnished by Theophrastus Char. 23. [See, however, above, note 225. Transl.]

[394] See book iii. ch. 21.

corn-merchants would have had upon the importation of corn, if anything of the kind had existed; for in the speech against Leptines he searches for every argument against this abolition, and particularly when speaking of Leucon's Ateleia, he mentions the dangerous effect which the abolition of this exemption might have upon the free exportation from the Bosporus. Hence it may be concluded either that the immunity of the corn-merchants had no real existence, or that it amounted to a very trifling exemption. At the most it might be possible that the resident-aliens who imported corn, were exempted from certain degrading liturgies, such as the Scaphephoria and the like, or from the protection-money[395]. Nor moreover is the least credit due to the absurd assertion of the Scholiast to Aristophanes[396] that in Athens the merchants had an immunity from all property-taxes. They were not even excepted from the liturgies, an exemption which, it may be observed, would have been extremely unfair; Andocides, notwithstanding that he was a merchant, performed liturgies, though he was not appointed upon his own offer[397]. The statement of the Scholiast is either an erroneous inference from the words of the poet, or a misconception of the account of Euphronius, upon whose authority he relies. The truth is, that those who traded by sea had an exemption from serving in war, although this privilege was probably circumscribed within narrow limits[398]. Now since the exemption from military service is also called *Ateleia*[399], it seems to me most probable, that when Theophilus speaks of the immunity of the corn-merchants, he means nothing more than this exemption, which was granted alike to all merchants.

Athens had public warehouses for corn in the Odeum, the

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[395] Concerning the latter see book iii. ch. 7.

[396] Plut. 995, cf. Eccles. 1019.

[397] Andocid. de Myst. p. 65. cf. Inscript. ap. Chandler ii. 6, p. 48, Vit. x. Orat. p. 229.

[398] This is stated by the Scholiast himself and by Suidas in v. *ἔμπορός εἰμι σκηπτόμενος.*

[399] Vid. Orat. cont. Neær. ubi sup. Whether, however, the immunity from military service was comprised under the *ἀτελεια ἁπάντων*, may be fairly doubted, although military service was included among the *τελη*; at least I do not venture to assume it without express testimony to the point.

Pompeum, the long Porch, and at the naval storehouse near the sea, where corn, bread, &c., were sold to the people[400]. It is not, however, quite clear, whether this magazine was used exclusively for corn which belonged to the state, or whether grain was there measured out which was the property of private merchants. There are some grounds for considering the latter notion as the more probable[401]. It is at least certain that considerable stores were brought to Athens at the expense of the state, which must have been kept in these warehouses. This corn was in part purchased with the public money, and partly by voluntary contributions: a merchant named Chrysippus boasted of having given a talent for that purpose; Demosthenes also presented an equal sum[402]. Certain persons named Sitonæ were appointed to superintend the purchase, whose office was not considered unimportant, as it implied the entire confidence of the people; there were also Apodectæ, whose duty it was to receive the corn and to measure it out. The former situation was once filled by Demosthenes; and it was perhaps at that time that he gave the voluntary contribution already mentioned[403]. It was doubtless sold to the people at a very low price, as otherwise these donations of money would have been unnecessary; perhaps too the corn brought to Athens was at times distributed gratis. But the want of adequate information renders it impossible to form any certain conclusion; for even when the reader hopes that he has at length met with a statement which may be depended upon, the ambiguity of the expression and the difficulty of interpretation, oppose insuperable difficulties in his way. Thus Demosthenes, in the speech against Leptines, relates that two years before, during a scarcity of corn, Leucon had sent so large a quantity and at so cheap a

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[400] Demosth. cont. Phorm. p. 918. Concerning the public sale of corn see also Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 103, concerning the Odeum see Lex. Seg. p. 318, and upon the magazines of corn Pollux ix. 45, with the commentators.

[401] From Demosth. ut sup. p. 918, 24—26.

[402] Demosth. cont. Phorm. p. 918, 27. First decree at the end of the Lives of the Ten Orators. Theophrast. Char. 23, does not appear to refer to this point.

[403] Pollux viii. 114, Demosth. de Corona, p. 310, 1.

rate, that fifteen talents, of which Callisthenes had the management, remained as a surplus. It may, however, be doubted whether a clear surplus actually remained, in the sense in which the commentators understand it, viz., that these fifteen talents formed a portion of the money set apart for the purchase of corn, which had not been entirely consumed; or whether we are not rather to understand that as the corn had been bought up at a low price, this sum remained as a net surplus profit to the state, after the corn had been sold to the people[404]. To this donation of corn an account of Strabo has been with much apparent probability referred[405]; for the context shows that he must allude to some particular distribution of corn, inasmuch as he states expressly that Leucon had sent 2,100,000 medimni to the Athenians from Theudosia; and it is possible that this took place within the space of one year. For since Attica consumed 3,000,000 medimni, of which in the regular course of things it was required to produce 2,000,000, a failure of the crops might easily for once have caused the produce of the country to fall off to half the usual amount; and while the other countries, which also felt the effects of the general scarcity, were unable to furnish any supplies, Leucon alone made up the deficiency.

On particular occasions free distributions of corn took place at Athens (*σιτοδοσίαι*), such as were very frequent in Rome; the object of them being in both places to pacify the people[406]. The presents in particular, which were at times

[404] The passage is as follows (p. 467, 14—17): Ἀλλὰ *προπέρυσι σιτοδείας παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις γενομένης οὐ μόνον ὑμῖν ἱκανὸν σῖτον ἀπέστειλεν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ὥστε πεντεκαίδεκα ἀργυρίου τάλαντα, ἃ Καλλισθένης διῴκησέ, προσπεριγενέσθαι.* Τοσούτου should evidently be written with Hier. Wolf, and compare the note of F. A Wolf ad Lept. pp. 257, 258. The date of the occurrence is Olymp. 105, 4 (357 B.C.) The chief ambiguity lies in the word *προσπεριγενέσθαι*. It might be said that if Demosthenes had only wished to signify the residue of the money appointed for purchasing corn, he would have said *περιγενέσθαι*; and that *προσπεριγένεσθαι* shows that the excess was gained, viz. by the sale of corn to the citizens; but I do not venture to found any arguments upon this supposition. It must not be supposed that the corn was sold abroad.

[405] vii. p. 215.

[406] Aristoph. Vesp. 714. The word *σιτοδοσία* occurs in Pollux viii. 103, who observes from Andocides that checking-clerks (*ἀντιγραφεῖς*) were employed for some purposes connected with it.

made to the people from foreign parts, were distributed gratis. Thus Demetrius Poliorcetes, in Olymp. 118, 2 (307 B.C.), promised to the Athenians 150,000 medimni of corn as a present from his father. Thus Spartocus, the son of Eumelus, king in the Bosporus, who reigned twenty years from Olymp. 119, 1 (304 B.C.), sent 10,000 medimni to the grateful people of Athens[407]. So again in Olymp. 83, 4 (445 B.C.), in the Archonship of Lysimachides, the Athenians during a scarcity of corn received from an Egyptian of the name of Psammetichus, who was not known to them, 40,000 medimni of wheat, which were distributed among the genuine citizens[408]. With this distribution the Scholiast to Aristophanes[409] confounds another, in which each citizen received 5 medimni of barley, although he himself perceives that from 40,000 medimni 14,240 citizens could not have each received 5 medimni. The donation of which Aristophanes speaks, took place in Olymp. 89, 1 (424 B.C.), one year before the Wasps of the same poet, when, in the Archonship of Isarchus, an expedition was undertaken against Eubœa. At that time it was probably expected that large supplies would be derived from this island, and 50 medimni of corn had therefore been promised to each citizen, a new scrutiny being also instituted into the genuineness of their births; after all, however, they only received 5 medimni[410]. The division of the lands in Eubœa, which Aris-

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[407] Plutarch. Demetr. 10; Diod. xx. 46; Attic Decree in Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 107. Concerning the time of Spartocus, or, as Diodorus incorrectly calls him, Spartacus, see Diod. xx. 100. The same person is mentioned in two inscriptions found at Phanagoria, Corp. Inscript. Gr. Nos. 2120, 2120 b. Another more ancient Spartocus occurs in Diod. xii. 31, 36 (where see the Commentators), also king of the Cimmerian Bosporus, another in xiv. 93, and again another as king in the Pontus in Diod. xvi. 52, who was succeeded by his brother Pairisades. A Spartocus, father of Pairisades, perhaps the same with the son of Eumelus, is mentioned in an inscription. More however of these well-known princes elsewhere. It may be observed that by Bosporus and Pontus the same kingdom is signified. [See Boeckh, Corp. Inscript. Gr. vol. ii. p. 93-4. TRANSL.]

[408] Philochorus ap. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 716, where δ' μυριάδας should be written from Plutarch. Pericl. 37. Concerning the number of the citizens comp. above chap. 7.

[409] Ubi sup.

[410] Aristophanes in the text, where the words ξενίας φεύγων allude to the examinations into the legal claims of the citizens, which were made with

tophanes expressly distinguishes from this donation of corn, was perhaps promised at the same time. The donation of corn made by Atticus to the people, at the time of their severe distress, is also a well-known circumstance[411].

Before I attempt to ascertain the prices of corn, something must be said upon the measures by which it was sold. The Attic corn-medimnus (*μέδιμνος σιτηρὸς*) contained, according to the division commonly used in trade, 6 sextarii (*ἑκτεῖς*) or 48 chœnices, or 192 cotylas (*κοτύλαι*): this last was used both as a dry and a liquid measure[412]. Pollux in the fourth book reckons 3 cotylas instead of 4 to a chœnix, which belongs to some other mode of computing than that in use among the Athenians. A chœnix was the common daily allowance of food (*ἡμερησία τροφὴ*)[413], particularly for slaves, from which circumstance the Corinthians, who had a great number of slaves, are said to have been called *chœnix-measurers* by the Pythian priestess[414]. An athlete indeed was able, according to Theophrastus, to consume $2\frac{1}{2}$ Attic chœnices a day; and if Aglais required for one meal 12 minas of meat and a chus of wine, it is natural that she should eat 4 chœnices of wheaten bread. This woman was a player on the trumpet of great celebrity; Herodorus of Megara, also a famous trumpeter, consumed 6 chœnices of wheaten bread each day, 8 minas of meat, or according to another authority 20 minas, and drank twice as much as the former person[415]; not to mention many other gluttons, whose names may be found in Athenæus. The Spartans also, who lived upon meagre food, appear to have

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great strictness on these occasions. Concerning the Archon, under whom the expedition was undertaken, see Palmer Exercit. in Auct. Græc. p. 738. Compare also the Fragments of Philochorus, in the edition of Lenz and Siebelis, pp. 51, 52.

[411] Nepos Att. 2.

[412] Pollux x. 113; iv. 168; vii. 195; cf. Athen. xi. p. 479 F.

[413] See Herod. vii. 187, from which it might indeed be inferred that a chœnix was but a small quantity; but it must be remembered that he is speaking of soldiers, who would naturally consume a large quantity, and that there were also many persons of distinction among them. Suidas in v. *Πυθαγόρα τὰ σύμβολα ἦν τάδε*, Athen. iii. p. 98 E.

[414] Athen. vi. p. 272 B.

[415] Ælian. V. H. i. 26; Pollux iv. 89; Athen. x. p. 415 F; *λίτρα* in Athenæus is the same as *μνᾶ*.

eaten much; each person was therefore bound to furnish monthly a medimnus of barley-meal to the public entertainment, together with a scanty portion of other provisions. The Athenian prisoners in the quarries of Syracuse received only half a chœnix, *i. e.* 2 cotylas of barley and 1 cotyla of water, which allowance was continued for eight months[416]. That with this scanty food many of them perished in the first seventy days from hunger and thirst is not to be wondered at, particularly as barley contains but little nourishment[417]. The size of these several measures immediately follows from the determination of the medimnus. Without paying any regard to the false statements of Eisenschmid and Romé de l'Isle, or to the ambiguous calculation of Rambach, I follow the account given by Ideler, which can alone be depended upon. The Athenian medimnus then, like the Sicilian, contained 6 Roman modii[418]; but the modius, according to a decree of the people preserved in Festus, contained 16, the amphora 48 sextarii; consequently the Athenian medimnus contained about 2 amphoræ, which is also shown by the testimony of Rhemnius Fannius[419]. But the amphora or quadrantal was the Roman cubic foot, which as the Roman foot of long measure is nearly equal to 131 Paris lines, contained 1301 Paris cubic inches. The medimnus was therefore about equal to 2602 French or 3150·059 English cubic inches (for it can hardly be supposed that the ratio of the modius to the medimnus was precisely as 6 to 1); and the English pint of dry measure containing 33·6 cubic inches, the medimnus of 3150 cubic

[416] Concerning the Spartans see Plutarch. Lycurg. 12. Of the prisoners in Syracuse, Thuc. vii. 87; Plutarch. Nic. 29; cf. Eustath. ad Il. χ. p. 1282, 15. Diodorus xiii. 33, asserts that the proposal of Diocles was accepted, that the captive Athenians, Sicilians, and Italians should work in prison, and receive 2 chœnices a day (xiii. 19); but although he here speaks of a different period, viz. when they were brought out of the stone-quarries, and separated from the other prisoners, he does not deserve the least credit, and he has probably confounded 2 cotylas with 2 chœnices.

[417] Athen. iii. p. 115.

[418] Nepos Att. 2; Cic. Verr. Frument. 46, 49; Suidas in v. μέδιμνον, from which passage correct Zonaras in the same word.

[419] *Hujus* (amphoræ) *dimidium fert urna, ut et ipsa medimni amphora, terque capit modium.*

inches is equal to 93·75 pints, or 1 bushel 3 gallons 5·75 pints, *i. e.* nearly a bushel and a half.

Of other corn measures, consistently with my plan, I shall only touch upon the artabe and the Bœotian cophinus. The former was a Persian measure, and contained, according to Herodotus[420], an Attic medimnus and 3 chœnices. Others fix it at an approximate valuation as equal to the Attic medimnus[421]. It was also in use in Egypt, where there was besides a smaller artabe, which only contained $3\frac{1}{3}$ Roman modii or $26\frac{2}{3}$ Athenian chœnices[422]. If the capacity of this measure is doubled, it gives $53\frac{1}{3}$ Athenian chœnices, which differs so little from the value of the greater artabe in Herodotus (51 chœnices), that, as it appears, we may fairly assume the smaller artabe to have been exactly half the greater, and suppose either that the statement of Herodotus is too low, or that the valuation of the smaller artabe at $3\frac{1}{3}$ Roman modii is somewhat too high, or, lastly, that the ratio of the Athenian medimnus to the Roman modius has been estimated a fraction too low. The Bœotian cophinus, which was used both as a wet and dry measure, contained 3 choëis[423], *i. e.* a quarter metretes, or 36 cotylas, since the metretes contained 144 cotylas, which is equivalent to 9 chœnices, or $\frac{3}{16}$ medimnus of Athenian measure.

The prices of different kinds of corn were, as may be supposed, very different. In Sicily and Upper Italy the price of barley was only half that of wheat, in Athens probably, as in Lusitania, it amounted to two-thirds of the price of the latter[424]; but where the price of corn is mentioned, the particular description of grain is not always specified. It may be seen from examples, that the prices from the time of Solon to that of Demosthenes were continually rising; yet again there frequently existed at the same period a great fluctuation, according to the greater or less productiveness of the years, the increase

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[420] i. 192.

[421] Suidas, Hesychius, Polyæn. iv. 3, 32; Epiphanius Ponder. 24.

[422] Wesseling ad Diod. xx. 96.

[423] Pollux iv. 169; Hesych. in κόφινος.

[424] Concerning Upper Italy and Lusitania see above chap. 10. I will speak of Sicily and Athens presently.

or diminution in the imports, the prejudicial efforts of the engrossers both in and out of Attica, or the imposition of high custom-duties in foreign parts, or the accidental remission of them to the Athenians; thus Leucon and Pairisades, kings of the Bosporus, the former of whom used to levy a duty of a thirtieth upon all exported corn, granted to the Athenian people an exemption from this tax[425]. Prices at Athens were never again so low as in the time of Solon, when the medimnus was sold for a drachma[426]. Barley-meal (ἄλφιτα) was sold in the age of Socrates at 2 drachmas the medimnus, and at an obolus for 4 chœnices[427]; by which however we are not to understand meal prepared after the modern way. Diogenes the Cynic reckons, that in his age the chœnix of barley-meal sold at 2 chalcûs, and consequently the medimnus at 2 drachmas[428]: but this can only refer to the cheapest years, for at this period the common price at Athens was much higher. In a play of Aristophanes[429] a man declares that he has lost a hecteus of wheat, by not having gone to the assembly, and consequently not receiving his 3 oboli; whence it may be concluded that about the 96th and 97th Olympiads (396-2 B.C.), the medimnus of wheat sold for 3 drachmas, which agrees very well with the price of barley just quoted. But in the time of Demosthenes, and even after Alexander's expedition against Thebes, 5 drachmas were a moderate price, at which during a scarcity some of the more liberal corn-dealers sold their wheat: thus Chrysippus sold 10,000 medimni at this price[430]. According to the speech against Phænippus[431], even barley must have been at 6 drachmas for a long time, as 18 drachmas are stated to be three times the former price. The prices in other Grecian States were not very different. In the second book of the Œconomics attributed to Aristotle, it is stated that the price of barley-meal at Lampsacus was 4 drachmas, but that the

[425] Demosth. c. Lept. p. 467, c. Phorm. p. 917, 25.

[426] Plutarch. Solon. 23.

[427] Plutarch. de Animi Tranquillitate 10, Stob. Serm. xcv. p. 521. Comp. Barthélemy in the Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. XLVIII. p. 394, concerning the price of corn.

[428] Diog. Laert. vi. in Vit. Diog.

[429] Eccles. 543.

[430] Demosth. cont. Phorm. p. 918.

[431] P. 1048, 24.

state once fixed it upon a particular occasion at 6 drachmas, in order to obtain a profit on the difference. When Sicily came under the Roman dominion, the latter people fixed for supplies the Frumentum Decumanum Alterum at 3 sesterces for each modius, the Imperatum and Æstimatum of wheat at 4 and of barley at 2 sesterces the modius; a price which must at that time have been moderate, as the Romans would doubtless have fixed a low rate, although, according to the statement of Cicero, it was not insupportable to the cultivators. Consequently the medimnus of the Decumanum Alterum cost at that time 4 drachmas the medimnus, of the Imperatum and Æstimatum of barley 2 drachmas 4 oboli, and of wheat 5 drachmas 2 oboli of Attic money. If these high prices should seem startling, we must remember how dense was the population of this country and how large the exportation. In earlier times, however, corn, as may be inferred from the price of cattle[432], must have been much cheaper in Sicily; and subsequently, as for example in the time of Verres, prices did not attain even this height, on account of the decreasing population of the cities; the medimnus of wheat was commonly sold at that time for 12 sesterces, or 2 drachmas 4 oboli, and never rose to more than 15 sesterces, or 3 drachmas 4 oboli[433]. It is also to be observed that in the prices of the supplies of Sicilian corn, as the Romans had fixed them, the cost of transport to each separate place of destination was likewise included. Such prices as the following are extraordinary, viz.: when corn rose at Athens to 16 and even barley to 18 drachmas; also at Rome in the year of the city 544 (210 B.C.), the Sicilian medimnus of corn was sold, according to Polybius, at 15 drachmas, or rather denarii; and in Dollabella's army, from which the supplies in the neighbourhood of Laodicea were cut off, the medimnus of wheat was sold for 12 drachmas[434]. From a very corrupt passage of Strattis preserved in Pollux[435], so much at least may be gathered, that a

[432] See above, chap. xiv.

[433] Cic. Verr. Frument. 74, 75, 81, 84.

[434] Demosth. cont. Phorm. p. 918, Orat. cont. Phænipp. p. 1045, 4, Polyb. ix. 44, Cic. ad Fam. xii. 13.

[435] Pollux iv. 169. Petit. *ut sup.* reckons from this passage the medimnus at 128 drachmas.

slave, to the great astonishment of his master, pretends to have bought a Bœotian cophinus of barley-meal for 4 drachmas, which gives for the medimnus 21 drachmas 2 oboli; and it may be inferred from the same grammarian that another writer spoke of wheat being sold for 32 drachmas, without doubt referring to the usurious practices of Cleomenes, which I have already noticed[436]; not to mention that at Athens during the siege of Sulla, the medimnus of wheat rose to a thousand drachmas, the inhabitants being reduced to feed even on shoes and leathern-bottles; and in like manner at Casilinum, where the Prænestini were besieged by Hannibal, the same measure was sold for 200 drachmas[437].

The varieties of bread were extremely numerous in Greece, and the invention of the Athenians in particular was directed with great success to this department of the culinary art[438]. Athenæus and Pollux will supply the amateur of the arts of cookery and baking with sufficient materials for inquiries, which we neither feel disposed nor entitled to enter upon. The most common distinction is between wheaten-bread (*ἄρτος*) and barley-bread (*μάζα*): *ἄλφιτα* sometimes means barley-meal itself, and sometimes a bread or rather cake made of barley-

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[436] Pollux iv. 165, where there stood formerly the word *τριακονταδιδραχμίπυργοι*, an uncouth form, which Petitus however retained, and proposed to change to *τριακονταδιδραχμόπυργοι*. The reading of Voss's manuscript, *τριακοντοδίδραχμοι πυροὶ*, is evidently the right one, and consequently the price of wheat is meant: manifestly that which was fixed by Cleomenes. The present reading in the text, *δίδραχμοι*, is entirely without foundation, as well as Kuhn's conjecture, *τριακαιδεκάδραχμοι*: *τρικοντάδραχμοι*, the correction of Jungermann, has indeed some probability; however I consider the reading of Voss's manuscript to be correct for this reason, that the use of the singular compound *τριακονταδίδραχμοι* instead of *δυοκαιτριακοντάδραχμοι* appears to be the very reason why Pollux quotes the word.

[437] See Plutarch Sulla 13, and Strabo v. p. 164, where in the account of Casilinum the medimnus is mentioned alone, without the thing measured, which ought never to have appeared surprising to so excellent a scholar as Casaubon, as it so frequently occurs. Pliny, Frontinus, and Valerius Maximus substitute indeed a mouse in the place of this measure, but Strabo had too much judgment to say, as the Commentators impute to him, that 200 drachmas were given for a mouse, and that the sellers died, but that the buyers saved their lives. We must indeed, if this story be true, suppose that great events spring from little causes.

[438] Athen. iii. p. 112, c. &c.

meal, of a very fine quality[439]. I have not however been able to meet with any clear statement in reference to the price of bread, but it was probably high in proportion to that of corn; for, if we may judge from the rate of interest, a great profit must have been obtained upon the capital employed in the preparation of bread. At Athens four large and eight small loaves used to be baked out of a chœnix of corn; consequently one large or two small loaves out of a cotyla[440]; in dear times, when for example corn was at 16 drachmas, a loaf of wheaten-bread of this kind, probably a large one of a cotyla, might have sold for an obolus: to which may be referred the fact, that at the very same time wheaten-bread was sold in the Piræus in loaves of an obolus[441]. At Alexandria the *ἄρτος ὀβελίας* or *ὀβελίτης*, was sold for an obolus[442], and probably the same was the case at Athens[443], which however gives no information with regard to the price, as the size is unknown; and this Alexandrian bread was not of the ordinary kind, but something more costly, which is opposed to the common wheaten-bread[444]. There were also loaves of a much larger size, for instance of 3 chœnices[445]; and at the Dionysia they carried around in honour of the divine inventor, loaves of from 1 to 3 medimni, which were likewise called *ἄρτοι ὀβελίαι*[446].

[439] Omitting other passages, I only refer to Xenoph. Œcon. 8, 9, Plat. Rep. ii. p. 372, B, Pollux vi. 78. Concerning the word *μάζα* see below, chap. xxiii.

[440] Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 438, Lysistrat. 1208.

[441] Demosth. cont. Phorm. p. 918.

[442] Concerning which bread and its price see Pollux i. 248, and in other places, Athen. iii. p. 111, B, who has been transcribed by Eustath. ad Il. N. p. 930, ad Odyss. A. p. 39, 38.

[443] If the interpretation of *ὀβολίας ἄρτους* in Aristophanes given in Lex. Seg. p. 111, is correct.

[444] Pherecrates ap. Athen. ubi sup. and Nicochares the comic poet, ibid. xiv. p. 645, C. It may be observed that the supposition, which is mentioned in Athenæus, and thence in Eustathius, and which occurred to Seber ad Poll. i. 248, that this bread received its name from the price, is extremely improbable, although *ὀβελὸς* and *ὀβολὸς* are the same word, and originally meant a fork or spit, and afterwards the coin so called. See Plutarch. Lysand. 17, Pollux ix. 77, and the Commentators, Etymol. in *ὀβελίσκος*, also the Commentators upon Athenæus ubi sup. and Taylor ad Marm. Sandw. p. 49. It was no doubt so called from the forks or long pieces of wood upon which it was baked in the ashes. See Athen. iii. ubi sup. and the Commentators, Photius p. 229.

[445] Xenoph. Anab. vii. 3, 23.

[446] Pollux vi. 75, cf. Eustath.

CHAPTER XVI.

Prices of Wine, Oil, Salt, and Wood.

THE common measure for liquids was the metretes, which contained 12 choeis or 144 cotylas, and to which the common vessel (*ἀμφορεὺς, κάδος, κεράμιον*) was adapted. The Roman amphora, or the solid foot, was according to the testimony of Rhemnius Fannius $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Attic metretes: but the Attic medimnus is the double of the amphora; consequently the metretes was $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Attic medimnus, which is also evident from its being equal to 144 cotylas. The contents of the medimnus were in a former place ascertained to have been 2602 Paris inches, and therefore the metretes is equal to 2362·5 English cubic inches, or 81·818 pints, *i. e.* 10 gallons 1$\frac{1}{8}$ pints of wine measure. Who then is not astonished at the extraordinary cheapness of wine in ancient times, upon reading of such prices, as have been already quoted with regard to Lusitania, at which more than ten gallons of unmixed wine sold for 3*d.*? And since the ancients allowed one part of wine to two of water, without intending to dilute it much, ten gallons of such liquor were sold for a penny. The common wine must therefore have been looked upon as the cheapest of all necessaries, the causes of which phenomenon have been already stated.

In Lusitania the metretes of wine appears to have been equal in price to the medimnus of barley, but at Athens it seems to have been even cheaper than barley; for according to the speech against Phænippus, when prices were three times higher than usual, barley was sold at 18 and the native Athenian wine at 12 drachmas[447]. Therefore, according to the usual price, the metretes of wine was sold for 4 drachmas; even this rate, however, as well as 6 drachmas for a medimnus of barley, must have been considered dear; there would be no danger of exaggeration, if the half of this price were assumed as an average for cheaper times. In an agreement in Demosthenes[448] 3000 casks (*κεράμια*) of Mendæan wine are estimated at 6000

[447] Orat. cont. Phænipp. p. 1048, 24. [448] Cont. Lacrit. p. 928, extr.

drachmas, that is, the cask of the metretes came to 2 drachmas, although Mendæan wine was used even at the most sumptuous entertainments of the Macedonians[449]. It is mentioned by Polybius[450] that the Rhodians bought for the Sinopians, when the latter were invaded by Mithridates in Olymp. 179, 4 (61 B.C.), for the sum of 140,000 drachmas, 10,000 casks of wine (*κεράμια*), 300 talents of prepared hair, 100 talents of prepared strings, 1000 complete suits of armour, 4 catapults with darts and attendants, and 3000 gold coins. Whence it is easy to perceive that this could only have been possible in case the price of wine did not exceed that which has been above-mentioned. According to the grammarians, 3 cotylas of the wine which was called tricotylus was sold at an obolus[451]; which gives for the metretes 8 drachmas. This therefore was either of a superior sort, or it only appears dearer because the retail-dealers (*κάπηλοι*), who sold it by the obolus, added considerably to the price. On the other hand there were also very costly wines; for example the Chian wine, as early as in the time of Socrates, sold for a mina the metretes[452].

Oil, although it was produced in large quantities in Attica, Asia Minor, and the islands, appears to have maintained a higher price on account of the great demand for it in ancient times, for the purposes of light, for dressing meat, and for the gymnasia; yet as regards the Greeks I have only been able to find a single statement of its price, and this is given in the second book of the Œconomics attributed to Aristotle[453], where it is stated that

[449] Athen. iv. p. 129, D, to omit other passages concerning the goodness of this wine.

[450] iv. 56.

[451] Schol. Aristoph. Thesmoph. 750, and Hesych. in v. *τρικότυλος*. J. Capellus de Mensur. ii. 43, finds a still higher price in Pollux iv. 169, according to which 3 choeis cost 4 drachmas, and consequently the metretes 16 drachmas; but his supposition rests upon an alteration in the text, which cannot be assumed.

[452] Plutarch. de Anim. Tranquil. 10.

[453] ii. 2, 7. The duty was laid upon wine, corn, and other commodities at half their price; but in the part where the duty upon oil should be stated, there is an hiatus in the text. It is evident that the chus of oil, after the addition of the duty, was sold for 4½ drachmas: but that the duty upon the chus was only 3 oboli, as Camerarius gives it in his translation, is an arbitrary assumption. The whole context confirms the supposition, that a duty equal to half the former price was also laid upon oil. I therefore restore *καὶ τοῦ ἐλαίου, τὸν χοᾶ ὄντα δραχμῶν τριῶν πωλεῖν τεττάρων καὶ τριωβό-*

the chus of oil was sold at Lampsacus for 3 drachmas, and afterwards that a duty was laid upon it equal to half its price, which raised it to 4½ drachmas; consequently the metretes without the duty was at 36 drachmas; which indeed as compared with modern prices is a low rate.

Salt, which was measured by phormi, or by medimni and chœnices[454], was easily imported into Athens on account of her dominion of the sea; and as long as Nisæa in Megaris was in the hands of the Athenians, it was brought over from thence with the greatest facility[455]. Besides this there were salt springs in Attica itself, opposite Gephyra on the other side of the Cephisus, and salt-works upon the sea-shore[456]; I have not, however, found anything with regard to the price of salt, except that the Athenians once endeavoured to lower it by a decree of the people[457].

As to the supply of wood, we may observe that the Athenians were forced to import large quantities of timber, particularly for the uses of shipbuilding, from distant countries, especially from Macedonia[458]; even palisades and props for the mines were brought by sea[459]; small wood for burning they had in plenty, particularly beech-wood, from which charcoal was made, a business in which the Acharnians were chiefly engaged[460]. Charcoal, firewood, and fagots were brought into the city in baskets, carried either by men or on asses[461]; thus Phænippus sent to Athens every day from his boundary-estate in Cytheron six asses laden with wood, which produced each day 12 drachmas[462], whence an ass's load may be estimated at 2 drachmas.

λου, and the price in the text is given according to this hypothesis.

[454] Pollux x. 169, from the Demioprata, Aristoph. Acharn. 814. [See also Aristot. H. A. viii. 10, Eudem. Eth. viii. 2. TRANSL.]

[455] Aristoph. Acharn. 760, with the Scholiast and Commentators.

[456] See the Piræan Inscription in Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. No. 103. [The word ἁλμυρίς, used in this inscription, is a proper name. See Note A at the end of book iii. TRANSL.]

[457] Aristoph. Eccles. 309, and Scholiast.

[458] Thucyd. iv. 108, Xenoph. Hell. vi. 1, 4, Demosth. in Alexand. περὶ συνθηκῶν p. 219, 4, cf. cont. Timoth. p. 1192, 1, p. 1195, 1.

[459] Demosth. cont. Mid. p. 568.

[460] Aristoph. Acharn.

[461] Pollux vi. 111, vii. 109.

[462] Orat. cont. Phænipp. p. 1041, 3.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Meals of the Athenians; and the prices of Meat, Birds, Fish, Vegetables, Honey, and other Articles of Food.

THE meals of the Athenians, which were called μικροτράπεζοι, were for the most part scanty, and had little that was agreeable[463]. But although the ordinary fare was not very expensive, the great banquets with ointments, female players upon the flute and cithara, Thasian wine, eels, cheese, honey, &c., were by no means cheap: "they might cost," says Menander, "a small talent." In the Flatterers of Eupolis a repast of this kind is reckoned at 100 drachmas, and the wine at the same sum[464]; an expense sufficiently great for Athens, though small in comparison with the profuseness and luxury of the kings. Alexander's table for sixty or seventy persons cost 100 minas a day[465].

Everything eaten, with the exception of what was prepared from corn, was originally comprehended under the name of Opson (ὄψον, ὀψώνιον); Plato expressly comprises under it salt, olives, cheese, onions, cabbage, figs, myrtle-berries, walnuts, and pulse[466]; and it is evident that roots, such as radishes, turnips, &c., and all preparations of meat and fish, were also included; but by degrees the usage of this word was changed, so that at length it signified only fish, the favourite food of the Athenian epicures[467]. The slave in Terence buys cabbage and little fish for an old man's meal at an obolus[468], but according to Theophrastus[469], nobody but a contemptible miser would allow his wife only 3 chalcûs for opson; 3 oboli appear to have been sufficient for a few moderate persons to buy the opson uncooked[470]; hence Lysias[471] thinks that a guardian's charge of

[463] See the comic poet Antiphanes ap. Athen. iv. p. 131, E, Lynceus ibid. F, Alexis ibid. p. 137, D.

[464] Pollux ix. 59.

[465] Athen. iv. p. 146, C.

[466] Athen. vii. p. 277, A, Plat. de Rep. ii. p. 372, C, cf. Xenoph. Œcon. 8, 9.

[467] Athen. vii. p. 276, E.

[468] And. ii. 2, 32.

[469] Char. 28.

[470] Thugenides (not Thucydides) ap. Poll. vi. 38.

[471] In Diogit. p. 905.

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5 oboli for the opson of two boys and a little girl was excessive. Three oboli were not sufficient to procure opson for so expensive a person as Aristippus[472], and 10 drachmas appear to the slave in Terence[473] to be very inadequate for the opson of a marriage-feast. The following are particular statements of prices, of which, however, some are not precise. Four small pieces of dressed meat cost an obolus according to Antiphanes; a piece of meat, as it was prepared for eating, probably of a tolerable size, half an obolus according to Aristophanes[474]. In the comic poet Aristophon[475] a landlord appears to receive 5 chalcus for some small livers and an intestine, probably a sausage; perhaps the same sum from several persons who dined together. A partridge, for which any other person would have given an obolus, Aristippus is said to have bought for 50 drachmas[476]; one extreme is as incredible as the other. A dish of Bœotian fieldfares for a festival is sold for a drachma in Aristophanes; seven thrushes, birds which in places where they are abundant are usually very cheap, were not considered dear at an obolus[477]; and I may also mention, that in the Athenian bird-market, a jackdaw was sold for 1 obolus and a crow for 3[478]. Of fish Athens had a superabundance, and the smaller varieties, which are nearly worthless in all countries that are copiously supplied with fish, bore, as may be supposed, a very low price. Membrades, a species of small fish, may be bought for 4 chalcus, but not eels or thunny-fish, says the comic poet Timocles[479]; of aphuas (ἀφύαι), which, according to Lucian, were exceedingly small and light, a large quantity could be bought for an obolus; their cheapness is particularly mentioned. The sausage-seller in Aristophanes promises to offer up a thousand goats to Artemis Agrotera (outbidding in jest the offering of thanks for the battle of Marathon), whenever a hundred trichides, likewise a small kind of fish, are sold for an obolus[480],

[472] Diog. Laert. in Vit. Aristipp.
[473] Andr. ii. 6, 20.
[474] Antiphanes ap. Athen. iv. p. 431, E, Aristoph. Ran. 562.
[475] Pollux, iv. 70.
[476] Diog. Laert. ubi sup.
[477] Aristoph. Acharn. 960, Av. 1079, with the Scholiast.
[478] Aristoph. Av. 18.
[479] Ap. Athen. vi. p. 241, A.
[480] Lucian. Piscat. 48 Aristoph. Eq. 646, 660.

which was therefore an impossibility. Larger and better fish bore a higher price, and the fish-mongers were decried as a shameless and avaricious race; for a sea-polype they asked 4 oboli, for a cestra (probably a kind of pike) 8 oboli, for two cetreis (*mugiles*) 10 oboli, for which 8 were offered; for a sea-wolf (λάβραξ) a fishmonger asked 10 oboli, without fixing in what currency; but when it comes to paying, says Diphilus, he had meant Æginetan oboli[481]. A dish of echini cost, when dressed, 8 oboli, according to the comic poet Lynceus[482]. Eels, particularly those that came from the lake Copais, were a favourite dish of the Athenians, and, as well as poultry and birds, were brought from Bœotia[483]. A Copaic eel cost 3 drachmas in the time of Aristophanes[484]. Salted or pickled provisions (τάριχος), particularly fish, were brought from the Pontus, Phrygia, Egypt, Sardinia, and Cadiz[485], and were very abundant at Athens, in different degrees of goodness; the common sorts were considered as inferior to meat, and were the food of the inferior classes and of the country people, according to Demosthenes and Aristophanes—as the proverb says, the pickle often cost 1 obolus, but the sauce 2[486]. The comic poet Philippides[487] reckons a dish of pickles for one person at 2 or 3 oboli, and the capers for it in a separate vessel at 3 chalcus. It is hardly worth mentioning that vegetables, such as cabbages, &c., were sold at a cheap rate: of leguminous plants the same may be concluded from an expression of Demosthenes[488], who, in order to designate a time of great dearth, says, "you know that even vetches were dear." Beans, which were eaten out of the shells as a remedy against drunkenness, were, according to the statement of Timocles, who perhaps exaggerates in joke, so dear that eight pods were sold for an obolus, although they

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[481] Athen. vi. p. 224, C, to p. 227, B.

[482] Ap. Athen. iv. p. 132, B.

[483] Aristoph. Pac. 1005, and the Scholiast; also Schol. Lysist. 703. Pollux vi. 63. Aristophanes in the Acharnians.

[484] Aristoph. Acharn. 961.

[485] Pollux vi. 48.

[486] Ὀβολοῦ τάριχος, δυ' ὀβολῶν τἀρτύματα, Michael Apostol. xiv. 9.

[487] Ap. Athen. vi. p. 230, A. At Rome, in the time of Cato the elder, 300 denarii, or, as Polybius usually says, drachmas, were given for a cask of pickles from the Pontus. See Polyb. xxxi. 24.

[488] Cont. Androt. p. 598, 4.

always used to be sold by the chœnix[489]. A chœnix of olives, in the time of Socrates, sold for 2 chalcus, the cotyla of Attic, that is, of the best honey, cost 5 drachmas[490]. The warm beverage which the ancients drank instead of tea, cost a chalcus, according to Philemon[491].

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Prices of Clothing, Shoes, and Ointment.

THE clothing of the Athenians varied considerably in materials, colour, and make, according to the time of year, as well as the age, sex, family, rank, property, taste, and object of the wearers; and fashion, although not so all-powerful as in modern days, had also its influence at that time. Woollen garments were the most common; although linen ones were worn, especially by women, and were at a low price, with the exception of the finest kinds[492]. The Amorgian stuffs were an expensive material, which were finer than Byssus and Carpasus, almost transparent, and sometimes dyed; they are said to have derived their name from the island Amorgus, where they were best manufactured; although others derive it from the dye or the plant (*ἀμόργη*), from which latter word the island itself probably received its name[493]. Even woollen garments, if the

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[489] Timocles ap. Athen. vi. p. 240, E. Concerning their use see Alexis ap. Poll. vi. 45, and the Commentators; and for their measure see Inscript. 123, ed. Boeckh.

[490] Plutarch. de Animi Tranquil. 10. The expression of Aristophanes (Pac. 253), that the Attic honey was worth 4 oboli, must be understood proverbially to mean something expensive and costly. See Schol. and Suid. in v. *τετρώβολον* and *τεττάρων ὀβολῶν*. Küster has misunderstood both passages.

[491] Ap. Poll. ix. 67, who (cap. 70) correctly infers from the lowness of the price, that water for drinking, and not for bathing, is meant. The words of Philemon are, *χαλκοῦ θερμὸν ἦν*, in the reckoning of a guest with his landlord. The preceding words in this corrupt passage, *καὶ μάλα τριημιωβολιαῖ, ἐστὶ*, refer to the other articles furnished to the guest.

[492] Vid. Pseudo-Plat. Epist. xiii. p. 363, A.

[493] They were called *ἀμοργίδια, ἀμοργίδες, χιτῶνες ἀμόργινοι*. See concerning these, Aristoph. Lysistrat. 150, and Schol. Lysistrat. 736, Schol. Æschin. p. 737, Reiske, Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. Pollux vii. 57, 74. Harpocrat. Hesych. Suid. Etymol.

material and texture were of superior quality, as the Persian Caunace for example[494], were probably sold at a high price.

The prices which I have met with are as follows: Socrates, as stated by Plutarch[495], considers an exomis (a dress worn by the common people) to be cheap when sold at Athens for 10 drachmas. This was a garment with one sleeve, the other arm being left bare. A chlamys, the usual dress of the knights and young men of Macedonian and Thessalian origin[496], is called τριστάτηρος in Pollux[497], by which doubtless the weight is not meant, but that its value amounted to 3 silver staters, or 12 drachmas. A citizen in the Ecclesiazuse of Aristophanes[498], who appears without any upper garment, his wife having already gone with it to the assembly, declares, that since the preservation of the state is to be the subject of debate, he himself is in want of a *preservation of four staters* (σωτηρίας τεταστατήρου); in this instance no one can doubt with Pollux[499] whether the coin or the weight is meant, as it is evident that 16 drachmas, the price of the upper garment, are alluded to. When the young man in the Plutus[500] requires 20 drachmas for his aged mistress for an upper garment, it is probable that he intended to make her pay for an expensive one. Socrates mentions that purple was sold for 3 minas, quoting it as an example of the dearness of articles of luxury at Athens[501]; it may be doubted whether by this he means a garment or a certain measure of dyeing material; in my opinion the former is the right supposition; it is well known that the garments made of the Byssus which grew in Achaia were weighed against gold[502]. In the article of shoes great luxury was displayed; Laconian, which were the dress shoes of men, Sicyonic, Persian, Tyrrhenian, Scythian, Argive, Rhodian, Amyclæan, Thessalian, and Thracian shoes, with several others, occur promiscuously in the different

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[494] Aristoph. Vesp. 1132, 1140.

[495] Ubi sup.

[496] Pollux vii. 46, x. 124, and the note of Hemsterhusius, also x. 164. Ammonius in v. χλαμὺς and Strabo ubi sup. Dorvill. ad Charit. p. 433, ed. Leips.

[497] vi. 165.

[498] Vs. 413.

[499] ix. 58.

[500] Vs. 883.

[501] Ap. Plutarch. ubi sup.

[502] Plin. Hist. Nat. xix. 4.

countries of Greece; and like our fashion of calling trifling things after celebrated names[503], so they had various kinds of shoes named after distinguished persons, such as Alcibiadean, Iphicratean, &c.[504] A pair of Sicyonic women's shoes cost 2 drachmas, according to Lucian[505]; for a pair of man's shoes the above-mentioned youth in the Plutus of Aristophanes[506] requires 8 drachmas, which is comparatively high, and he either asked for more money than he intended to pay for the shoes, or it was for some very expensive and ornamented kind.

Ointment is among the dearest articles of ancient times. A cotyla of fine ointment, probably from the East, cost at Athens, according to Hipparchus and Menander[507], from 5 to 10 minas. The intercolutor in the comic poet Antiphanes is not satisfied with moist ointment at 2 minas the cotyla[508]. It is manifest that the Athenians, although they were much addicted to the use of ointments, and everything contributing to the refined enjoyments of life, could not have easily afforded to pay so high a price. It is therefore probable that for the most part they made use of inferior sorts; of such ointment perhaps as occurs in Lucian, a small alabaster box of which, brought from Phœnicia, was sold for 2 drachmas[509].

Chapter XIX.

The Prices of Household Furniture, Implements, Arms, and Ships.

A knowledge of the prices of different kinds of furniture, implements, arms, and ships, would not be unimportant for the determination of many questions which it will be necessary to consider. The ancient writers, however, afford but few data,

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[503] Aristophanes passim, and particularly Pollux vii. 85—89.

[504] Ἀλκιβιάδεια or Ἀλκιβίαδες (ὑπόδημα), Ἰφικρατίδες, Δεινιάδες, Σμινδυρίδεια, Μυνάκια. See Pollux ubi sup. with his Commentators, Athen. xii. p. 534, C, Schol. Lucian. Dial. Meretr. The Iphicratean were not, however, a mere variety of fashion, but an improved kind of shoes for the soldiers.

[505] Dial. Meretr. 14.

[506] Vs. 984.

[507] Ap. Athen. xv. p. 691, p. C.

[508] Ap. Athen. ibid.

[509] Ubi sup.

and of those which we have, some are too high to be looked upon as the customary prices, although it is probable that, notwithstanding the low rate of wages and the existence of slavery, the manufacturers obtained a large profit, which raised the price of certain commodities.

Passing over the works of art, the value of which was determined by the taste of the purchaser, I adduce the following examples. A little cart for a child's plaything cost an obolus, according to Aristophanes, and a small oil-flask (*ληκύθιον*) the same sum, an earthen cask 3 drachmas[510]; a sideboard (*ἐγγυθήκη*) decorated with brazen figures of satyrs and heads of oxen[511], not particularly well executed, 30 drachmas; a small two-wheeled chariot for racing, probably with many ornaments of ivory, brass, silver, &c., in the same manner that the ancients used them upon beds and other kinds of furniture[512], together with the wheels, cost 3 minas[513]. The price of a scythe or sickle (*δρέπανον*) in time of peace is evidently exaggerated in joke by Aristophanes[514], who supposes 50 drachmas to be given for it. A private key together with the ring cost in the same age 3 oboli, a magic ring a drachma[515]. A small book for an agreement (*γραμματίδιον*), *i. e.* a small ordinary wooden diptychon with two wax tablets, Demosthenes values at 2 chalcus[516]. The assize price of a rope, such as a man might use for hanging himself, was an obolus[517]. Arms and armour cannot have been cheap; in the time of war, when the demand was considerable, 10 minas were, according to Aristophanes, (who probably mentions the highest rate,) the price of a coat of mail of good workmanship and fastened with metal chains (*ἁλυσιδωτός*); 1 mina, as it appears, for a helmet; and 60 drachmas for a war-trumpet[518].

For determining the expenses of the marine it would be

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[510] Aristoph. Nub. 861, Ran. 1267, Pac. 1201.

[511] Lysias Fragm. p. 15.

[512] Plutarch. de vitando ære alieno, 2, 3.

[513] Aristoph. Nub. 31.

[514] Pac. 1200.

[515] Aristoph. Thesm. 432, Plut. 885.

[516] Demosth. cont. Dionysod. p. 1283, 4, cf. Salmas. de M. U. X. p. 403.

[517] Lucian. Timon. 20.

[518] Aristoph. Pac. 1223, and the Schol. 1250 and 1240.

particularly desirable to know the prices of articles employed in ship-building, but little definite information can be gathered from the passages of ancient writers. A piece of wood for making an oar (*κωπεὺς*) cost, according to Andocides[519], 5 drachmas; Lucian, who both from the lateness of the period at which he lived and the bent of his writings cannot be sufficient evidence, supposes the fraudulent god Hermes in a reckoning with Charon to ask the moderate sum of 5 drachmas for an anchor for Charon's boat, which to the covetous ferryman appears a large sum; for the thong with which the oar was fastened on (*τροπωτὴρ*), 2 oboli; for a needle to sew together the sail cloth, 5 oboli; for pitching-wax, nails, and cords for the sail-yard, altogether 2 drachmas.

The cost of a whole ship as compared with its size cannot now be ascertained. In a bottomry bond in Demosthenes[520], 3000 drachmas are lent upon a merchant-vessel, by which however we are not justified in assuming that the ship had not a greater value, as at Athens a double pledge was not unfrequently given in case of bottomry, and therefore its real value might have been as much as a talent. Nor could the cost of a trireme or the common ship of war, without its furniture, have been much greater, as labour could be procured at a low rate, and ships were easily built; for which reason they did not last long, but were frequently wrecked when out at sea, and were shattered to pieces in battle. A calculation has been made from accounts of the expenses of the trierarchy, that it cost a talent to build the hull of a trireme, but it is founded upon an erroneous supposition; another means of determining the price might have been derived from the account of Themistocles having built 100 or 200 triremes from the annual proceeds of the mines; but neither can the annual returns of the mines nor the number of years be ascertained with certainty: the statement of Polyænus that a ship was built for every talent which was allowed, is after all the most probable[521]; but it was

[519] De suo Reditu, p. 81. The next passage is Lucian. Dial. Mort. 4.

[520] Cont. Dionysod. p. 1283, 18.

[521] See my Dissertation upon the Mines of Laurion. According to Diodorus (see below, b. ii. ch. 20), there were perhaps twenty triremes built every year.

perhaps only a contribution granted to the trierarchs, who according to the most ancient form of the trierarchy were obliged to supply all the furniture of the vessel, and were only to be indemnified for the building of the hull. Subsequently, however, on account of the general rise of prices, a trireme may have stood a little higher: would that instead of the fictitious sale of the triremes for 15 drachmas, at which the Corinthians once furnished some vessels to the Athenians[522], we had a statement of their real value!

CHAPTER XX.

On the Sum necessary for the Support of a Family in Attica, and its relation to the National Wealth.

FROM the preceding particulars, it is possible very nearly to determine the sum which was requisite for the maintenance of a respectable person in the best times of Athens. The most moderate person required every day for opson 1 obolus, for a chœnix of corn, according to the price of barley in the age of Socrates, a quarter obolus, making altogether in a year of 360 days, 75 drachmas; and for clothes and shoes at least 15 drachmas; a family of four adults must therefore at the lowest have required 360 drachmas for the specified necessaries; which sum for the age of Demosthenes, when the price of corn was 5 drachmas, must be increased by 22½ drachmas for each person, and for four persons by 90: to this the expense of house-room is to be added, which, if we reckon the value of a house at the lowest at 3 minas, taking the ordinary rate of interest of 12 per cent., gives an outlay of 36 drachmas; so that the poorest family of four free adults spent upon an average from 390 to 400 drachmas a year, if they did not live upon bread and water.

Socrates had two wives, not indeed at the same time, as has been fabulously reported, but one after the other; the first was Myrto, whom he married poor, and probably without a dowry;

[522] Herod. vi. 89.

the second Xanthippe; he had three children, of whom Lamprocles at the death of his father had reached the age of manhood, while Sophroniscus and Menexenus were minors[523]; for himself, after having sacrificed his youth to unceasing endeavours after knowledge, he followed no profession, and his teaching did not produce any pecuniary return. According to Xenophon[524], he lived upon his own property, which if it had found a good purchaser (*ὠνητὴς*), would, together with the house, have readily produced 5 minas; and he only required a small contribution from his friends: whence it has been inferred that prices were extraordinarily low at Athens. It is, however, evident that Socrates and his family could not have lived upon the proceeds of so small a property; for, however miserable his house may have been, it cannot be estimated at less than 3 minas, so that even if the furniture is not taken into consideration, the rest of his effects only amounted to 2 minas, and the income from them, according to the ordinary rate of interest, was only 24 drachmas, from which he could not have provided barley for himself and his wife, not to mention the other necessaries of life and the maintenance of his children.

Shall we then understand the expression "purchaser (*ὠνητὴς*)," to mean a lessee of his property, and 5 minas to be the annual rent? This way of avoiding the difficulty would be the easiest; but the ancients, as far as I am aware, only use the word "to buy (*ὠνεῖσθαι*)" instead of "to let," as applied to the public revenues, the letting of which was a real sale of the dues belonging to the state; for a lease of the lands or the whole property (*οἶκος*) of an individual to a tenant, the expression *μισθοῦν* is used; and, moreover, a lease of the whole property never occurs, as far as I am aware, except in the case of the estates of orphans.

In addition to this, the fortune of Critobulus is valued at more than 500 minas, in the same sense as that of Socrates is at 5, with the remark that he reduced his means, as he offered

[523] Plat. Apol. 23, and there Fischer.

[524] Œcon. 2. According to Meursius, who has been transcribed by later writers, he lived upon it very respectably (per honeste)! See Fort. Att. iv. p. 30.

munificent sacrifices, entertained guests, feasted and maintained many citizens, kept horses, performed public liturgies, and subjected himself to other expenses besides the maintenance of his wife, things which, with an income of 8⅓ talents, he would have been undoubtedly able to afford, but not with only a property of that value. We must therefore believe that Xenophon stated the whole property of Socrates at only 5 minas, but we have equal right to reject as to receive this testimony; for the history of the ancient philosophers is so corrupted and mixed with fables, and the circumstances of their lives have been so differently represented even by contemporary writers, that one seldom treads upon firm ground. Thus in the Apology of Plato, Socrates is represented as saying that he need not have given more than a mina of silver for his release; in which account Eubulides also agreed: according to others he estimated the whole cause at 25 drachmas; and in the Apology for Socrates attributed to Xenophon, it is related that he had neither valued his law-suit himself, nor would allow it to be valued by his friends[525]! Thus the well-informed Demetrius of Phalerum maintained, in opposition to Xenophon, that Socrates had, besides his house, 70 minas lent out to Criton upon interest; and Libanius relates that he had lost 80 minas, which were left him by his father, through a friend who had failed in his business, whom we can by no means suppose with Schneider to have been the wealthy Crito[526].

But assuming Xenophon's account to be entirely correct, it must be thought that the mother of the young sons maintained herself and two children either by her labour or out of her dowry, while Lamprocles supported himself, and that the domestic economy for which Socrates was so celebrated, consisted in keeping his family at work. He may in that case, indeed, have lived upon his 24 drachmas, together with some additional contributions from his friends; for his necessary expenses were exceedingly small, and no one could live as he

[525] Plat. Apol. 28; Diog. Laert. ii. 41; Xenoph. Apol. 23.

[526] Demetrius ap. Plutarch. Aristid. 1, where τὴν οἰκίαν should resume its place in the text for Reiske's γῆν οἰκείαν; Liban. Apol. vol. iii. p. 7; Schneider ad Xenoph. ubi sup.

did. It is true that he is related to have often sacrificed at home and upon the public altars[527], but doubtless only baked animals, according to the custom of the poor, or properly speaking, loaves of bread, which were chiefly consumed with the meat, and to which his family also contributed; he lived in the strictest sense upon bread and water, except when he was entertained by his friends; and therefore he may have been much rejoiced, as he is said to have been, at barley being sold at the low price of a quarter obolus the chœnix[528]: he wore no under-garment; and his upper-garment was slight, the same for summer and winter; he generally went bare-footed, and his dress-shoes which he sometimes wore, probably lasted him his whole life. A walk before his house served him instead of opson for meals; in short no slave lived so poorly as he did[529]. His greatest expense was unquestionably the drachma which he gave to Prodicus; and without disparaging the greatness of his intellectual powers, it may be boldly asserted, that as far as his miserable condition and a certain resemblance to the habits of the Cynic philosophers are concerned, the representation of Aristophanes is not only not exaggerated, but is faithfully copied after the life.

If in the time of Socrates four persons could live upon 440 drachmas a year, they must have passed a very wretched existence, and to live respectably it was necessary even then, and still more in the time of Demosthenes, to be possessed of a larger income. According to the Speech against Phænippus, the plaintiff and his brother inherited from their father 45 minas each, upon which the orator says it was not easy to live[530], that is upon the interest, which, according to the common rate, amounts to 540 drachmas. Isæus in his speech upon the estate of Hagnias[531] relates, that Stratocles and his

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[527] Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. init.

[528] See Plutarch and Stobæus in the passages quoted in chap. 15.

[529] Xenoph. ut sup. i. 5, 2; Plat. Conviv. p. 174, A; Athen. iv. p. 157, E. Many persons used to go barefooted, even the wealthy and distinguished Lycurgus. (See Lives of the Ten Orators.)

[530] P. 1045, 17.

[531] P. 292, where read εἶναι μὲν ἱκανὰ, λειτουργεῖν δὲ μὴ ἄξια, as Reiske proposed, with the addition however of another unhappy conjecture. Οὐχ ἱκανὰ

brother had inherited an estate from their father, which was indeed too inconsiderable to oblige them to the performance of liturgies, but sufficient for their maintenance: now since the property of Statocles amounted at his death to 5½ talents, besides his wife's dowry of 20 minas, which cannot be reckoned into his legacy, and since out of this sum he had acquired either by subsequent inheritance or his own exertions the sum of 4 talents 44 minas, his patrimony amounted to 46 minas, which according to the ordinary rate of interest afforded an income of 5 minas 52 drachmas a year, and at the rate of 18 per cent. at which he lent it out, 8 minas 28 drachmas, and with the interest of the dowry reckoned at 12 per cent. 10 minas 68 drachmas, an income which was amply sufficient to maintain him.

Mantitheus, in a speech of Demosthenes[532], asserts that he had been supported and educated from the interest of his mother's dowry, which amounted to a talent, consequently, according o the customary rate of interest, from 720 drachmas. The expenses of Demosthenes himself when a youth, of his young sister, and of his mother, amounted to 7 minas a year, exclusively of the cost of house-rent, as they lived in their own house: but the cost of Demosthenes' education was not paid out of this sum, as it remained owing by the guardians[533]. After Lysias had finished speaking of the fraudulent account rendered by the guardian of Diodotus' children, (who for example had charged more than a talent for clothes, shoes, and hair-cutting, within eight years, and more than 4000 drachmas for sacrifices and festivals, and at the termination of his office would only surrender 2 minas of silver and 30 Cyzicenic staters)[534], he remarks[535], that "if he charges more than any person in the city ever did for two boys and a girl, a nurse and female

is manifestly corrupt, in the first place because it ought to be μὴ, and not οὐ, and in the second, because it would be absurd to remark, that his property was *indeed* not sufficient to live upon, *but* too inconsiderable for the performance of liturgies.

[532] Cont. Bœot. de Dote, p. 1009, 28; p. 1023, 6.

[533] Demosth. cont. Aphob. i. p. 824, 26 sqq. p. 828, 5.

[534] Cont. Diogit. p. 903, cf. p. 897, and p. 905.

[535] Ibid. p. 910.

servant, he could not reckon more than 1000 drachmas a year;" which would give not much less than 3 drachmas a day. This is equal to nearly 2*s.* 6*d.* in English money, a sum which certainly must appear too large for three children and two female slaves in the time of Lysias.

In the age of Solon an obolus must have gone very far, for that legislator prohibited any woman from carrying with her upon any procession or journey more than would buy thus much of food, together with a basket which was more than an ell long[536]: and the Trœzenians appear to have made a liberal donation, when, according to Plutarch[537], they decreed to allow 2 oboli to every one of the old men, women, and children, who had fled from Athens at the time of the invasion of Xerxes. But in the flourishing times of the state, one person could live but moderately upon 2 or even 3 oboli a day[538]; upon the whole, the cheapness and facility of living were considerable. From the piety of the Greeks towards the dead, the death of a man, with his funeral and monument, often cost more than many years of his life, for we find that private individuals frequently spent for that purpose as much as 3, 10, 50, or even 120 minas[539].

The aggregate wealth of the Athenian people, exclusive of the public property and the mines, I have estimated in a succeeding part of this work, upon a probable calculation, at from 30,000 to 40,000 talents[540]; if of this sum only 20,000 talents are reckoned as property paying interest, each of the 20,000 citizens would have had the interest of a talent, or, according to the ordinary rate of interest, an annual income of

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[536] Plutarch. Solon. 21.

[537] Themistocl. 10.

[538] Lucian (Epist. Saturn. 21) says, that in order to satiate one's self with wheat or barley bread, together with a few cresses, some thyme, or a few onions, 4 oboli were wanting; which is the very sum that a miserly father gives to his son who has reached his eighteenth year, for his daily sustenance, in another place in the same author (Dial. Mort. 7). This however cannot be applied to Athens and to ancient times, without modifications.

[539] Lysias cont. Philon. p. 884; Pseudo-Plat. Epist. xiii. p. 361, E; Demosth. c. Bœot. de Dote, p. 1023, 22; Lysias. c. Diogit. p. 905; Demosth. c. Stephan. i. p. 1124, 15.

[540] Book iv. ch. 4.

720 drachmas, if property had been equally divided, which the ancient philosophers and statesmen always considered as the greatest good fortune of a state; and with the addition of the produce of their labour, they might have been all able to live comfortably. But a considerable number of the citizens were poor; while others were possessed of great riches, who from the lowness of prices and the high rate of interest were able not only to live luxuriously, but at the same time to accumulate additional wealth, as capital increased with extreme rapidity.

This inequality destroyed the State and the morals of the inhabitants. The most natural consequence of it was the servility of the poor towards the rich, although they thought that they had the same pretensions as their superiors in wealth; and the wealthy citizens practised the same canvassing for popular favour, as was the custom at Rome, with different degrees of utility, or rather of hurtfulness. A citizen might perhaps adopt beneficial means for obtaining his end, as Cimon for example, the first man of his age, who, besides his great mental qualities, imitated Pisistratus in leaving his lands and gardens without any keepers, and thus the produce of his farms and his house became almost the property of the public; he used also to provide cheap entertainments for the poor, to bury the indigent, to distribute small pieces of money when he went out, and to cause his attendants to change clothes with decayed citizens[541]. Yet these were the very means by which the sovereign citizens were reduced to a miserable state of beggary and dependance.

Even this, however, might have been tolerable; but as every statesman had not the means of making such large outlays from his private fortune, and liberality to the people being necessary to purchase their favour, the distribution of money at the festivals, the payment of the soldiers, ecclesiasts, dicasts, and senators, the costly sacrifices, and the cleruchiæ, were introduced by the demagogues: the allies were compelled to try their causes at Athens, among other reasons for producing more

[541] Theopomp. ap. Athen. xii. p. 533, A; Plutarch Cimon. 10, partly from Aristotle, and Pericl. 9.

fees to the dicasts, and employment for the other citizens[542]; every description of oppressive acts against the allies, and public crimes were the consequence, which the demagogues pretended that they were driven to by the poverty of the people[543]. And when the necessary consequence and punishment of their tyranny arrived in the defection of the allies, the helpless condition of the state had increased; for the multitude had forgotten their former activity, and been gradually accustomed to ease and refinement; no course therefore remained but to struggle to regain their former ascendancy. Add to this the envy which the poor entertained against the rich, and the joy and readiness with which they divided their possessions, upon which, after bribery had been tried in vain, the whole rage of the multitude vented itself. Xenophon, in his Treatise upon the Revenues, understood perfectly that it was necessary to promote the welfare of individuals; but, leaving out of the question the insufficiency of his proposals, Athens, if her wealth and power could have been restored, was lost beyond all hope of recovery, as the minds of her citizens could not be so easily recalled to a state consistent with her desired prosperity.

CHAPTER XXI.

Wages of Labour in Attica.

FROM the extreme cheapness of the necessaries of life, the wages of labour must have been at a low rate in ancient times; and the number of competitors in the market for labour, among whom, besides the Thetes and the resident aliens, a large portion of slaves should be reckoned, must have contributed to produce a farther diminution[544]. In addition to the effect of competition, the gangs of slaves maintained by the wealthy essentially injured the profits of the poorer classes of citizens. And it was with justice that the Phocians, who are said to have formerly prohibited the keeping of slaves, upbraided Mnason,

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[542] Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. [543] Xenoph. de Vectig. init.
[544] Cf. Xenoph. de Vectig. 4.

who possessed more than a thousand, with keeping an equal number of citizens out of employment[545]. After the Peloponnesian war, even citizens who had been accustomed to live in a better condition of life—however repugnant it was to their feelings—were compelled to maintain themselves by working for daily wages at any manual labour, as they had lost their foreign estates, rents had fallen as well from the scarcity of money, as from the decrease of the population, and loans were not to be procured[546].

I have been able to find but few exact statements of the amount of wages of labour: Lucian states, that in the age of Timon (provided he does not refer to earlier what really belongs to later times) 4 oboli were the daily wages for garden or field-labour upon a distant estate[547]; this same sum occurs as a porter's wages in Aristophanes, and of a common labourer who carried manure[548]. When Ptolemy sent 100 masons and 350 labourers to the Rhodians, in order to repair the damage caused by the earthquake, he gave them 14 talents a year for opson, that is, 3 oboli a-piece[549]; which, if they were slaves, was the expense of their maintenance, if free labourers, only a part of their wages, as a man required other things besides opson. The philosophers Menedemus and Asclepiades must have been powerful labourers in their youth, if they earned 2 drachmas a night for grinding in a corn mill[550]. Particular services, which require a certain degree of compliance on the part of the labourers, received a higher recompense at Athens, as in all other cities. Bacchus, in the Frogs of Aristophanes[551], wishes to have his bundle carried by a porter, who asks 2 drachmas for his trouble; but when the god offers the departed shade 9 oboli, he declares that "rather than do this he would return to life again." If this dialogue in the region of shades is not a scene of real life, it has no point: a living porter at Athens would be equally exorbitant in his demands, and if less was

[545] Athen. vi. p. 264, C. cf. p. 272, B.
[546] Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. ii. 7, 8.
[547] Lucian. Timon. 6, 12.
[548] Aristoph. ap. Poll. vii. 133, and Eccles. 310.
[549] Polyb. v. 88.
[550] Phanodemus and Philochorus ap. Athen. iv. p. 168, A.
[551] Vs. 172 sqq.

offered him, he might naturally answer that he would sooner die than do it.

The fare paid for passages by sea was extremely moderate, particularly for long voyages; it cost 2 oboli to go from Ægina to the Piræus; that is, for more than 21 miles; the fare from Egypt or the Pontus to the same port, more than 600 miles, for a man with his family and baggage, was at most 2 drachmas in the age of Plato; a proof that commerce was very profitable, so that it was not found necessary to require much from passengers. In the time of Lucian the fare from Athens to Ægina was 4 oboli[552]. The freight of timber appears to have been more considerable in a case mentioned by Demosthenes[553], in which 1750 drachmas were paid for a cargo from Macedonia to Athens: the immense corn vessel the Isis, which, in the time of the emperors, brought so much corn from Egypt to Italy, that it was asserted that one cargo would be sufficient for a year's consumption of all Attica, produced at the least 12 talents of freightage per annum[554].

The fulling of an upper garment cost 3 oboli[555]. 30 drachmas were paid for engraving a decree of moderate size, if we may judge from the fragment that remains; 50 drachmas were assigned for engraving all the decrees of Lycurgus in the archonship of Anaxicrates (Olymp. 118, 2, B.C. 307)[556], which can only be explained by supposing that the writing was for the most part very small. The great inscription which was first published by Barthelemy[557], is only 3′ 8″ 4‴ Paris measure high, 6″ 6‴ thick, the upper part, which contains an image in high relief, is 1′ 11″, the lower part, upon which the writing is engraved, 2′ 4″ 6‴ wide. The whole inscription consists of only 40 rows of letters, which are 3½ lines high, with spaces between the rows of 2 lines in height; so that the whole height

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[552] Plat. Gorg. § 143, ed. Heindorf. Lucian. vol. iii. p. 258, ed. Reiz.

[553] Cont. Timoth. p. 1192. That only one cargo is meant is evident from the mention of only one captain, Ibid. 1, 24.

[554] Lucian ut sup. p. 256.

[555] Aristoph. Vesp. 1123, cf. 1122.

[556] Marm. Oxon. xxiv. ed. Chandl. and in some unpublished inscriptions; third decree at the end of the Lives of the Ten Orators.

[557] The Choiseul inscription.

of the inscription itself is 1′ 6″ 4‴. In addition to this we may notice the payments at the baths, which, according to Lucian, amounted to 2 oboli, although they cannot be considered solely as the wages of labour[558]. For the labour of plucking out the hair with pitch, in order to make the skin resemble that of a woman, a fashionable gentleman is represented in Philemon as paying four men 6 chalcûs a-piece, as it appears from a passage in Pollux[559]. It may be also observed the rich had private, and the people of Athens public baths[560].

The pay of the soldiers was different according to times and circumstances, and varied between 2 oboli and 2 drachmas, the latter including the provision-money for an hoplite and his attendant; the cavalry received from two to four times, officers generally twice, and generals only four times that amount: the provision-money was usually equal to the pay. A soldier could maintain himself sufficiently well for 2 or 3 oboli, especially as in many places living was much cheaper than at Athens; out of his pay he was to provide clothes and arms, after which a certain surplus remained, which, if he had opportunities to plunder, might enable him to amass a decent fortune. This explains the meaning of the comic poet Theopompus[561], who says, that with a pay of 2 oboli a soldier could maintain a wife, and with 4 oboli his fortune was complete; where he means the pay alone without the provision.

The pay of the dicasts and ecclesiasts amounted in its increased state to 3 oboli, and like the theorica, only served as a contribution to the support of the citizens: the Heliast in the Wasps of Aristophanes[562] clearly shows the difficulty which there was in procuring bread, opson, and wood, for three per-

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558 Lexiphanes, 2.

559 ix. 66, and there Hemsterhuis. The operation takes place at the bath.

560 Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. 2, 10; see Barthél. Anach. tom. ii. chap. 20.

561 Ap. Poll. ix. 64, where read with Kühn,

Καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν εἰκὸς εὖ πράττοι τετρωβολίζων,

Εἰ νῦν γε διώβολον φέρων ἀνὴρ τρέφει γυναῖκα.

[Porson Præf. Eurip. Hec. p. 43, writes the last line, εἰ νῦν γ' ἀνὴρ διώβολον φέρει τρέφειν γυναῖκα. The correct reading probably is, εἰ νῦν γ' ἀνὴρ διώβολον φέρων τρέφει γυναῖκα. TRANSL.]

562 Vesp. 299, cf. 699.

sons out of this allowance: clothes and house-room he does not reckon, as these he provided from his private property. The salaries of the senators and ambassadors were more considerable; the liberal arts and sciences were the most abundantly paid, although the remuneration of the courtesans was scarcely inferior.

The ancient states maintained physicians who were paid at the public cost[563]; thus, for example, Hippocrates is said to have been public physician at Athens: these again had attendants, for the most part slaves, who exercised their calling among people of low condition[564]. The celebrated physician Democedes of Croton received about the sixtieth Olympiad, (540 B. C.,) notwithstanding the small quantity of money then in circulation, the large salary of 36 Æginetan minas or of 1 Attic talent of silver: being invited to Athens, he received 100 minas, until Polycrates of Samos gave him 2 talents[565]. It cannot be doubted that many artists of a different description were paid in a similar manner by the state, such as the architects at Rhodes and Cyzicus, and doubtless at every place of importance.

The pay of musicians and actors was very considerable. Amœbeus, a singer in ancient Athens, received an Attic talent for each time that he appeared[566]: it is well known that the flute payers were very highly paid. In a Corcyræan inscription[567] of no great antiquity, 50 Corinthian, or 83⅓ Attic minas, are fixed as the pay for three auletæ, three tragic, and three comic actors for a festivity, besides the large expenses of their maintenance. Distinguished actors were not less highly paid, although they made great additional gains by travelling from place to place, when they were not employed at Athens[568]; thus, for example, Polus or Aristodemus is said to have gained a talent in two days, or even in one[569]. In like manner com-

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[563] Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. iv. 2, 5, Plat. Gorg. §°23. Concerning the pay see Strab. iv. p. 125, Diod. xii. 13.

[564] Plat. Leg.

[565] Herod. iii. 131.

[566] Aristeas ap. Athen. xv. p. 623, D.

[567] Inscript. 150, ed. Boeckh.

[568] Cf. Demosth. de Fals. Leg. and the second argument to this oration.

[569] Vit. X. Orat. p. 268, ed. Tübing. Gell. xi. 9, 10. Concerning the pay of the common actors at Rome, see Lip-

mon strolling players, jugglers, conjurors, fortune-tellers, &c., gained a competence by their callings, although the sum which one person paid was inconsiderable; for example, a chalcus, an obolus, though sometimes as much as a drachma[570]; apprentices' fees for instruction in trades and arts, including even that of medicine, had been introduced in the time of Socrates[571]. The tribes at Athens were bound to provide for a part of the instruction in music and gymnastic exercises, and they had their own teachers, by whom the youth of the whole tribe were instructed[572]; in the other schools each person paid, but how much we are not informed[573]: an exception was made to this rule by some enactments of Charondas, who is said to have appointed salaries for the grammarians, if the laws, from which Diodorus[574] took his account, are not fabrications.

The teachers of philosophy and rhetoric, or the sophists, were not paid by the state till later times; at first, however, they obtained large sums from their scholars, the worthy successors of the mercenary lyric poets, whose inspiration was frequently the result of gold[575]. Protagoras of Abdera is said to have been the first who taught for money, and he received from a pupil 100 minas for his complete education[576]; Gorgias[577] required the same sum, notwithstanding which he only left at his death 1000 staters[578]; together with Zeno of Elea[579], who

sius Exc. N. ad Tacit. Annal. 1. It is difficult to believe that Demosthenes gave 10,000 drachmas to the actor Neoptolemus for teaching him to speak with long breath, as is stated in the lives of the Ten Orators, p. 260.

[570] Casaub. ad Theophrast. Char. 6. Lucian gives a good deal of information with regard to the fortune-tellers: the most remarkable instance of growing rich by this art occurs in Isocrat. Æginet.

[571] Plat. Menon. p. 90, B. sqq.

[572] Demosth. cont. Bœot. de Nom. p. 1001, 19.

[573] Demosth. cont. Aphob. i. p. 828.

[574] Diod. xii. 13. Although their spuriousness has been proved, yet every thing that occurs in them cannot be rejected as forged; the latter law, however, gives strong grounds for suspecting that it is of the Alexandrian age.

[575] Many persons have treated of the pay of learned men. The most important particulars have been collected by Wolf (Vermischte Schriften, p. 42, sqq.), without any parade of quotations. [See also Smith's Wealth of Nations, b. 1, ch. 10. TRANSL.]

[576] Quintil. Inst. Orat. iii. 1, Gell. v. 10, Diog. ix. 52, and there Menage.

[577] Suidas, and Diod. xii. 53.

[578] Isocrat. de Antidosi, § 167, ed. Bekker.

[579] Plat. Alcib. i. p. 119, A. The

was otherwise unlike the sophists. Instruction being obtained at so high a price, it is natural that persons should have bargained and endeavoured to agree for moderate terms; at which we who carry on the same trade with books, as they with their oral instruction, should be the last to be astonished. Hippias, while still a young man, together with Protagoras, earned in Sicily, in a very short space of time, 150 minas, of which more than 20 minas came from one small town; and not, as it appears, by any long course of education[580]. By degrees, however, the number of teachers brought about a reduction of the price: Euenus of Paros, as early as in the time of Socrates, exposed himself to the ridicule of the multitude by taking only 10 minas[581], for which sum, also, Isocrates taught the whole art of rhetoric[582]; and this in the time of Lycurgus was considered as the common remuneration of a teacher of eloquence[583]. At last even the followers of Socrates were content to teach for money, Aristippus having, as it is said, been the first to set the example[584]. It may be also mentioned, that they used to receive money from each pupil for private lectures; thus Prodicus received from 1, 2, and 4, to 50 drachmas[585]. Antiphon was the first person who wrote speeches for money, and he was paid highly for them[586].

I am almost ashamed to speak of the prices of intercourse with persons of both sexes, which, according to Suidas and Zonaras[587], were fixed by law: 3 chalcus, 1 and 2 oboli, a

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Scholiast of Aristophanes (Nub. 873) states that the teachers would not have readily taken less than a talent: if any reliance is to be placed on this account, which is hardly necessary, it must be referred to the time of Socrates alone.

[580] Plat. Hipp. § 5. For further information concerning Hippias, see Suidas, Philostr. vit. Soph. i. 1, 11, Apulej. Florid. p. 346, ed. Elm.

[581] Plat. Apol. Socrat. p. 20, B.

[582] Demosth. cont. Lacrit. p. 938, 17, Plutarch. in Vit. Demosth. and Vit. X. Orat. in Vit. Isocrat.

[583] Vit. Dec. Orat. in Vit. Lycurg.

[584] Diog. ii. 65, and there Menage, cf. 72, 74. He is said to have taken from 500 to 1000 drachmas, although others refer these accounts to Isocrates.

[585] Plat. Cratyl. init. Aristot. Rhet. iii. 14, Philost. ut sup. 12, Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 360, Suidas in v. Πρόδικον, Eudoc. Ion. p. 365.

[586] Van Spaan (Ruhnken) de Antiph. p. 809, tom. vii. of Reiske's Orators.

[587] In v. διάγραμμα.

drachma[588]; a stater with women of middling condition[589], but the price of a Lais was 10,000 drachmas for a night[590]. Other prices may be seen in Lysias[591], and the author of the epistles of Æschines[592].

CHAPTER XXII.

Interest of Money in Attica. Money Changers and Bankers. Loans on Mortgage.

THE rate of interest in Greece was expressed either by the number of oboli or drachmas which were paid by the month for each mina that was borrowed, or by the part of the principal that was paid as interest either annually, or for the whole time of the loan. According to the first method of speaking, interest of 10 per cent. per annum is called at 5 oboli (*ἐπὶ πέντε ὀβολοῖς*), of 12 per cent. at a drachma (*ἐπὶ δραχμῇ*), of 16 per cent. at 8 oboli (*ἐπ' ὀκτὼ ὀβολοῖς*), of 18 per cent. at 9 oboli (*ἐπ' ἐννέα ὀβολοῖς*), and of 24 or 36 per cent. at 2 or 3 drachmas (*ἐπὶ δυσὶ, τριρὶ δραχμαῖς*): according to the other method, the rates of the third, fifth, sixth, eighth, and tenth parts of the principal, either annually or for any specified term, are $33\frac{1}{3}$, 20, $16\frac{2}{3}$, $12\frac{1}{2}$, and 10 per cent. (*τόκοι ἐπίτριτοι, ἐπίπεμπτοι, ἔφεκτοι, ἐπόγδοοι, ἐπιδέκατοι*)[593].

Passages in the ancient writers leave no room for doubt that the expressions above cited have the sense which I have assigned to them; and that in the first method of expression, the specified number of oboli and drachmas, was the amount of interest to be paid by the month, and in the other the portion of the principal was interest to be paid either annually, or in

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[588] Hesych. in v. *τριαντοπόρνη*, Athen. vi. p. 241, E, Aristoph. Thesm. 1207. The *diobolares* are well known.

[589] Theopompus the comic poet ap. Poll. ix. 59.

[590] Sotion ap. Gell. i. 8, 8.

[591] Cont. Simon. pp. 147, 148.

[592] Pseud-Æschin. Epist. 7.

[593] The words *ἐπίτριτος, ἐπιτέταρτος*, &c. in the mathematical and musical writings of the ancients, signify $1\frac{1}{3}$, $1\frac{1}{4}$, &c., as the beginner may learn from my Memoir *über die Bildung der Weltseele im Timäos des Platon*, Studien, 1817, part i. p. 50. That in the reckoning of interest they mean $\frac{1}{3}$, &c. has been already remarked by Salmasius de M. U. I. Compare Schneider ad Xenoph. de Vectig. p. 183.

cases of bottomry for the time of the ship's passage specified in the agreement. Some earlier writers, however, whom Salmasius has already refuted with needless minuteness, have maintained the absurd notion, that the tenth, eighth, sixth, fifth, and third parts of the loan were interest to be paid monthly, or in agreements of bottomry even daily; nor can we feel otherwise than astonished to find that Barthélemy[594], repeating the assertion of Petit, considers 16 per cent. as monthly interest. The main source of this error lies in the supposition, that all interest was paid by the month, which, without doubt, was frequently the case[595]: but not only is it impossible that in bottomry bonds, the interest could have been paid monthly, as the borrower was neither able nor obliged to pay it until after his return; but even in mortgages, the annual payment of interest was not uncommon[596]: nor if in ancient Greece, at all times, and in all places, interest had been paid by the month, would it follow from the names of the interest of the third, fifth, sixth, and eighth parts, that those portions of the principal were paid monthly, any more than at present, when it is paid quarterly or half yearly, it follows from the expression that a sum of money is lent at 5 per cent., that 5 per cent. is to be paid every quarter or half year. We may also remark, omitting the agreements of bottomry, which did not exactly run a year, that the interest of the tenth part (*τόκοι ἐπιδέκατοι*) is the same as the interest of 5 oboli, of the eighth part (12½ per cent.) nearly the same as the interest of one drachma (12 per cent.), of the sixth part (16⅔ per cent.) nearly the same as the rate at 8 oboli (16 per per cent.), of the 5th part (20 per cent.) nearly the same as the rate at 9 oboli (18 per cent.), and of the third part (33⅓) as the rate of 3 drachmas (36 per cent.): but the examples which will be presently quoted, prove that they are not therefore to be

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[594] Anachars. tom. iv. p. 372.

[595] Aristoph. Nub. init. and 751 sqq.

[596] Demosth. Polycl. p. 1225, 15. Inscript. ap. Montfaucon. Diar. Ital. p. 412. Even when the rate of interest was fixed by the month, it might be paid by the year, as is evident from the above-quoted inscription. In the Orchomenian Inscription (Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. No. 1569,) the rate of interest is also fixed by the month, but it did not necessarily follow that the money should therefore be paid every month.

taken as identical; and each expression must be understood precisely in its strict meaning as it stands, since the lenders would never have made use of indefinite expressions. It was not until the age of Justinian that the *Centesima*, which is exactly equal to the interest at a drachma, was identified with the interest of the eighth part (*τόκος ἐπόγδοος*) or 12½ per cent., as Salmasius correctly remarks; although he himself, in speaking of more ancient times, does not always accurately distinguish between the rates of interest which I have mentioned as only slightly differing.

From this preliminary investigation into the method of expressing the rate of interest, it follows that in Greece interest was not so low as in modern states, and at Rome in the age of Cicero: the lowest rate at Athens appears to have been 10 per cent., the highest 36 per cent.; the latter is not even exceeded by any examples of interest received upon bottomry, although these were, in fact, higher than they appear, since the time of a ship's voyage for which the money was generally lent, was shorter than a year. I can find no authority for the statement of Casaubon[597], that they sometimes obtained an interest of 4 drachmas a month, although usurers took, without reserve, as much as they could extort. Interest equal to half the principal (*ἡμιόλιος τόκος*), first occurs a considerable time after the Christian era, in a case of a loan of products of the soil to be repaid in kind[598].

The cause of the high rate of interest can only be, that it was then more difficult than now to procure a loan of money, or, what is equivalent, that there was a greater demand for money to be borrowed, and a smaller quantity to be lent. But that, in general, this circumstance was not owing to the insufficient quantity of money in circulation, appears to be evident from this, that if the quantity of coin in circulation was small, the demand for it would necessarily be small likewise, on account of the low prices of commodities; and also from the fact, that landed estates bore a rent equal to 8 per cent. of their value, and even more than 12 per cent. for the lease of

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[597] Ad Theophrast. Char. 6. [598] Salmas. de M. U. viii.

the whole property[599]; so that the rate of interest does not appear to depend upon the quantity of money in circulation, but to have a common origin with rent.

The chief reasons, therefore, why money was not willingly lent out at a low interest, appear to be, that any person who wished to carry on business with it himself, might obtain a high profit by employing it in commerce or manufactures[600], in the same way that any one who managed his own property himself, on account of the smaller expense of slave-labour, would necessarily have made a greater net profit than at the present time under a different combination of circumstances. Add to this that credit was at a low ebb, which was occasioned by the defective morality and the imperfection of the civil constitution and laws of the different states, and especially by the difficulty of obtaining redress for injuries in a foreign country. Even the legislation of Solon, by which the rights of individuals were more accurately defined, struck at the root of the security of the creditor, by taking away his right over the body of the debtor; and it was shown by the measure called the Seisachtheia, how little respect the state had for the security of property, whether by this ordinance merely the value of the currency was depreciated, or the rate of interest also was diminished, or whether, in certain cases at least, a complete extinction of all debts was effected by it[601]; nor was the severity of the laws upon debt sufficient to produce any great security in the lending of money, as the administration of them was entrusted to ill-regulated courts of justice, and the fraudulent debtor had at his command every species of subterfuge and dishonest contrivance against the creditor.

The business of the bankers[602] may lastly have contributed to raise the rate of interest, as these usurers took money at a moderate premium from persons who would not occupy themselves with the management of their own property[603], in order

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[599] See below, chap. xxiv.

[600] See above, chap. ix.

[601] See Plut. Solon. 14.

[602] Concerning which see particularly Salmasius de Fenore Trapezitico and de Usuris, and the acute Heraldus, Animadv. in Salmas. Obs. ii. 24, 25.

[603] Thus e. g. Demosthenes' father kept a part of his capital in the hands

to lend it with profit to others, and thus to a certain degree obtained possession of a monopoly. Trading with borrowed money composed the chief part of the business of the bankers[604], although they sometimes employed capital of their own in that manner; the exchange of money at an agio[605] was by no means their exclusive employment. Although they were generally of a low origin, freedmen, aliens, or persons who had been admitted as citizens, they aimed less at connecting themselves with good families, than at pecuniary gain[606]; but they became possessed of great credit, which existed for the principal houses through the whole of Greece, and were thus effectively supported in their business[607]; they even maintained such a reputation, that not only were they considered as secure merely by virtue of their calling, but such confidence was placed in them, that business was transacted with them without witnesses[608], and as is now done in courts of justice, money and contracts of debt were deposited with them, and agreements were concluded or cancelled in their presence[609]. The importance of their business is shown by the great wealth of Pasion, whose bank annually produced a net profit of 100 minas[610]; there are, however, instances of their failing and losing every thing[611]. It is scarcely necessary to show that they took a high rate of interest; their loans on the deposit of goods are, without other testimony, sufficient to prove it[612]. The Athenian bankers obtained 36 per cent., a rate which hardly occurs among honest people, except in the case of bottomry.

The common usurers (*τοκογλύφοι, toculliones, ἡμεροδανεισταὶ*), who made a profit of the necessities of the poor or the extravagance of the young, demanded, according to the faithful descrip-

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of bankers, Dem. cont. Aphob. i. p. 816.

[604] Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 948, sup.

[605] Isocrat. Trapez. 21, Demosth. de fals. Leg. p. 376, 2, cont. Polycl. p. 1216, 18, Pollux, iii. 84, vii. 170.

[606] Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 953.

[607] Cf. Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 958, sup. cont. Polycl. p. 1224, 3.

[608] Isocrat. Trapezit. 2.

[609] Demosth. cont. Callip. p. 1243, 8, cont. Dionysod. p. 1287, 20.

[610] Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 946, 25.

[611] Dem. pro Phorm. p. 959, cont. Stephan. i. p. 1120, 20 sqq. Ulpian ad Demosth. cont. Timocrat.

[612] Demosth. cont. Nicostrat. p. 1249, 10.

tion of Theophrastus[613], as much as an obolus and a half a day, for each drachma; and the practice which was prevalent in the times of Plutarch, of immediately subtracting the interest from the sum borrowed, and again lending it out upon interest[614], had probably arisen in the flourishing times of Athens. On account of this high rate of interest, and the severity with which they enforced the payment of it, frequently seizing the houses and property of their debtors, and as lenity was foreign to their character, or indeed any other consideration but that of their own gain, the bankers and money-lenders drew upon themselves the merited hatred of all, as being the most infamous of human beings[615].

Money was lent without interest from motives of friendship or kindness, even without a written bond and any security or pledge, either with or without witnesses (*χειρόδοτον, ἀσύγγραφον*)[616]; sometimes with an acknowledgment (*χειρόγραφον*), which was usually written upon papyrus; or with a formal and solemn instrument (*συγγραφὴ*), which was written by a third person in a diptychon of waxen tablets, signed by witnesses, and given in charge to a banker[617]. The security was either made over to the creditor or not; in the latter case it was security in a more limited sense, in the former it was the pledge (*ἐνέχυρον*)[618]: the security in the more confined signification was generally of land, but sometimes of moveables, for instance, slaves, and especially in cases of bottomry, the goods, the ship, and the outstanding freightage-money; although the pledges were generally of moveable property, we sometimes find that land and houses were given in pledge, and indeed, on account of their safety, were common for dowries and leases of orphans' property.

To lend upon a person's own body (*δανείζειν ἐπὶ σώματι*)

[613] Char. 6, and there Casaubon; cf. Herald. Anim. in Salmas. Obs. ad I. A. et R i i. 21.

[614] Plutarch. de vitando ære alieno, 4.

[615] Demosth. cont. Stephan. i. p. 1122, extr. and p. 1123, sup. cont. Pantæn. pp. 981, 982. Antiphanes the comic poet in the *Μισοπόνηρος* ap. Athen. vi. p. 226, E, cf. Herald. ut sup. ii. 24, 1, 2.

[616] Demosth. cont. Timoth. p. 1185, 12, Salmas. de M. U. x. p. 381.

[617] Salmas. ibid.

[618] Salmas. ut sup. 11.

was prohibited in Athens from the time of Solon[619], in imitation, as Diodorus supposes, of the Egyptian law; in other states this cruel and barbarous custom remained in force, although it was not allowed to take even agricultural implements in pawn[620]. Arms could neither be taken nor given in pawn at Athens[621]. There were also public books of debt in Greece, like the German registers of mortgages; but they are not mentioned as having existed at Athens. Mortgaged lands, however, were distinguished by stone tablets or pillars, upon which the debt and the creditor's name were inscribed (ὅροι)[622]: a custom of extreme antiquity, which existed before the time of Solon, who himself declares, that by his constitution the stones which had been before standing upon all estates were removed, as he by some method or other had released or relieved the debtors.

If the principal, together with the security, was not exposed to destruction, and the creditor, according to his contract, liable to no loss, the interest was certain, and was called land-interest or mortgage (τόκοι ἔγγυοι or ἔγγειοι)[623]. Neither the interest of money lent upon mortgage, of which I shall next speak, nor upon bottomry, was fixed by law; and even, if we suppose it to be true, as was affirmed by Androtion, that Solon lowered the

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[619] Diog. Laërt. and Plutarch in the Life of Solon, also the latter in his Essay de vitando ære alieno, 4.

[620] Salmas. ut sup. xvii. p. 749.

[621] Petit. Leg. Att. viii. 1, 6.

[622] Demosthenes in many passages, which have been collected by Reiske in the Index, p. 544, Pollux iii. 85, ix. 9, Etymol. and Harpocrat. in vv. ἄστικτον and ὅρος, Hesych. in vv. ὅρος and ὡρισμένη, Lex. Seg. p. 285, Photius in ὅρος in several articles. Cf. Salmas. ut sup. xv. They were στῆλαι, stone tablets or pillars; the Romans (see Vales. upon Maussac's notes to Harpocration) likewise used *tabulæ* of the same nature: at Athens, however, they appear not to have been of wood, although the Etymologist and Lex. Seg. p. 192, 5, p. 285, 12, call them σανίδες according to a later custom, perhaps from a misapprehension of a passage in the first speech against Aristogeiton, p. 791, 11. It should be observed, however, that it was by no means necessary to set up these stones, see Herald. Anim. in Salmas. Obser. ad I. A. and R. iv. 3, 8. (See a paper by the Author on this subject, reprinted in the Museum Criticum, No. viii. p. 622, sqq.)

[623] See Salmas. ut sup. iii. The manuscripts sometimes give the former word, which Salmasius declares to be the correct form, and sometimes the latter: both appear to have been in use, but where either is more correctly used, is not easy to determine.

interest of all debts which existed before his time, yet he permitted every person afterwards to lend his money at whatever rate he could obtain[624]; and only in the single instance of a man's separating from his lawful wife, and not immediately returning her dowry, the rate of 9 oboli (18 per cent.) was fixed by law, probably because this was the ordinary rate at the time when this regulation was made[625]. Even in the age of Lysias and Isæus, this high interest was not usurious; the latter orator[626] relates it as an ordinary occurrence, that a person had lent 40 minas at 9 oboli, and had received from them a return of 720 drachmas a year; and Timarchus borrowed upon the very same terms[627].

The interest of 8 oboli (16 per cent.) occurs in Demosthenes[628]; the interest of a drachma (12 per cent.), which is at the present day the common rate in the Levant, was frequent in the age of Demosthenes, but it was, as appears from the orator's own words, considered low, although a talent lent out at this rate would have produced an annual return of 720 drachmas, upon which a small family could live[629]. The interest of 5 oboli, or of the tenth part, was chiefly in use among friends[630], and is opposed to the interest of the third part: in a story, related in Aristotle's rhetoric, of Mœrocles, who lived in the age of Demosthenes, it is considered as moderate[631].

From 12 to 18 per cent. appear then to have been the com-

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[624] Τὸ *ἀργύριον στάσιμον εἶναι ἐφ' ὁπόσῳ ἂν βούληται ὁ δανείζων*. Lex ap. Lys. cont. Theomnest. p. 360. *Στῆσαι* then had the meaning of *δανεῖσαι*, from the money being weighed when it was lent; thence also the word *ὀβολοστάτης*. Orus ap. Etymol. in v. *ὀβελίσκος*.

[625] Orat. c. Neær. p. 1362, 9, Demosth. c. Aphob. i. p. 818, 27, cf. Salmas. de M. U. iv. p. 159.

[626] De Hagn. Hered. p. 293.

[627] Æsch. c. Timarch. p. 127.

[628] Cont. Nicostrat. p. 1250, 18.

[629] Demosth. c. Aphob. i. p: 816, 11, p. 820, 20, p. 824, 22, ii. p. 839, 24, Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 497, comp. Niehuhr Hist. Rom. vol. ii. p. 61, &c. In an inscription in Muratori vol. ii. p. DLXXVIII. i. *ἑκατοστιαῖος τόκος* is mentioned, evidently translated from *usuræ centesimæ*, and thus furnishes a means of determining the age of the inscription.

[630] Demosth. c. Onetor. i. p. 866, 4.

[631] Aristot. Rhet. iii. 10, with the slight alteration of Salmasius de M. U. ii. p. 41, also in the spurious Œconomics of Aristotle 2, 3, ed. Schneid. *ἐπιδέκατοι τόκοι* occur on the occasion of a sequestration imposed by the Byzantines upon all vessels, which, however, must not be considered as a common occurrence.

monest rates of interest at Athens; the only manner in which I can explain why Salmasius[632] considered the interest of the sixth part, or 16⅔ per cent. as the most usual at Athens, is, that he confounds this rate of interest with others of similar amount. Several examples of higher rates of interest occur. Demus, the son of the celebrated Pyrilampes, who had been sent as ambassador to Persia, offered to pawn a golden cup to Aristophanes for 16 minas, which he had received from the king of Persia, and to redeem it in a short time for 20[633]. Æschines, the Socratic philosopher, wishing to set up a manufactory of ointments, borrowed money of a banker at 3 drachmas (36 per cent.) whereby he lost, until he procured the same sum from another person at 9 oboli[634].

The rate of interest in other Grecian states was regulated in a similar manner. The Clazomenians paid the commanders of their mercenary troops 4 talents a year, as the interest of a debt of 20 talents at the rate of the fifth part (*τόκος ἐπίπεμπτος*)[635]. The rate of mortgage in the Bosporus was sometimes the sixth part (*τόκος ἕφεκτος*), at which Phormion, as mentioned in Demosthenes[636], pretended to have paid 560 drachmas for 120 Cyzicenic staters, each reckoned at 28 Attic drachmas, at 16⅔ per cent. In Orchomenus in Bœotia, interest occurs of several drachmas for a month; and in a Corcyræan decree it is ordered that certain monies shall not be lent out either at a higher or lower rate than at 2 drachmas a month (24 per cent.)[637], where bottomry cannot possibly be meant. The epobelia of Plato in his Treatise upon Laws[638] (according to which the taking of usury was to have been entirely forbidden in the second ideal state) is not a rate of interest, as

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[632] Ut sup. i. p. 10.

[633] Lys. pro Aristoph. bonis, p. 629, sqq.

[634] Lys. Fragm. p. 4.

[635] See the Œconomics attributed to Aristotle.

[636] Cont. Phorm. p. 914, 10. Concerning the *ἕφεκτος τόκος* comp. also Harpocration, Suidas, Photius, and Zonaras in v. *ἕφεκτος τόκος*. The account given by Photius in v. *ἐφέκτους τόκους*, and by Lex. Seg. p. 257, is entirely devoid of sense, and is founded upon a false derivation, and a false accentuation, viz. *ἐφεκτός*.

[637] See the inscriptions quoted in note 596.

[638] xi. p. 921, C, cf. v. p. 742, C; Salmas. de M. U. i. p. 12; Schneider ad Xenoph. de Vectig. p. 182.

some have supposed, but a fine, such as the Athenian epobelia, to be fixed like interest by the month; that is to say, if a person neglected to pay the wages of any servant for the space of a year, he was, as a punishment for his dilatory conduct, to pay the epobelia, or an obolus to every drachma, for each month of the time.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Loans upon Bottomry.

A STILL higher profit was obtained by capitalists, allowance being made for accidents, by maritime interest (*τόκος ναυτικὸς*, *ἔκδοσις*)[639] or bottomry, in which, according to the Grecian custom, the ship, the cargo, or the money received for passengers and freightage, were answerable for the principal. The loan appears to have been most frequently made upon the goods (*ἐπὶ τοῖς φορτίοις*, *ἐπὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν*, *ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμπορίᾳ*), more rarely upon the vessel (*ἐπὶ τῇ νηὶ*, *ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ*), and the money received for passengers and for freightage (*ἐπὶ τῷ ναύλῳ*)[640]; in a case mentioned by Demosthenes[641], in which a trierarch borrowed money upon a ship that belonged to the state, and to the command of which he expected a successor, it is probable that the only security given was the ship's furniture, which was the private property of the trierarch.

This species of interest, which was so odious at Rome, does not appear to have given offence in Greece, and especially at Athens, as being a commercial town; it was, however, exposed

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[639] See Salmas. v. p. 19; Schneider ut sup. p. 181.

[640] Concerning the expressions in use see Schneider ut sup. p. 180. An instance of money being borrowed upon the passage money and the vessel occurs in Demosth. in Lacrit. p. 933, 22, and upon the passage money, as it appears, Diphilus in the passage quoted below; and of money lent upon the vessel, Demosth. ibid. and in Dionysod. p. 1283, 18; comp. the argument p. 1282, 4. What proofs Hudtwalcker (von den Diäteten, p. 140) can bring in favour of his assertion, that at Athens, in cases of Fenus nauticum, the ship was always hypothecated, I am unable to guess. The contrary is indeed evident from the passages quoted by Schneider and myself.

[641] Cont. Polycl. p. 1212 sup.

to much risk, as the loss of the security also brought with it the loss of both principal and interest: agreements of bottomry, in which the lender was not liable to the risk, were prohibited by the laws of Rhodes, that is, nobody could take such high interest as was customary in bottomry, without exposing himself to the danger of the loss: but since by the Athenian law, every person could take as high interest as he could obtain, this restriction did not exist at Athens; and such contracts as the Rhodian law prohibited, have no connexion with agreements of bottomry, as there would in those cases be either no security or one which was not at sea[642].

Agreements of bottomry were rendered binding by means of an instrument styled a maritime contract (*ναυτικὴ συγγραφὴ*)[643], which was deposited in the hands of a banker[644]. A document of this kind is preserved entire in the speech of Demosthenes against the Paragraphe of Lacritus, and part of another in the speech against Dionysodorus. The money was lent for a fixed time, and for the voyage to a particular place or country, and the debtor was bound to go to the place pointed out in the agreement, subject to a heavy penalty for the breach of this condition[645]. If it was only lent for the voyage outwards (*ἑτερόπλους*), the principal and interest were to be paid at the place of destination, either to the creditor himself if he went the voyage, or to some other person commissioned to receive it; of this latter description was the Cermacoluthus, who was frequently sent with the ship[646]; if the contract was for the voyage both inwards and outwards (*ἀμφοτερόπλους*), the payment was made after the return.

In these agreements there was generally a double security, the debtor being bound in goods to twice the amount of the loan, without being able to raise other money upon them[647]; and in agreements for voyages both inwards and outwards, if

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[642] Concerning the meaning of the Rhodian law, which Salmasius had not perceived, see Hudtwalcker de Fenore Nautico Romano, p. 7.

[643] Demosth. c. Lacrit. p. 932, 3; cf. Lex. Seg. p. 283, and others.

[644] Demosth. c. Phorm. p. 908, 20.

[645] Demosth. c. Dionysod. p. 1286 sup.

[646] Demosth. c. Phorm. p. 909, 24; p. 914, 28.

[647] Demosth. c. Phorm. p. 908 sqq. c. Lacrit. pp. 925—928.

the goods given as a security were sold, fresh commodities of equal value were to be reladen[648]. The severity of the laws against those who withdrew the security from a creditor, has been already remarked; but it was usual for a penalty to be also fixed in the agreements, if the debtor should not repay the entire loan, or should act otherwise contrary to the conditions; for example, of twice the amount of the principal, or of 5000 drachmas on a loan of 2000[649]. Until the time of repayment the security, if it was saved, was to be left untouched for the creditor: and sometimes, for greater security, even the whole property of the debtor was made answerable by a particular stipulation[650]. The money of orphans could not, according to law, be lent on bottomry, although this regulation was often violated[651].

As the hazard varied materially according to the length of the time, the distance of the voyage, the danger to which the vessels was exposed from storms, rocks, hostile fleets, pirates, or licensed privateers, it is less easy to conceive that there should have been an usual rate of interest in Greece for money lent on bottomry, than for the mortgage of land; and the assertion of Salmasius[652], that the rate of interest of the fifth part (20 per cent.) was the most common at Athens, is entirely devoid of foundation. The interest upon money lent only for the voyage outwards, must moreover have been less than that for the two voyages inwards and outwards, particularly since passengers who accompanied the master of a vessel, carrying at the same time sums of money with them, would naturally be the more ready to lend it to the captain, as they must have still incurred the same risk that arose from bottomry, if they took it with them without interest. The 10 or 12 per cent. interest upon money lent on bottomry mentioned by Diphilus[653] must undoubtedly be understood only of the passage

[648] Demosth. c. Phorm. p. 909, 26.

[649] Demosth. c. Dionysod. p. 1294, 12; c. Phorm. p. 915, 1; p. 916, 27.

[650] Deed in the Oration against Lacritus.

[651] Lys. Fragm. p. 37. Also the case in Lys. c. Diogit. p. 908.

[652] De M. U. I. p. 10; v. p. 209, where his reference to Xenophon proves nothing.

[653] In the passage which Salmasius quotes p. 35.
Εἰς δέκ' ἐπὶ τῇ μνᾷ γενονέναι καὶ δώδεκα;
Λαβὼν τὰ ναῦλα καὶ δάνει' ἐρυγγάνων.

outwards; as also the interest of the eighth part (12½ per cent.) in Demosthenes[654], which the trierarch Apollodorus lent to the

[654] Demosth. cont. Polycl. p. 1211, extr. *Εἰσαγγελθέντων δὲ ὅτι Βυζάντιοι . . . . . ἀναγκάζουσι τὸν σῖτον ἐξαιρεῖσθαι, δανεισάμενος ἐγὼ ἀργύριον παρὰ Χαιρεδήμου μὲν τοῦ Ἀναφλυστίου πεντεκαίδεκα μνᾶς ἐπὶ τόκον, ἑπτακοσίας δὲ δραχμὰς παρὰ Νικίππου τοῦ ναυκλήρου ναυτικὸν ἀνειλόμην, ὃς ἔτυχεν ὢν ἐν Σηστῷ, ἐπόγδοον, καὶ πέμψας Εὐκτήμονα . . . ἐκέλευσά μοι αὐτὸν ναῦτας μισθώσασθαι. . . . .* This is the old reading, except that I have restored *μνᾶς* for *δραχμὰς* from the manuscripts with Salmasius de M. U. V. p. 219, and Reiske; whether Ἀρχεδήμου, the reading of some manuscripts, and *ὀκτακοσίας*, which is approved of by Salmasius, should also be replaced, I leave undecided. Ἀνειλόμην is put by Anacoluthon for *ἀνελόμενος*, which is seldom used with *μὲν* and *δέ*: an instance however occurs in Herod. vi. 13, *ὁρέοντες ἅμα μὲν ἐοῦσαν ἀταξίην πολλὴν ἐκ τῶν Ἰώνων ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους, ἅμα δὲ κατεφαίνετό σφι εἶναι ἀδύνατα τὰ βασιλέος πρήγματα ὑπερβαλέσθαι, εὖ τε ἐπιστάμενοι . . .* which is precisely similar to the passage of Demosthenes; and as *κατεφαίνετο* might have been omitted in the former, so might *ἀνειλόμην* in the latter sentence; vi. 19, *ἐχρήσθη ἐπίκοινον χρηστήριον, τὸ μὲν ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἀργείους φέρον, τὴν δὲ παρενθήκην ἔχρησε ἐς Μιλησίους.* Also vi. 25, ad fin. Similarly also in Herod. viii. 69, *πρὸς μὲν Εὐβοίῃ σφέας ἐθελοκακέειν, ὡς οὐ παρεόντος αὐτοῦ, τότε δὲ αὐτὸς παρεσκεύαστο θεήσασθαι ναυμαχέοντας*, the transition from the indirect infinitive to the indicative. There are also other difficulties in this passage, which Salmasius and Reiske have been quite unable to clear up. The notes of the latter commentator are mere trifling, as he had no distinct notion of the Greek system of interest. Ἐπὶ *τόκον*, for which Hier. Wolf wishes to substitute the more convenient expression of *ἐπὶ τόκῳ*, was thought too indefinite. Salmasius corrects *ἐγγύῳ*, and Reiske *ἐγγείου τόκου*, or *ἐγγείων τόκων*: if however these words refer at all to the rate of interest, one should rather expect some more particular percentage than the generic term. Ὃς *ἔτυχεν ὢν ἐν Σηστῷ* cannot be referred to *ναυτικὸν*, the latter word being in the neuter gender, as in the parallel passage of Xenophon quoted below, Demosth. cont. Aphob. i. p. 816, 26, *ναυτικὰ ἑβδομήκοντα μνᾶς*, and elsewhere. But Salmasius' improbable conjectures *ὃ* and *ὃν*, are the less admissible, because it cannot be supposed that there was some one rate of interest in general use at Sestos, without any distinction of the risk. Reiske, without the slightest authority, has placed the words *ὃς ἔτυχεν ὢν ἐν Σηστῷ ἐπόγδοον* after *ἐπὶ τόκον*: but the safest way is to suppose that *ἐπόγδοον* means the interest of money lent out on bottomry, as it is explained in Lex. Seg. p. 252, referring however falsely to a pledge of goods: for it may be seen, by comparing Harpocration in v. *ἐπόγδοον*, that the gloss refers to this passage.

My opinion is shortly this: *ἐπὶ τόκον* is added, in order to remove any doubt that Chæredemus did not lend the money to Apollodorus, as being his friend and countryman, without interest, but, as is stated, *ἐπὶ τόκον*, for interest. The amount of this it was not necessary to state, and it was perhaps omitted as it might have been unpleasant to Chæredemus to have it mentioned. The words *ὃς ἔτυχεν ὢν ἐν Σηστῷ* can only be referred to Nicippus by a very forced construction. Most probably they belong to *Χαιρεδήμου μὲν τοῦ Ἀναφλυστίου*; for since it might appear strange that the Ana-

ship-captain Nicippus, for the passage from Sestos to Athens, but upon the condition that the trireme should first go to Hierum to convoy vessels laden with corn, and that the principal and interest should be paid at Athens, in case the ship returned safely to port. The amount of this interest of the eighth part, Harpocration correctly estimates at 3 oboli to the tetradrachm.

Higher interest in loans upon bottomry frequently occurs; Xenophon in his Treatise upon the Revenues[655] proposes to erect public buildings for the convenience of merchants, as a means of procuring a profitable return to the citizens, and he supposes that the necessary sum could be collected by contributions of different magnitude, but that each subscriber would obtain an equal return of 3 oboli daily: he then proceeds to remark, that those who put in 10 minas, would receive nearly the interest of the fifth part, the rate which was commonly given in bottomry (*ναυτικὸν σχεδὸν ἐπίπεμπτον*), and those who put in 5 minas, more than the interest of the third part; that the greater number, who subscribed a less sum, would obtain an annual income of more than the capital which they contributed, for example, for 1 mina nearly 2. The interest of the fifth and third parts are evidently here considered as common in cases of bottomry; the danger connected with this method of investing money, is alluded to by Xenophon, when he states it as an advantage to be expected from his proposals, that "the profits would arise in the state itself, which appears to him to be the most secure and lasting source of revenue." It is also manifest that the interest of the fifth part is here precisely 20 per cent. and of the third part 33⅓ per cent. which latter Harpocration[656] correctly fixes at 8 oboli for the tetra-

phlystian should be mentioned as being at Sestos, it was natural to add that he had been there accidentally.

[655] 3, 7—14. The whole of this short sketch of Xenophon's, and of the errors committed in the explanation of it, is illustrated in book iv. ch. 21. Here I only remark, that Salmasius de M. U. l. himself considers in p. 192, the false emendation proposed in p. 25 as superfluous.

[656] In v. *ἐπιτρίταις*, referring to a passage in Isæus against Calliphon, where without doubt the orator was speaking of an agreement of bottomry. Proceeding upon the example given by Harpocration of the method of reckoning, viz. eight oboli for the

drachm, and that the former ought not to be confounded with the interest of 9 oboli, nor the latter with that at 3 drachmas (18 and 36 per cent.) For the year being reckoned with Xenophon at 360 days, 3 oboli a day give an annual income of 180 drachmas, which for 10 minas are 18, and for 5 minas 36 per cent: the former the author calls nearly the interest of the fifth part, the latter more than that of the third part.

Other statements of the rate of interest likewise occur in Demosthenes. Phormion had lent 20 minas for a voyage inwards and outwards to the Pontus, at an interest of 6 minas, that is, at 30 per cent[657]. In the carelessly drawn instrument in the speech against Lacritus, 3000 drachmas are lent upon Mendæan wine, for a voyage from Athens to Mende or Scione, and from thence to the Bosporus, the borrower being at liberty, if he prefers it, to sail on to the left along the coast of the Black Sea as far as the Borysthenes, at the rate of 225 for 1000 drachmas for the whole time of absence. In this however it is supposed that the borrowers, Phaselitans by birth, are to commence their voyage back from the Pontus before the early rising of Arcturus, in the month Boëdromion, about the 20th of September, as the autumn (*φθινόπωρον*) and with it the dangers of navigation then commenced: instead of the interest of 22½ per cent., the higher rate of 30 per cent. or 300 for 1000 was however to be paid, if the voyage back from the Pontus to Hierum, upon the mouth of the Bosporus, should be undertaken, as it sometimes was, after the rising of Arcturus[658].

Since the agreement extends to different places, and liberty

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tetradrachm, the ignorant compiler of the Lexicon Seguer. p. 253, confounds the interest of the third part with the rate of eight oboli.

[657] Demosth. cont. Phorm. p. 914, 6.

[658] See Demosth. cont. Polycl. p. 1212, 14—24. The situation of Hierum is in Bithynia, close to the Thracian Bosporus; see Harpocration and Suidas in v. *ἐφ' Ἱερὸν*, and passages referred to by Wolf ad Leptin. p. 259. It was a port where the masters of vessels returning from the Pontus put in. The observations of Petit upon this agreement are beneath all criticism. Salmasius de M. U. V. p. 209, sqq. explains it at full length, but he has entirely lost sight of truth in the interpretation of the third clause, and by this means vitiates his whole account. Heraldus Anim. in Salmas. Obs. ad I. A. et R. ii. 20, takes up some of these errors, adding at the same time some of his own. The words *ἐὰν δὲ μὴ εἰσβάλωσι*, after which a comma should be placed, cannot, as

is allowed to the borrower to sail into the Pontus or not as he prefers, there is at the end a farther limitation added, in the event of the vessel not running into the Pontus. For in that case, in order to avoid the tempests of the dog-days, the vessel was to remain in the Hellespont, at the end of July, ten days from the early rising of the dog-star (ἐπὶ κυνὶ), with which the latter part of the summer (ὀπώρα) begins, for the purpose of unlading their cargo in a secure place, and then to return to Athens, where they have to pay the interest fixed in the preceding year. The addition of the words "in the preceding year" is superfluous, but correct: the instrument was signed in the spring, at the time when navigation commenced; now the year ended and began about the middle of summer, about the time of the summer solstice, and consequently the early rising of the dog-star fell in the following year. In this last-mentioned stipulation the lower rate of interest is meant; for the higher rate was only to be paid if the return from the Pontus took place after the rising of Arcturus, and thus if the ship did not run into the Pontus, it did not apply at all. On the other hand, a new risk might in this case arise, which would not exist if the vessel entered the Pontus; the borrowers might return from the Hellespont during the storms of the dog-days, which in case of a voyage in the Pontus could not have taken place on account of the greater distance; it is therefore fixed, that in the former case, the vessel should remain in the Hellespont.

With regard to the security of the place where the goods were to be disembarked, it is stipulated that no part of the cargo should be discharged at any port where the Athenians had the right of reprisal (ὅπου ἂν μὴ σῦλαι ὦσιν Ἀθηναίοις): one should rather have expected this condition to have been made with respect to places where this right had been granted against Athenians (κατ' Ἀθηναίων): for the creditors, of whom one is an Athenian, could not be afraid of the Athenians; neither could the borrowers, since they traded at Athens, have

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Salmasius imagines, be referred to the passage out of the Hellespont into the Ægean Sea, but only, as is evident from the whole agreement, to the voyage *into* the Pontus.

had anything to apprehend from the Athenians. This difficulty, however, is easily removed: for (not to mention that the trierarchs at this precise period made reprisals upon the property of persons whom the state had given them no authority to plunder, and consequently, that both Athenian and Phaselitan property might easily have been captured by them), it is evident that the moment any property passed either from or to any place, against which the Athenians had given permission to make reprisals, it became necessary to prohibit by a clause in the agreement, the unlading of the goods at any such place, as Athenian property, and consequently the security on which the money was lent, would be seized there in retaliation, by those whom the Athenians had plundered.

It is to be remarked that these commercial agreements were in general made only for the time of a ship's voyage from the spring till the autumn, and sometimes for a still shorter time, in the case of a voyage which might be soon ended: a term was commonly appointed for payment after the return of the vessel, as for example, in the agreement in the speech against Lacritus, the principal and interest were to be paid within twenty days after the vessel returned to Athens, with the exception of what might have been thrown overboard by the common consent of all in the ship, or be taken away by the enemy. But the interest in bottomry loans was often for a longer period. Thus, according to the statement of Demosthenes, an individual borrowed a sum of money in the month Metageitnion, in the middle of summer, and was only bound to repay it in the same year, that is, before the beginning of the next summer[659]. In this case a proportionally higher rate of interest was doubtless given: as it was higher on account of the greater length of the voyage[660]. In most cases, however, the creditor withdrew his capital in the winter for his own use.

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[659] Demosth. cont. Dionysod. p. 1283, 19, p. 1284, 10.

[660] *Ibid.* p. 1286. extr.

Chapter XXIV.

Rent of Land and Houses in Attica.

From the rate of interest, we proceed to consider the rent of houses and of other kinds of landed property. All the foreigners and resident aliens, (the latter of whom were estimated with their families at 45,000 persons), together with a proportionate number of slaves, lived at Athens in hired lodgings. For it is evident that foreigners could not become proprietors of houses: if then they were at Athens for the sake of trade, or for the purpose of conducting their law-suits, which often detained them for years[661], they dwelled in hired lodgings, excepting those individuals who were entertained as guests by their friends. But the resident-aliens lived almost without exception in the city or in the sea-port towns, as they composed the larger portion of the industrious classes; that they could not own houses is in part evident from the statement of Xenophon[662], and partly from the fact that no resident-alien could safely lend money upon houses or other landed property, a privilege which was confined to the citizens[663].

Since then the resident-alien had not the right of owning land, landed property was not a valid security for him, as he could never come into possession of it. Thus at Byzantium the resident-aliens could not obtain the landed estates which were mortgaged to them, because they had not the right of owning landed property, until the state gave them permission to hold their mortgaged lands, though not without their consenting to make a considerable deduction from the principal[664]. The same practice prevailed in all Grecian States; if then a foreigner was created either a citizen or proxenus, the right of holding landed property was expressly granted in the instrument[665]; the Isoteles, however, were entitled to the possession

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661 Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. i. cf. 3, init.

662 De Vectig. 2, 6.

663 Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 946.

664 See Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. ii. 2, 3.

665 See the Arcadico-Cretan Decree in Chishull's Ant. Asiat. p. 119, the Byzantine Decree in Demosthenes de

of houses, which we learn from the fact that Lysias and Polemarchus had three houses in Athens[666]; with which their right of working mines coincides. The letting of houses at Athens was therefore an important branch of business; some built lodging-houses (*συνοικίαι*), and speculators (*ναύκληροι, σταθμοῦχοι*) rented whole houses in order to let them again to under-tenants[667].

House-rent, like interest, was paid or calculated by the month, and the payment was generally claimed by means of a slave[668]. The assertion of the grammarians[669] that it was paid by Prytaneias, is in this general sense absurd, though if only understood of the houses which belonged to the state, is unquestionably correct. Xenophon remarks that house-building, if undertaken prudently, was profitable, and might enrich the speculator[670]; but the amount of house-rent in proportion to the cost of building and to the value of the house must have been very different, according to the situation, and have varied with the increase or diminution in the population; after the anarchy, the disturbances which then took place having much diminished the numbers of the people, many houses produced no rent[671].

The only precise statement which we possess on the subject of house-rent, occurs in Isæus[672]; according to whom a house at Melite worth 30 minas, and another at Eleusis worth 5 minas, together produced 3 minas a year, that is 8¾ per cent.; which is low as compared with the rate of interest, and perhaps ought not to be taken as the general average, as Salmasius supposed[673]. The rent of land must be less than the interest of

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Corona, and the examples there quoted by Taylor, the Decree of the Chaleians in Bœotia in Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. No. 1567, also another Byzantine Decree in Gruter p. ccccxix. 2, and the Decree of the Thebans, Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. No. 1565.

[666] Lys. cont. Erastosth. p. 395. Comp. also the passage in Plato, although it is not quite decisive, de Rep. i. p. 328, B.

[667] Ammonius, Harpocration, Photius, and Hesychius in v. *ναύκληρος*, together with the Commentators, also Kühn ad Poll. 1, 74.

[668] Casaub. ad Theophrast. Char. 10.

[669] Ammonius and Thomas M. in v. *πρυτανεῖον*.

[670] Œcon. 3, 1.

[671] Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. ii. 7, 2.

[672] De Hagn. Hered. p. 293.

[673] De M. U. xix. p. 848.

the capital vested in it, if this were lent out; it is also expressly remarked, that in the good old times lands were let to the poor at a moderate rent[674]: according to Isæus[675], an estate in Thria, worth 150 minas, was let for 12 minas, i. e. at only 8 per cent.

Of the letting of slaves, especially together with the mines, I have treated above; the exact percentage cannot however be determined; for although in the speech of Demosthenes against Pantænetus[676], a mine purchased for 60 minas with 30 slaves, reckoned at 105 minas, was let for 105 drachmas a month, yet nothing can be concluded from this fact, as the agreement of rent was only a form, and in reality the tenant was the proprietor, and the rent 12 per cent. interest for money lent upon the mine and slaves.

The account that Phormion paid 160 minas a year for the rent of Pasion's banking-shop, besides the tenant having to maintain two children of the proprietor's who were left behind, is very unintelligible[677]; who, says Apollodorus, would give so much for the wooden furniture, the space, and the books? Pasion himself only made 100 minas a year by his banking-shop. This statement indeed occurs in the lease[678], although this document is not sufficiently authenticated: if the rent was so considerable, we must suppose with Apollodorus, that Pasion at the same time transferred to Phormion some money, which was vested in the concern. Afterwards the banking-shop without the money employed in it was let for a talent[679], in which case the tenant must have still obtained a high profit by trading with borrowed money, which was lent to Pasion's house on account of the credit which it possessed.

A considerable profit was obtained by the proprietor, if we may credit Demosthenes, by the lease of the *house* (*μίσθωσις οἴκου*), that is, of the whole property[680], which produced much

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[674] Isocrat. Areopag. 12.

[675] Ibid.

[676] P. 967.

[677] Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 956, 6; p. 960, 10.

[678] Demosth. c. Steph. i. p. 1111, and concerning the suspiciousness of the document, p. 1110, 18.

[679] Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 956, 10; p. 948, 15.

[680] Concerning the meaning of the word *οἶκος* see Xenoph. Œcon. i. 4, 5.

more than 12 per cent., and by which families worth 2 or 3 talents often doubled or trebled their means. Thus the property of Antidorus, which had been let to one Theogenes, rose in six years from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 talents[681]. In this manner the Archon Eponymus, in conjunction with the guardians, was bound to let the property of orphans, or a Phasis could be instituted against him; and for the sake of security, the tenant was obliged to give a pledge (*ἀποτίμημα*)[682].

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[681] Demosth. c. Aphob. i. 831, 26 sqq. p. 833, 22 sqq. c. Aphob. *ψευδομαρτ.* p. 862, 21.

[682] Lys. c. Diogit. p. 906, extr. Isæus de Philoctem. Hered. p. 141. Demosth. c. Aphob. in the above-quoted passages, Harpocration in v. *ἀποτιμηταὶ*, and his commentators; Hesychius in v. *ἀποτιμήματα*, Pollux viii. 142, and 89, with the commentators. Cf. Herald. Animad. in Salmas. Obs. ad I. A. et R. iii. 6, 5 sqq. Concerning the Phasis see Poll. viii. 47, the Epitome of Harpocration, Etymol. Phot. Suid. and Lex. Seg. pp. 313, 315.

Note [A], *pp.* 16, 20.

In the 50th and 66th notes to the first book, the Author refers to his Commentary on an Inscription published in the Appendix to the original edition, and since repeated in his Collection of Inscriptions (i. p. 164); where he has added only a short abstract of his former explanation, and therefore it appeared desirable to give in this place a translation of the passage referred to.

The following extract from the inscription is all that is required.

Ἀγέτω δὲ καὶ ἡ μνᾶ ἡ ἐ[μ]πορ[ικ]ὴ Στε[φανηφόρου δραχ]μὰς ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα κ[αὶ] ὀκτὼ πρὸ[ς] τὰ στάθμια τὰ [ἐ]ν τῷ ἀργυροκοπ[είῳ. κ]αὶ [ἐχέτω ῥοπὴ]ν [Στε]φανηφόρου δραχμὰς δέκα δύο, καὶ πωλε[ίτ]ωσαν πάντες τἄλλα [π]άντα ταύ[τῃ] τῇ μνᾷ, [πλὴν] ὅσα πρὸς ἀργύριον διαρρήδην εἴρηται π[ω]λεῖν, ἱστάντες τὸν πῆχυν τοῦ ζυγ[οῦ ἰσόρ]ροπον, ἄγοντα τὰς ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα δ[ρ]αχ[μὰ]ς τοῦ Σ[τεφανηφ]όρου. τὸ δὲ πεντάμνουν [τὸ ἐμπ]ορικὸν ἐχέτ[ω ῥοπ]ὴν ἐμπορικὴν μνᾶ[ν], ὅ[π]ως ἰσορρόπου τοῦ πήχεως γινομένου ἄγῃ ἐμπορ[ικὰς μ]νᾶς ἓξ. τὸ δὲ τάλαντον τὸ ἐ[μ]πορικὸν [ἐχέτ]ω ῥοπ[ὴν μ]ν[ᾶς] ἐμπ[ο]ρικὰς πέντε, ὅπως καὶ τοῦ[το ἰσ]ορρόπου τοῦ π[ήχ]εως γινομένου ἄγῃ ἐ[μ]πο[ρικ]ὸν τά[λαντον καὶ μ]νᾶς ἐμπορικὰς πέντε.

"In this clause it is ordered that the commercial weight should be greater than the common weight; and that the commercial mina should in the first place be equal to 138 drachmas τοῦ στεφανηφόρου, according to the weights in the silver mint (ἀργυροκοπεῖον, Pollux vii. 103, Harpocration, Suidas, and other grammarians), and secondly, that it should contain 12 additional drachmas τοῦ στεφανηφόρου, so that the whole would amount to 150 drachmas. Here we are met with questions which do not admit of an easy solution. In the first place, what is Στεφανηφόρος? Στεφανηφόρος was a hero at Athens, and had a ἡρῷον, but the grammarians have not themselves any accurate knowledge concerning him. See Harpocration, Photius, and Suidas in Στεφανηφόρος, Lex. Seg. p. 301, Meurs. Lect. Att. iv. 10. Compare Sturz Fragment. Hellan. p. 59. The ἡρῷον was doubtless the same as the house which was called Στεφανηφόρου (not Στεφανηφόρος), although the gloss of Hesychius is rather obscure: Στέφανον φορέοντα· ἀπ' οἴκου τινὸς καλουμένου στεφανηφόρου. The contrary opinion of Meursius on this point must be attributed to mere inadvertency. This ἡρῷον was mentioned by Antiphon against Nicocles quoted in Harpocration, Photius, and Suidas: Στεφανηφόρος· Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Νικοκλέα· Στεφανηφόρου ἡρῷον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἦν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις. Now in the same speech the silver mint was mentioned, according to Harpocration: Ἀργυροκοπεῖον· Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Νικοκλέα, &c. Can it be doubted that in Antiphon, as well as in the present inscription, Stephanephorus occurred in connexion with the silver mint? I conjecture therefore that at Athens the mint was combined with a chapel of this hero, as in Rome with the temple of Juno Moneta; that the standard weights for coin were kept in this sanctuary, which belonged to the chief mint, as at Rome they were preserved in the temple of Juno Moneta; and that from this circumstance the drachmas of the weight used for silver were called drachmas τοῦ Στεφανηφόρου.

As however it is fixed that the commercial mina should contain 138 drachmas τοῦ Στεφανηφόρου, to which were to be farther added 12 drachmas of the same weight, it is at once evident, from the adoption of so irregular a number as 138, that this could not have been a new or arbitrary arrangement, but that it must have proceeded upon some ancient regulations with regard to the common and the mint weights. Our object is now to ascertain in what this dissimilarity consisted. It is well known that Solon diminished the weight of the coin; his intention being to favour the debtors, by enabling them to repay their debts in a depreciated currency. The mina, as well before as after the time of Solon, manifestly contained 100 drachmas: but 100 drachmas, before Solon interfered with the currency, were heavier than after. Plutarch affirms that Solon increased the measures at the same time that he diminished the weight of the coin: this however is absurd; for by this means the proprietors of mortgaged land would have received no possible benefit; they would rather have experienced a loss, if they exchanged at the old price a larger measure of products of the soil against a smaller weight of coin; nor can Solon be well supposed to have had any other motive than this in increasing the measures. If there is any meaning in Plutarch's statement, he can only wish to express a proportional increase in the weights, *i. e.* that while the weight for money was reduced, the weights for commodities remained the same.

This view of the subject is peculiarly fitted to explain the present inscription. The weight universally used in Athens before the time of Solon, as well for silver as for other commodities, was such, that 138 of the new drachmas were equal to a mina. Solon allowed this weight to remain for all uses of trade, but made the coin so much lighter, that the mina of silver was to the commercial mina as 100 to 138. It is now easy to perceive why late writers, being deceived by this ratio, supposed the weight to have been increased; for after this change the commercial mina weighed 138 drachmas, having before only weighed 100: but it was only in comparison with silver, and not absolutely, that it had sustained an increase. Upon this supposition the new silver mina of Solon was equal to $72\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{3}$ ancient drachmas; for 100 : 138 :: $72\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{3}$: 100. It is not however possible that Solon could have purposely introduced such a proportion; probably he had intended to diminish the weight of the coin by a fourth part, so that 75 old drachmas were to be coined into 100 new: the money however (for at that time coined money was doubtless in use) proved in fact to be not sufficiently heavy; and it was observed that 100 of the new drachmas were only equal to $72\frac{2}{3}\frac{2}{3}$ of the old; or, what is the same thing, 100 of the old to 138 of the new; accordingly the ratio between the commercial mina and the new silver mina was fixed at 138 to 100, not, as it would have been according to the ratio originally intended, at $133\frac{1}{3}$ to 100.

Thus far everything appears to be a mere assumption, made for the purpose of explaining the mode of fixing the commercial mina made use of in the present decree: but the following testimony gives it the authority of an historical fact. Plutarch (Solon, 15) informs us that Solon made the mina of 100 drachmas, whereas it had previously contained 73, by which change the value of money was diminished; ἑκατὸν γὰρ ἐποίησε δραχμῶν τὴν μνᾶν, πρότερον ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ τριῶν οὖσαν, ὥστ' ἀριθμῷ μὲν ἴσον, δυνάμει δ' ἔλαττον ἀποδιδόντων ὠφελεῖσθαι μὲν τοὺς ἐκτίνοντας μεγάλα, μηδὲν δὲ βλάπτεσθαι τοὺς κομιζομένους. It will at first sight be perceived, that Plutarch here expresses

himself ambiguously. What relief could it have been to debtors who owed several minas, that the division of the mina was altered, and the drachma diminished, while the mina itself remained the same? And again, can it be believed that the mina contained 73 drachmas, a prime number, not divisible without a remainder? Plutarch follows Androtion, who had doubtless stated that a weight of silver, which before Solon had only been equal to 73 drachmas, had been coined by Solon into a mina, or 100 drachmas. This statement so nearly agrees with the view before taken, that the coincidence cannot be the result of chance. Both statements differ only by the fraction of a drachma; the number obtained from the decree is however doubtless the more correct one, and the other is only an approximation. The following circumstance should also be observed. The Euboic talent was to the Attic talent of Solon as 72 to 70, which is the same as 75 to $72\frac{1}{12}$. If we assume that this ratio is not strictly accurate, but that the correct one is 75 to $72\frac{2}{3}$, or, what is the same, $72\frac{2}{75}$ to 70, the ancient Attic talent, before the change of Solon, was to the Euboic as 100 to 75, and Solon, in his diminution of the weight for silver, intended to introduce the Euboic standard, without however entirely accomplishing his object."

BOOK II.

ON THE FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION AND EXPENDITURE OF THE ATHENIAN STATE.

CHAPTER I.

The Comparative Importance of the Financial Management in Ancient and Modern States.

THE preceding enquiries having opened the way for the pursuance of the main subject of this work, the first question which arrests our attention is, whether in ancient times the operation of the financial system was of the same general and predominant importance, and exercised that influence upon the welfare and decline of nations, which it possesses in modern days. Hegewisch[1] first expressed his astonishment that in the states of antiquity, revolutions had been so seldom caused by taxation and financial regulations, which have been the chief sources of disturbance among modern nations. A later writer has accounted for this difference by stating that in ancient times the civil and judicial constitution was the principal cause of revolutions, whereas in modern times these have resulted chiefly from the system of finance[2]. It is indeed true that in the democracies of antiquity a revolution could scarcely arise from a refusal to pay taxes; and in the states of Greece, at its most flourish-

[1] Historischer Versuch über die Römischen Finanzen, p. 44 sqq.

[2] Wagemann de quibusdam causis, ex quibus tum in veteribus tum in recentiorum civitatibus turbæ ortæ sunt, aut status reipublicæ immutatus est, Heidelberg. 1810, 4to. [It may, however, be remarked, that Aristotle mentions in his Politics that some persons considered the distribution of property as the main cause of revolutions in the Greek states: δοκεῖ τισι τὸ περὶ τὰς οὐσίας εἶναι μέγιστον τετάχθαι καλῶς· περὶ γὰρ τούτων ποιεῖσθαί φασι τὰς στάσεις πάντας. ii. 4.– TRANSL.]

ing period, democracy was the prevailing form of government. In this form of polity, the imposers and payers of taxes are in fact the same persons: whence then was there a possibility of dissension between the two classes? Besides, in a democracy the people never apply the public money to objects which are opposed either to their real or apparent interests, which is not unlikely to happen under an aristocratic or despotic form of government. If then discontent was at any time excited amongst particular individuals by the financial measures of the state, the majority of the citizens concurred in and supported them, they themselves having been the very persons with whom they originated. That an insurrection should arise from this cause was consequently as improbable as that popular commotions should be caused at Athens by a summons to war. The chief sources of disturbance must have been created by encroachments upon the rights of the citizens, especially with respect to their share in the governing power; whereas in the monarchies of modern times, the people being for the most part indifferent as to who fills the office of king, only feel themselves oppressed by those who obstruct them in the enjoyment of their property, and diminish their means of subsistence by the imposition of taxes and by other compulsory measures; excepting that at particular periods, when the sense of the nation has been more generally excited, the people have pressed for an ampler recognition of their rights. In those ancient states which were not democracies, the government, especially that of tyrants, was indeed generally odious from the burthens with which it oppressed the people, but still more so on account of the loss of freedom. These two causes together produced numberless revolutions.

It should however be borne in mind, that in the republican states, the attention paid to the public finances was by no means so inconsiderable as some writers have imagined; wealth was not less an object of desire at that than at the present time; the exigencies of the state were, comparatively speaking, not fewer than in modern Europe, at least as far as Athens is concerned; although the objects to which the expenditure was directed, and the means of extricating the state from an unfore-

seen pressure, differed in many points, with the difference in the political circumstances, from the corresponding practices in modern days. The ancients, for reasons which we shall afterwards explain, had no artificial public system of finance; but the exigencies of the state were not on that account less pressing upon individuals. If at the present day any additional taxes were required for the purpose of paying off the national debt, the payers of taxes would not be called upon at a period of urgent necessity; and the sum, which at the precise moment of need could only be raised in full to the great inconvenience of the taxed, would with moderate interest be paid off in a series of years: whereas, according to the usual practice in ancient times, the expenses of the commonwealth were immediately defrayed by the payers of taxes, and a part of their capital was sacrificed, which might have been turned with profit to fresh production. So that the want of a public system of finance was rather injurious than otherwise to the citizens of the ancient states, and the administration of finance more oppressive.

Nor can it be inferred that this branch of the administration was held in low esteem at Athens, from the circumstance that no archon was placed at the head of it; for the influence of the archons even in early times had become very inconsiderable. But in every Greek state the finances were in the hands of the sovereign power; and at Athens the legislation on financial matters belonged to the people, the administration of them to the supreme council. Then, as well as now, the administration of the finances was considered one of the most important branches of public affairs; and the statesman who, like Aristides and Lycurgus, succeeded in placing them in a flourishing condition, gained the goodwill of the people and the admiration of posterity. Some statesmen in the ancient days of Greece even occupied themselves exclusively with this branch of the administration[3]; and all the great demagogues endeavoured to obtain over it either a direct or an indirect influence, since the management of the public money afforded both the most effectual

[3] Aristot. Polit. i. 7, (11.)

means of advancing themselves into favour with the people and of maintaining that position. Thus Eubulus of Anaphlystus[4], who applied himself in particular to financial affairs, obtained a lasting popularity, although it was chiefly acquired by flattering the avarice of a pleasure-seeking people, through the distribution and lavish expenditure of the public money. In Athens, the ministers of finance would have been held in as high esteem as in modern states, if all measures of general policy had not been deliberated on and decided by the mass of the people; notwithstanding which the chief manager of the public revenue was always looked up to as one of the most important public officers. In the progress of time the faulty management of the finances of Athens essentially contributed to the destruction of the state, more especially from the period when she was forced to defend herself from foreign attack. If the powers of the government are misdirected, the moral condition of a state cannot alone preserve it. Immoderate exertions and excesses equally render a state and an individual incapable of performing their proper functions. Now Athens overstrained both her mental and physical powers (of which the power arising from wealth is not the least), partly in great and noble exertions, partly in vain and profligate waste; after which she naturally fell into such a state of weakness and inactivity, as to be unable to resist the first violent pressure to which she might be exposed. Can it then be maintained, that financial regulations were of less importance in ancient than in modern times, or that they had less influence upon the public welfare? Unquestionably not; provided that the comparison is correctly instituted, and that the distinction is kept in view which is caused by the wide dissimilarity between the size of the most remarkable and important states of antiquity, and those of modern Europe.

J. J. Rousseau[5] maintains, that a government becomes more dependent on its finance in proportion as the other energies of

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[4] Plutarch. Præc. Reip. Ger. 15; cf. Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 417.

[5] Discours sur l'origine et les fondemens de l'inégalité parmi les hommes, p. 314. Geneva, 1782, vol. i. of his works.

the people decline, and that a state may be considered as having arrived at the last stage of corruption, when it has no other power than that which is derived from its wealth. In this manner, he thinks, all governments tend incessantly to decay, and consequently that no state can endure, if its revenues are not perpetually increasing. Although these remarks may not be wholly correct in the extended sense in which he applies them, they are still supported by a large majority of facts; and it is certain that as long as the early vigour of the human mind is still unimpaired, the state is far less in need of those artificial arrangements which are necessary for the levying of money from the people. For as soon as the pressure of any immediate and urgent necessity excites the citizens, they spare no sacrifice or exertion to satisfy the exigency. This was the case with respect to Athens before the administration of Pericles, and particularly before the Peloponnesian war, at which time a great change in the Athenian character took place. Their oppression of the allies, and the consequent employment of mercenaries, taught the Athenians to place greater reliance upon the assistance of foreigners, than upon their own exertions; the poison, however, operated slowly, because the feelings of honour with which the overthrow of the barbarians and the liberation of their common country had inspired them, were not as yet obliterated; while ambition still in some degree supplied the place of purer motives, and the fear of a momentary sacrifice was overcome by the hope of the ample compensation which would probably follow in the train of victory. It is certain that after the age of Pericles the administration of the finances became of greater importance, and that the expenses of the state increased, as public principle declined. Athens, however, by the augmentation of the tribute received from her allies, as well as by the imposition of customs and other duties, found the means of increasing her revenues. By these means she succeeded in maintaining herself, notwithstanding her many reverses and defeats, until not only her moral strength had almost expired, but her revenues also had greatly diminished. Then it was that she became powerless and lost her independence.

Rousseau infers from the principles above laid down, that the first maxim of financial administration is to restrain as much as possible the tendency to expense, and to exert the utmost vigilance in order to anticipate the appearance of any want. He thinks that in spite of every care, the remedy will always be too late for the disease, and the state will thus be left in a suffering condition; that at the moment when one expense is about to be retrenched, another arises; that additional resources are themselves productive of new difficulties, the people become oppressed, the government loses all its strength, and notwithstanding its great expenditure, is able to effect little. Rousseau is of opinion that by these principles we may account for the almost miraculous phenomenon of the ancient governments having been enabled to effect more with their frugality than modern states can perform with all their riches. I quote this remark with a view to caution the reader against applying it to Athens, where after the time of Pericles, expense was heaped upon expense, the administration of finance became continually of more importance, and the difficulties continually greater. It also throws a strong light upon the public salaries at Athens; although these resulted in part from other circumstances, such as the poverty of the citizens, and the pretensions which the state would not consent to abandon, though unable to satisfy them from its own resources. This increase in the expenses of the community far above the measure of its strength, rendered an attention to the affairs of finance more necessary to the Athenians than to any other Grecian state.

Chapter II.

Subject of the Second, Third, and Fourth Books, stated.

To obtain a knowledge of the financial system of Athens in its whole extent, we must consider how it was administered, what were the exigencies of the state, and what revenues there were to meet them, and whether the latter were in general sufficient, or whether at times they produced a surplus, and what extraordinary resources were available on the appearance of difficulties.

We here limit ourselves to the economy of the state alone, excluding subordinate companies and corporations; although, as Athens was both a city and a state, many things must be included in the public finances, which in larger nations would only belong to corporate bodies; and again, many parts of the finances of subordinate communities were so intimately connected with the state, that on that account they ought not to be passed over. The expenses of the temples and sacred corporations were partly defrayed from revenues of their own, which were independent of the state, and thus far they will not be treated of in this book; but in so far as the state advanced contributions, or availed itself of the sacred revenues and treasures in pecuniary difficulties, upon the condition of restoring them[6], the finances of the state and of the sacred institutions are linked together, and the latter therefore deserve at least an occasional consideration.

CHAPTER III.

Supreme Authorities for the Financial Administration; the People and the Senate. Subordinate Authorities.

THE legislative authority in matters of finance, as in all other things, belonged to the people, as being sovereign (*κύριος*). All the regular expenses and revenues were determined by the laws which it enacted, and every extraordinary measure received its authority by a decree of the people. But the administration was entrusted to the Senate of 500, as the agents of the community, who were responsible to the people: this council prepared questions in debate for the popular assembly, and had the different branches of the public economy under its superintendence. That the power of the senate with reference to matters of finance was as extensive as here represented, is evident from the following examples. According to Xenophon's Treatise upon the Athenian republic[7], the senate was occupied with

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[6] Cf. e. g. Thucyd. ii. 13; vi. 8. [7] 3, 2. See Petit, Leg. Att. ii. 1, 1.

providing money, with receiving the tribute, and with the management of naval affairs and of the temples. The letting of the duties was under its superintendence. Those who had received sacred or public monies from the state were bound to pay them to the senate, or it enforced the payment of them according to the laws relating to the farming of duties[8]: it had therefore the right of sending the farmers or their securities to prison in case of non-payment[9]. The Apodectæ delivered to this body an account of the monies received and still remaining due; in the presence of this council the treasurers of the goddess transferred and accepted the treasures, and received the fines. The senate arranged also the application of the public money even in trifling matters, such for example as the salary of the poets: the superintendence of the cavalry maintained by the state, and the examination of the infirm (*ἀδύνατοι*) supported at the public cost, are particularly mentioned among its duties: the public debts were also paid under its direction[10]. From this enumeration we are justified in inferring that all questions of finance were confided to its supreme direction. It is possible that in early times the Areopagus, which was of so great importance before its power was diminished by Ephialtes, also exercised some authority in affairs of finance. For in the Persian war this tribunal once directed that every person bearing arms or serving in the fleet should receive eight drachmas from the Areopagites[11] (by which public, and not private, money is meant), whence it might be concluded, that the authority of this supreme office of government extended to financial matters.

The officers subordinate to the senate, by whom the machinery of finance was worked, may be classed under three heads: in the first place, those who made the arrangements

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[8] Demosth. c. Timocr. p. 730.

[9] See the Oath in Petit iii. 12, 2; cf. 10.

[10] Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. No. 76. The senate also is mentioned in connection with the sacred money in another inscription (No. 80, ibid.), but in what particular relation is not stated.

[11] Plutarch. Themist. 10, from Aristotle.

and preparations necessary for the collection of the revenue, or collected it themselves; secondly, the treasurers of the offices into which the revenues were paid, in which they were kept, and where they were again disbursed; and thirdly, those whose duty it was to discharge the accounts. Concerning the first division it will be unnecessary to say much, as in treating of the revenue the method of its collection must be in part considered. All regular duties were let to farmers (*τελῶναι*); for these imposts therefore no particular places of payment were necessary, except for receiving the money from the farmers; an office was however required to arrange the letting, or (as the ancients term it) the sale of the duties. Now every thing that the state sold or farmed out, taxes, lands, mines, confiscated property, (including the property of public debtors after the expiration of the last term,) the persons of resident aliens who had not paid their protection money, and foreigners who had been guilty of illegally assuming the rights of citizenship or of the offence of Apostasion; all these duties were left to the care of the ten Poletæ, a board (*ἀρχή*), to which each tribe contributed one member, and which met at a place called Poleterion[12]. Among them was a Prytaneus, who presided; for the sale of the duties they were allowed the assistance of the directors of the Theoricon[13]; but they managed everything in the name and under the authority of the senate alone, for which reason in the sale of the fiftieth and of the tax upon prostitutes we read of the co-operation of the senate[14]. The property of the temples was however let by the directors of sacred property, as may be inferred from the Sandwich inscription, in which the Amphictyons of Delos render an account of the leases; the property of the tribes and boroughs was let by themselves through their own agent or manager, to whom the payments were also made[15].

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[12] Aristot. de Rep. Athen. ap. Harpocr. in v. *πωληταί*, Suidas in vv. *πωληταί* and *πωλητὴς*, Phot. in v. *πωληταί* (twice), Hesych. and Lex. Seg. p. 291; Pollux viii 99; Harpocr. in v. *μετοίκιον*; Demosth. c. Aristogit. i. p. 787; cf. Petit. ii. 5, 2. The explanation in Lex. Seg. p. 192, 21, is incorrect.

[13] Pollux viii. 99.

[14] See book iii. c. 4 and 7.

[15] See Boeckh, Inscript. 158, 103, 104, book iii. c. 2; Demosth. c. Eubulid. p. 1316, 16.

Another class of the public revenues consisted of the justice-fees and fines; these were registered by the presidents of the court of justice which had decided the cause, when the part that accrued to the state was paid over to the officers named exactors (πράκτορες), and the portion which was allotted to any god was placed in the hands of the treasurers of the proper temple, who either received the money or annulled the judgment[16]. Certain fines were registered by the king-archon[17], doubtless in his capacity of head of the court of justice. When the payment had been made, the names were erased by the officers whose duty it was to exact the money, for example, the practores, together with the senate[18]. The tributes of the allies were probably paid without the immediate interference of the Athenian state; yet in this case also it was sometimes necessary to appoint certain temporary authorities, such as the officers who fixed the sum to be paid by the subject state (ἐπιγραφεῖς)[19], and others who collected the tribute, if it had fallen into arrear (ἐκλογεῖς); the latter, however, were chosen from among the rich, nor can theirs be considered as a permanent situation more than the former, as they are only mentioned in a fragment of Antiphon concerning the tribute of the Samothracians[20]. As the Spartans had their harmosts, so had the Athenians officers named episcopi (ἐπίσκοποι, φύλακες) as inspectors in the tributary states; Antiphon had mentioned them in his oration concerning the tribute of the Lindians[21], but we are not informed whether they were in any way concerned with the collection of the tributes. Each tribe was

[16] Lysias ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατιώτου, p. 323, 324; Demosth. c. Macart. p. 1074, sqq.; Andoc. de Myst. p. 36; Æschin. c. Timarch. p. 62, 63; Orat. c. Theocrin. p. 1327, 29; p. 1337, 26; Demosth. c. Aristog. i. p. 778, 18. [The authors of the *Attische Process*, p. 32, observe, that "this last assertion must be limited to the fines summarily imposed by the magistrates (ἐπιβολαί); for no public officer had power either to mitigate or remit a penalty decreed by a court of justice."—TRANSL.]

[17] Andoc. de Myst. p. 37.

[18] Andoc. ut sup. p. 38.

[19] See below, note 23.

[20] In Harpocr. and Suidas. Whether these are the same as the ἐκλογεῖς appointed by lot like the practores, who are mentioned in Lex. Seg. p. 190, 26, or different officers are meant, is not certain: probably the passage in this Lexicon refers to all ἐκλογεῖς.

[21] Cf. Schol. Arist. Av. 1023. Harpocr. in v. ἐπίσκοποι, and see b. iii. ch. 16.

bound to take care that the regular public services (λειτουργίαι) were correctly performed by the citizens: which inspection therefore fell within the department of the head managers of the tribes (ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν φυλῶν), to whom this duty, as well as that of administering the funds of the tribes, is attributed by ancient writers[22]. The superintendence and allotment of the trierarchy was divided between certain authorities, who will be pointed out in a subsequent part of this work, and the chief managers of the companies appointed for its direction, who in ancient times were doubtless the naucrari, and subsequently the managers of the Symmoriæ (ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν). For the extraordinary property tax (εἰσφορὰ), certain persons were nominated, in order to determine the amount of the contributions, who, as well as the officers who fixed the rate of the tributes of the allies, were called ἐπιγραφεῖς or διαγραφεῖς, and were probably ten in number; these officers also prosecuted those who were in arrear[23]. Besides these authorities, the directors of the Symmoriæ, from the time that this establishment was connected with the property taxes, must have had the chief management of the distribution. Certain persons were also employed as collectors[24]. Lastly, the demarchs must have been highly serviceable in all affairs connected with these taxes, as, before the institution of their office, were the naucrari, since they were able to afford the best information concerning the property of the inhabitants[25]. We are indeed told that the demarchs collected public money from the citizens[26], which might only mean that they enforced the claims which a borough in its corporate capacity had upon its members or upon a tenant renting some of its property; it may however be safely allowed that they were employed for various debts and dues claimed by the state[27].

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[22] See Sigon. de Rep. Athen. iv. 2.

[23] Harpocrat. in vv. ἐπιγραφεῖς, διάγραμμα; Suidas in different places, in vv. ἐπιγραφεῖς, διαγραφεῖς, διάγραμμα, and ἐπιγνώμονες; Etymol. in vv. ἐπιγραφεῖς and ἐπιγνώμονες. Lex. Seg. p. 254; Pollux viii. 103; Isocr. Trapez. 21; cf. Sigon. R. A. iv. 3.

[24] Suid. in v. ἐκλογεῖς. These are the officers alluded to in Demosth. c. Polycl. p. 1209, 9.

[25] Pollux viii. 108.

[26] Demosth. c. Eubul. ut sup. Concerning the Naucrari in this point of view, see book iii. ch. 2.

[27] An example, although not satisfactory, may be seen in Boeckh, Inscript. 80.

The senate and the people on particular occasions appointed certain persons for the collection of the outstanding property-taxes, a duty for which Androtion and nine others were once selected[28]. In like manner the syndics (*σύνδικοι*), who were introduced after the dominion of the Thirty Tyrants, were authorities nominated for the moment, being revenue law-officers of the state, who decided upon confiscated property[29]; the *συλλογεῖς*, who made a list of the property of the oligarchs previously to its confiscation[30]; the *ζητηταὶ*, a revenue-board which was at times appointed to ascertain who were indebted to the public, particularly with regard to fraud and concealment[31]. The same name however was applied also to persons who were entrusted by the state on certain occasions with the discovery of other offences[32]. These and the practores are reckoned by Pollux[33] among the inferior officers (*ὑπηρεταί*); but their office was an office of government (*ἀρχή*), which citizens of high rank were not ashamed to accept.

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[28] Demosth. c. Androt.

[29] Sigon. R. A. iv. 4; Petit. iii. 2, 31, where Wesseling quotes from Valesius upon Harpocration, in v. *σύνδικοι*, the decisive passages of Lysias (pro Mantith. p. 574, *περὶ δημ. ἀδικ.* p. 597, in Poliuch, p. 613, pro Aristoph. bonis, p. 635). Photius also has transcribed the article of Harpocration in v. *σύνδικοι*. Cf. Herald. Animadv. in Salmas. Observ. iii. 10, 13.

[30] Vid. ad Inscript. 157.

[31] Sigon. R. A. iv. 3. Hudtwalcker von den Diäteten, p. 58, and also Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 696, 9; Lex. Seg. p. 261. Both the latter passages are given by Sluiter Lect. Andocid. p. 55. Cf. Phot. in v. *ζητητής*. At Pellene they were called *μάστροι*; the word *μαστῆρες* occurred in Hyperides. See Harpocr. Lex. Seg. p. 279. Suid. Phot. in vv. *μαστῆρες* and *μάστειρες*. According to the Lex. Seg. and Photius in the first article, it was their duty to examine confiscated property, and they were therefore nearly allied to the *συλλογεῖς*. I should observe that Hudtwalcker (p. 32) is in my opinion incorrect in only considering the zetetæ as an office of government (*ἀρχή*) in the same manner that this title is conferred upon judges, heralds, and clerks; but I must defer to another place the explanation of the word *ἀρχή*, and its opposite *ὑπηρεσία*, as employed in the political language of Athens.

[32] Andoc. de Myst. p. 7, 18, 20, 32.

[33] viii. 114, 115.

CHAPTER IV.

The Apodectæ, or Receivers.

ALL the revenues under the care of the preparatory officers were necessarily delivered up to others, who either distributed them for the public service or kept them for security. Aristotle[34], in speaking of the officers of government, mentions those to whom the public revenues are paid, as well as others who keep and distribute them to separate branches of the administration: these are called, he adds, Apodectæ and treasurers. At Athens there were ten apodectæ, after the number of the tribes, chosen by lot; these were introduced by Cleisthenes in the place of the ancient Colacretæ. They kept the lists of all persons who were indebted to the state, received the money which was paid in, made an entry of it, and marked the outstanding sums, erased the names of the debtors from the list in the senate-house in presence of the senate, and returned this register into the archives: and lastly, they together with the senate, distributed the money that had been paid in, that is to say, they assigned it to the separate offices. Their duties were accurately described by Aristotle, in his constitution of Athens. They also had power to decide causes connected with the subjects under their management[35], a privilege which was allowed to nearly all public officers at Athens. As far as can be ascertained from the accounts which are still extant, they received in the presence of the senate all the monies which belonged to the state; but the revenues of the temples and of the small corporations were independent of them: nor had they any funds of their own, but only distributed to the different offices the money that was paid in. If their duties should appear confined,

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[34] Polit. vi. 8.

[35] Pollux viii. 97. Harpocr. in v. ἀποδέκται from Aristotle and Androtion, Suid. Etym. Hesych. Lex. Seg. p. 198, and Zonaras in v. ἀποδέκται. I may mention here, once for all, that I shall not always quote the latter grammarian, as for the most he only copied other authorities. The apodectæ also occur in Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 750, 24, as persons who were present at the paying in of money.

it will not seem surprising that the duty of receiving the tributes of the allies is expressly ascribed to them by Pollux, notwithstanding the hellenotamiæ appear to have been appointed for that purpose: for although the latter, before the funds of Delos were transferred to Athens and united with the Athenian treasury, had the entire levying and management of the tributes, it was possible for the tributes to have been afterwards received by the apodectæ in the senate, and have been then paid into the office of the hellenotamiæ to defray the expenses which were assigned to their funds. After the abolition of the hellenotamiæ, the apodectæ were the only officers who could have received the tributes. The treasurers[36] of the tribes and boroughs also received and administered the money belonging to these corporations; and in the same manner the revenues which periodically accrued to the sacred corporations, were paid to their own treasurers independently of the apodectæ.

CHAPTER V.

The Treasurer of the Goddess, and of the other Gods.

EVERY temple of importance had a treasure which was composed of offerings, and of the surplus of the amount of the sacred property, together with other receipts which belonged to the particular deity, and these treasures were under the management of the treasurers of the sacred monies (*ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων*)[37]. The sacred treasure of the greatest magnitude at Athens was that of Minerva, upon the Acropolis; to which (not to mention in this place the public monies which were deposited there), not only the large amount of sacred offerings and rents[38], many fines without any deduction, and of others a per centage equal to the tenth part, were assigned, but also the tithe of all prizes taken in war, together with that of

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[36] Concerning these officers, see Chandler Inscript. ii. 109, where the *ταμίας* of a borough, and another inscription (n. 142, ed. Boeckh,) where the *ταμίας* of a tribe occurs.

[37] Aristot. Polit. vi. 8.

[38] See book iii. c. 12.

confiscated property[39]. Many articles of great value were preserved in the neighbouring temples, but the chief treasure was deposited in the opisthodomus of the Parthenon[40], ever after the building of that temple. These treasures of the temple of Minerva were under the care of the treasurers of Minerva or of the goddess, who were also called treasurers of the sacred property of Minerva or of the goddess (*ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ* or *τῶν τῆς θεοῦ*, *ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας*, *ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς θεοῦ*). The most ancient mention of them, which is in Herodotus[41], refers to the time of the battle of Salamis; in later times they frequently occur as the treasurers of the monies and property of Minerva exclusively, as well before the anarchy in inscriptions of about the 92nd Olympiad (B.C. 412)[42], as subsequently to it in a law preserved in Demosthenes, which was doubtless passed in earlier times[43]; in an inscription of Olymp. 98, 4 (B.C. 385), and in a passage of Æschines referring to Olymp. 104, 4 (B.C. 361)[44]. In like manner each temple had its own treasurers, who, together with the chief managers (*ἐπιστάται*), and sacrificers (*ἱεροποιοί*), administered the money which belonged to it[45].

But about the 90th Olympiad (B.C. 420), these treasurers of the different temples, with the exception of the treasurers of Minerva, were united into one board under the name of the treasurers of the gods (*ταμίαι τῶν θεῶν*), the nomination of whom took place upon the same principles as that of the treasurers of Minerva, and they also kept their treasures upon the Acropolis (*ἐν πόλει*), and even in the opisthodomus[46], so that from this time all the sacred money was preserved in the Acropolis. Whenever therefore after this period, the treasurers of the sacred money in the Acropolis are mentioned (as for example in

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[39] Whereas the other gods only received a fiftieth of certain things. Concerning these tithes see book iii. c. 6, 12, 14.

[40] See book iii. c. 20.

[41] viii. 51, *ταμίας τοῦ ἱεροῦ*.

[42] The superscription of the Choiseul marble (n. 147). Of the same date are Boeckh, Inscript. 139 and 141.

[43] Ap. Demosth. c. Macart. p. 1075, 2.

[44] Boeckh, Inscript. 151, and Æschin. c. Timarch. p. 127.

[45] Inscript. 76, § 7.

[46] Inscript. 76, § 6.

Andocides)[47], it cannot be determined without a farther specification, which of these two offices is meant. As, moreover, according to their original institution, the treasurers of the goddess and the treasurers of the gods were entirely different authorities, so they afterwards remained separate: a fact which the mention in Demosthenes of the treasurers of the goddess as an independent office, and their opposition to the treasurers of the gods, distinctly prove[48]. However, they once occur unequivocally united as one office, viz. in Olymp. 95$\frac{2}{4}$ (B.C. 397)[49], in which instance the treasurers of the goddess and of the other gods (*ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν*) were altogether only ten, instead of which the treasurers of Minerva alone were originally ten, and consequently the treasurers of the other gods created after their example were the same in number. In their collective capacity they transferred the treasures of Minerva as well as of other gods; for example, of Jupiter Polieus, and of Diana of Brauron. This union was not, however, of long duration; there can be no doubt that about the 98th Olympiad (B.C. 388), the treasurers of the goddess again existed independently, and were ten in number[50]. At that time, therefore, the treasurers of the gods must have been again separate from them.

Concerning the treasurers of the goddess, Harpocration and Pollux furnish us with more exact accounts, derived from Aristotle[51]. Of these officers, then, we learn that there were ten chosen by lot from among the pentacosiomedimni; after this class was abolished, a fixed valuation was probably established

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[47] De Myst. p. 65, where the word *προυβάλλοντο* does not suit the office of treasurer, the candidates for which were not proposed, but is inaccurately put in conjunction with it. So that the passage must be understood as if it stood in this manner: *εἶων με λαχεῖν ταμίαν.*

[48] Cont. Timocrat. p. 743, l. *Οἱ ταμίαι, ἐφ' ὧν ὁ Ὀπισθόδομος ἐνεπρήσθη, καὶ οἱ τῶν τῆς θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν.* The words of the decree in Andoc. de Myst. p. 36, *τοὺς ταμίας τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν*, are an inaccurate combination of two different offices.

[49] See Boeckh, Inscript. 150.

[50] As is proved by Inscript. 151 (Superscription), where the vacant space requires this number of names.

[51] Harpocr. in v. *ταμίαι*, Photius, Suidas, Philemon Lex. Technol. (edited by Burney), and Lex. Seg. p. 306; Poll. viii. 97.

for them in some other manner[52]. They received and transferred the treasures, monies, and valuables, particularly the statue of Minerva, the statues of Victory, and all the other decorations, in the presence of the senate[53], like the apodectæ; they received for the purpose of custody the fines which accrued to the goddess; and they had, as is proved from Demosthenes, the power of cancelling a judicial sentence relating to them. Under their superintendence was placed all the precious furniture of the temple of Minerva upon the Acropolis, including, as we learn from the oration of Demosthenes against Timocrates[54], the trophies of the state (*τὰ ἀριστεῖα τῆς πόλεως*), Xerxes' silver-footed stool, the golden sabre of Mardonius, and an immense collection of valuable articles in the Parthenon and its interior cell, the catalogues of which are still extant in several inscriptions. The office was annual; at the expiration of each year the predecessors transferred to their successors all that had been originally delivered to them, and whatever had accrued since their instalment in the office; the duties of the treasurers of the other gods were similar, as their office was arranged on the very same principles as the former.

Everything that has been hitherto mentioned as being under the care of the two boards of treasurers was sacred property (*ἱερά*). But to whom belonged the superintendence of the money preserved in the treasury upon the Acropolis, which was not considered as sacred property (*ὅσια χρήματα*)? According to a very probable account given in Suidas[55], the public monies were kept by treasurers chosen by lot, who had the care of the statue of Minerva, alluding manifestly to the treasurers of the goddess. For all money which was brought into the treasury by virtue of a decree of the people (whither it was transmitted by the apodectæ), was looked upon as dedicated to Minerva[56], although it could not have been considered as her immediate property, and it was consequently placed under the care of the

[52] See book iv. c. 5.

[53] Upon this subject compare Inscript. 76, § 7, in reference to the treasurers of the gods.

[54] P. 741. Cf. Sigon. R. A. iv. 3.

[55] In v. *ταμίαι* in the first article.

[56] According to Inscript. 76, § 2, *ἐπειδὴ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τὰ τρισχίλια τάλαντα ἀνενήνεγκται ἐς πόλιν, ἃ ἐψήφιστο.*

treasurers of the goddess; the latter repaid it upon the authority of a decree of the people; thus, according to the Choiseul inscription, considerable sums were paid by them to the hellenotamiæ and others, partly out of the treasures of Minerva Polias and of the goddess of Victory, and partly perhaps from the public treasure. The treasurers of the goddess were therefore not merely treasurers of a temple in the more limited sense, but guardians also of the public treasure, and in this respect theirs was no unimportant office: occasionally, also, they are called treasurers simply (*ταμίαι*)[57]. Thus Androtion is called treasurer, without any addition[58], although he could have held no other office than that of treasurer of the goddess, for he had under his care the golden crowns, sacred offerings, and ornaments for processions belonging to Minerva in particular, and other things preserved in the temple of that goddess, which he obtained permission from the people to recast and alter. The idea that Androtion must have been elected by the cheirotonia of the people, as would be inferred from the account of Petit[59], is only founded upon a mistake of Ulpian, which ought not to mislead any reader. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the treasurers were bound to leave the money unemployed, and that it was a dishonest gain if they lent it out for their own profit; a fraud which, according to Ulpian, upon the oration against Timocrates, was once actually committed[60].

CHAPTER VI.

The Manager of the Public Revenue, or Treasurer of the Administration. Subordinate Collectors.

WHOLLY different from these offices was the treasurer or manager of the public revenue (*ταμίας* or *ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου*), the most important of all offices of finance, which was filled not by lot but by the cheirotonia of the people.

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[57] Cf. Harpocr. Suid. &c.
[58] Demosth. c. Androt. p. 615, 17.
[59] Leg. Att. iii. 2, 33.
[60] From this Demosthenes *περὶ παραπρεσβείας*, p. 435, 8, must probably be explained.

Aristides held this situation, to which he was elected by cheirotonia[61]; Lysias is expressly called in the decree, by which honours were conferred upon him after his death[62], treasurer of the public revenue (*ταμίας τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου*), and immediately afterwards it is observed that he was chosen by the people. Also in the Lives of the Ten Orators[63] a law is mentioned, in which this treasurer is said to have been elected by cheirotonia for the charge of the public money (*ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα*); and the remark made by Ulpian that it was necessary that the treasurer should be elected by cheirotonia, is only true of this officer. This office, moreover, was not annual, like those of the treasurers upon the Acropolis, but was held for four years, that is to say, for a penteteris: it is expressly related of Lycurgus, that he filled that office for three penteterids[64]; and Diodorus says that he administered the public revenues for twelve years[65]. In early times the same individual could be re-elected more than once, as the example of Aristides proves; but after the first penteteris of Lycurgus, the jealousy of the citizens was sufficiently strong to procure the enactment of a law, by which all persons were from that time probibited from holding this situation for more than five years (*μὴ πλείω πέντε ἐτῶν διέπειν τὸν χειροτονηθέντα ἐπὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα*): on which account Lycurgus, in the two following periods, transacted the business under the names of other persons[66]. The mention of five years might lead one to suppose that the office was held for that period; but the expression must be considered as inexact, and the word used in the law was doubtless penteteris, and not five years; a penteteris according to the ancient usage was never more than four years, although the idiom subsequently changed, as may be seen from the language of some later writers[67]. Many of the periods

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[61] Plutarch. Aristid. 4, where he is called *ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν κοινῶν προσόδων*.

[62] Decree iii. at the end of the Lives of the Ten Orators.

[63] In Lycurg. Petit (ut sup.) confuses this whole subject most ignorantly. He does not deserve refutation.

[64] Lives of the Ten Orators (from the third Decree), and thence Photius.

[65] Diod. xvi. 88, *δώδεκα ἔτη τὰς προσόδους τῆς πόλεως διοικήσας*.

[66] Vit. Dec. Orat. p. 251, vol. vi. of the Tübingen Plutarch.

[67] Arrian. Epict. iii. 25. Cyrill.

employed in matters of finance were undoubtedly of four years, particularly the assessment of the tributes, which is distinctly stated to have taken place every penteteris (every four years): thence arose the duration of the office in question. There were also other offices at Athens which were held for four years, being regulated by the great Panathenæa; but none, as far as I am aware, for five years. The periodical beginning of the office of treasurer probably fell in the year of the great Panathenæa, in the third year of each Olympiad, about the commencement of the winter[68].

However considerable the situation of chief manager of the public revenue may have been, his power in administering the finances was by no means unlimited, but like every other officer he was subject to the restraint of legal checks and of the will of the people; nor was this office by any means the exclusive source from which all financial measures proceeded; for every person who had the right of speaking in the assembly and the senate, every orator and demagogue, was at liberty to originate any measure[69]; and perhaps there existed in early times separate officers, whose duty it was to procure the necessary revenues, and to attend solely to that point. The author of the Rhetorical Lexicon[70] declares, that the duties of the poristæ (*πορισταὶ*) were of this nature, and Antiphon classes them with the poletæ and the practores[71]. It is upon the whole

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Hierosol. Catech. xii. 8, call a period of four years *τετραετία*. Concerning the question whether in the treasurership of Lycurgus the periods were of four or five years, see also book ii. c. 19.

[68] See Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. No. 157.

[69] I remark incidentally that Gillies (Observations upon the History, Customs, and Character of the Greeks, p. 136 of the German translation,) supposes that the demagogues, Eucrates the wool-merchant, Lysicles the sheep-dealer, Hyperbolus the lamp-maker, and Cleon the leather-seller, were treasurers, which appears to be a false inference from Aristoph. Eq. 101 sqq. since whatever power they possessed, even were it extended to financial matters, was entirely derived from their character as demagogues.

[70] Lex. Seg. 294, 19. *Πορισταί· πορισταί εἰσιν ἀρχή τις Ἀθήνησιν, ἥτις πόρους ἐζήτει· ἀπὸ τούτου γὰρ καὶ προσηγορεύθησαν.*

[71] *Περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ*, p. 791, extr. Demosthenes (Philip. i. p. 49, 17) joins *τῶν χρημάτων ταμίαι καὶ πορισταί*, but he uses the word in such a manner that it cannot be inferred that it was a public office in his time.

extremely difficult to define the extent of the duties and authority of the manager of the public revenue. He was not like the apodectæ, an officer who only received money, which they immediately paid over, nor, like the treasurers upon the Acropolis, was he merely a guardian of monies, which in the regular course of things were never re-issued. The example of Lycurgus proves, that all the money which was received and disbursed passed through his hands; consequently, he was the general receiver and superintendent of the offices of payment, or general paymaster, who received all the money paid to the apodectæ and appointed for fresh disbursements, and supplied the separate offices with the requisite sums; with the exception of the property-taxes, which were doubtless paid directly into the war-office, as war-supplies. The tributes originally formed an exception, since as long as they were independent of the finances of Athens, they remained under the management of the hellenotamiæ, a separation which was perhaps retained until the abolition of those officers.

The manager of the revenue defrayed all expenses that were necessary for the administration (διοίκησις); to which all the regular expenses in time of peace belonged. In the first place, the duties (τέλη) were assigned to this department, together with certain other contributions[72]. The keeping and management of these monies therefore unquestionably devolved upon this officer. As the payment of the judges' salaries evidently belongs to the administration, the justice-fees, although there existed a particular office for them, must likewise have been under his direction; neither can there be any doubt that he exercised a general superintendence over the collection of all the revenues; for it could only have been by virtue of this authority that Lycurgus was able to prevent the farmer of the duties from requiring protection-money of Xenocrates[73], and that Aristides was enabled to point out the frauds and embezzlements of the public money[74]; and hence alone it can be explained how Lycurgus was able to increase every branch of

[72] Demosth. c. Timocr. p. 731, 4. [73] Vit. Dec. Orat. in Lycurg.
[74] Plutarch. Aristid. ut sup.

the revenue, to purchase many valuable ornaments for the public use, and to lay by a surplus sufficient for the construction of great buildings and fleets[75]. In short, the manager of the public revenue had alone of all the public officers, the whole superintendence of the revenue and expenditure, and was therefore in a situation to give the surest judgment as to the possibility of increasing the former and of diminishing the latter, and to propose beneficial measures to the senate and to the people; he was under other circumstances what the minister of finance is in modern states. Valesius[76] is probably correct in referring to this treasurer a passage in Aristophanes, in which it is said that the treasurer had the seal of the people; although it is possible that it might have likewise been entrusted to the treasurers upon the Acropolis, for the purpose of sealing the room in which the treasure was kept[77].

The manager of the public revenue, being an officer who disbursed money, bore the name of treasurer of the administration (*ταμίας τῆς διοικήσεως*, or *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως*), which latter office is identical with the first. Æschines[78] says, that Aphobetus, who was appointed for the administration (*ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν διοίκησιν*), also managed the public revenues justly and honourably (*καλῶς καὶ δικαίως τῶν ὑμετέρων προσόδων ἐπιμεληθείς*): Lycurgus, when he filled the situation of manager of the revenue, also superintended the administration (*διοικήσις*), as we learn from the authors of the Lives of the Ten Orators and of the Epistles of Demosthenes[79], and is distinctly proved by the fact that he annually paid out and accounted for the whole revenue. Pollux[80] also sufficiently proves the identity of these two offices, when he calls the person at the head of the administration (*ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως*), an officer for the revenue and expenditure (*ἐπὶ τῶν προσιόντων καὶ ἀναλισκομένων*), elected, not chosen by lot. In this capacity he must have

[75] Lives of the Ten Orators, and the third decree preserved there.

[76] Ad Harpocrat. in v. *ἀποδέκται*. The passage of Aristophanes is Eq. 943, where the Scholiast incorrectly interprets it as if it was only the administration of the prytaneia.

[77] See Inscript. 76, § 6.

[78] *Περὶ παραπρεσβ*, p. 315.

[79] Epist. iii.

[80] viii. 113.

issued all payments for police, building, provision of ornaments used in processions, public sacrifices, and the celebration of festivals, the latter belonging to the sacred administration (*ἱερὰ διοίκησις*)[81], in opposition to the civil (*ὁσία*). Thus Lycurgus, by virtue of this office, superintended the building of the wharfs, of the gymnasia, palæstras, theatres, arsenal, &c., and the supply of articles for sacred uses[82], as well as of the money required for the provision of ships, arms, and artillery, which was appointed to be made in times of peace, a duty also performed by Lycurgus; together with all salaries payable in time of peace, and the other expenses of the domestic administration. Particular funds were also created for single parts of the administration, which the treasurer of the public revenue provided with money. The theoricon and the war-office were however undoubtedly independent of his authority, and into one of these two funds he paid all the surplus money which he received, as will be presently shown, after which he ceased to have any farther charge of it; for a considerable time, indeed, a great part of the administration itself was under the care of the treasurers of the theoricon, several offices having been consolidated in them.

Two statements, from which it might seem that the manager of the public revenue was also treasurer of the theoricon, admit of a satisfactory explanation. Lycurgus obtained the condemnation of Diphilus, who had committed some offence connected with the mines, which this person held in lease of the state, and distributed the confiscated property among the people, after the manner of the theorica[83]. This case, however, manifestly proves nothing, as it was an extraordinary measure, and not in the usual course of business. "When Demades had under him the revenues of the state," says Plutarch[84], "the Athenians being eager to dispatch some vessels to the assistance of those who had revolted from Alexander, called upon him to supply them with money; from which project he succeeded in dissuad-

[81] Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 1, 2; cf. Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 730, 24; p. 731, 1.

[82] Lives of the Ten Orators.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Præc. Reip. Ger. 25, *ὅτε τὰς προσόδους εἶχεν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ τῆς πόλεως.* The date of the event is Olymp. 112, 2 (B.C. 331). See Diod. xx. 62, and Wesseling's note.

ing the people by answering to them, 'Money you certainly are provided with, for I have so arranged it that each citizen should receive half a mina at the Choëis; but if you prefer applying it to this purpose, make what use you please of your own property.'" From the writer's expression it might at first sight be thought that Demades was manager of the public revenue: but as Demades appears solely in the capacity of a director of the theorica, who at the festivals and games distributed money among the citizens; and as Plutarch's words that "*he had the revenues of the state under him,*" do not necessarily refer to a treasurer of the administration, we should not, in my opinion, be justified in assuming that he filled the latter office, to which so thoughtless and extravagant a man must appear but ill adapted. For a manager of the theorica he was much better fitted; since the more careless and immoral a person in that situation was, the more could be expected from his administration of the office. Demades had contrived that the coffers of the theorica should be well filled; in time of war, however, these funds were always claimed by the well-disposed for military preparations; and the contest which was carried on at Athens, as to whether the money of the theorica was or was not to be applied to the uses of war, has become notorious. If this latter fact is taken in connexion with the above narration, it will evidently appear that Demades had not the entire administration of the public revenue, but only of the money of the theorica.

For the superintendence of works of architecture, such as the building of walls, streets, wharfs, and ships, and for the provision of sacrifices, separate authorities were appointed (*τειχοποιοὶ, ὁδοποιοὶ, ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων, τριηροποιοὶ, ἱεροποιοὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν* and *ἐπιμήνιοι*, &c.), some of whom remained in office for a whole year, while others acted only as special commissioners for a shorter period[85]. All these officers had their respective paymasters dependent upon the several treasurers of the administration. It is proved by inscriptions[86] that money was paid into the hands of the managers of the sacrifices as well as to the athlothetæ; and although it appears that money was

[85] Æsch. c. Ctesiph. p. 425.

[86] See Inscript. 144 and 147.

sometimes paid into their hands by the treasurers of the goddess, these payments must be considered wholly as contributions, since according to the regular course their money ought to have been derived from the funds of the administration[87]. The treasurer of the ship-builders (*ταμίας τῶν τριηροποιῶν*) is particularly mentioned[88], as well as the treasurers of the builders of the walls (*ταμίαι τῶν τειχοποιῶν*), and it is expressly stated that the latter received their money from the funds of the administration[89]; Demosthenes mentions among other duties of the administration the payment for the wages of the dicasts, of the assembly, of the senate, and of the cavalry[90]: for these particular payments separate boards must necessarily have been appointed under the treasurer of the administration; yet we find that in the Peloponnesian war, the hellenotamiæ disbursed money out of the treasury for the cavalry[91]. The thesmothetæ paid the wages of the assembly[92] out of the monies of the administration, and they probably had also their own paymasters for that purpose. Lastly, since the sacred triremes received pay even in time of peace (the Paralos certainly, and probably also the Salaminia and the Ammonis), it is natural to suppose that their treasurers were in a great measure under the superintendence of the treasurer of the administration. The treasurer of the Paralos was an officer of distinction, and he was appointed by cheirotonia, as much money passed through his hands in addition to that which was paid for the uses of the vessel: the others were elected in the same manner[93]: these treasurers of the sacred triremes (respecting whom Harpocration and Pollux, and other grammarians have derived their knowledge from Aristotle) supplied the expenses of the trierarch[94].

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[87] Because they were for the *ἱερὰ διοίκησις*, Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 730, 24; p. 731, 1.

[88] Demosth. c. Androt. p. 598.

[89] *Ἐκ τῆς διοικήσεως*. See Æsch. c. Ctesiph. p. 425, p. 426, p. 415, p. 422.

[90] C. Timocrat. p. 731, 1—5, and 21, 22.

[91] See the Choiseul Inscription (n. 147).

[92] See book ii. c. 14.

[93] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 570, 3, 13, 15, and more particularly 1, 24, and Ulpian's note.

[94] This is the way in which Pollux (viii. 116) should be understood, *ταμίας ἐκάλουν τοὺς ταῖς ἱεραῖς τριήρεσι λειτουργοῦντας, ἄλλους δὲ τριηράρχους*. The state was properly the trierarch of the sacred triremes; but it was ne-

Smaller payments of a domestic nature were probably made at once by the treasurer of the administration, without the appointment of a particular board. Thus the charge for engraving the decrees was assigned to him[95]. This duty on one occasion fell upon the treasurer of the people (*ταμίας τοῦ δήμου*), by which the same office is meant, and it is particularly directed that the payments should be made out of the money set apart for the expenses of the decrees (*τὰ ἐς τὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκόμενα τῷ δήμῳ*). This belongs to Olymp. 125, 2 (B.C. 279)[96]. In two other decrees there occurs a remarkable variation. In the one, which is of later date than Olymp. 119, 1 (B.C. 304), it is ordered that the cost of engraving should be defrayed by the treasurers of the administration (*οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*)[97]; in the other, which is of the age of Demosthenes, it is assigned to the treasurers (*ταμίαι*), without any further specification[98]. The latter are doubtless the same as those who in the first decree are

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cessary that they should have trierarchs who represented the state. The reading of Jungermann's manuscript, *ἢ* for *δὲ*, is probably correct. Harpocration, and from him Suidas, say, *εἰσὶ δέ τινες καὶ τῶν τριήρων ταμίαι, ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς φιλόσοφός φησιν*, viz. Aristotle, a passage which refers to the sacred triremes alone, as is proved by Photius in v. *ταμίαι*, *εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ταμίαι ἄρχοντες χειροτονητοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἱερὰς καὶ δημοσίας τριήρεις, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πάραλον, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἄμμωνος. Δημόσιαι* is here put in opposition to those furnished at the expense of the trierarchs. The following observation from the Maricas of Eupolis appears to refer to treasurers of all the trierarchs, and will be considered in a subsequent part of this work, although a definitive decision is not possible, as is remarked in book iv. c. 11. The treasurer of the Ammonis is mentioned by both Suidas and Photius in v. *ταμίαι*. The state moreover paid the money directly into the hands of the trierarchs, as is shown elsewhere.

[95] As for instance in the Decree in Diog. Laert. vii. in the Life of Zeno, the date of which is unknown, but which is later than the 130th Olympiad (260 B.C.) where he is distinctly called *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως*.

[96] See the third Decree after the Lives of the Ten Orators.

[97] Decret. ap. Chandl. Inscript. ii. 12, ad fin. *Μερίσαι*, the expression here used, refers to the items of the different heads of the expenditure, as in the Decree in Diog. Laert. and the Decree of the Tyrian merchants at Delos, in Boeckh, Corp. Inscript. No. 2271, ad fin.; also in the Salaminian Decree, ibid. No. 108, where there is the following sentence: *μερίσαι δὲ τὸν ταμίαν Φιλοκλῆν Πειραιέα ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων τῷ δήμῳ*.

[98] Decree for Straton, king of Sidon, in the Marm. Oxon. xxiv. ed. Chandl. line 16. I omit the Decree which Chishull has given from Ainsworth in Ant. Asiat. p. 164, because the treasurer of the city is inserted in it by conjecture.

called *οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*; for it is manifest that these were the only treasurers who could have paid the money: but it is remarkable that several treasurers of the administration are here mentioned, as nothing is stated in any other place of there having been more than one. At all events this increase of the number can only have been temporary: from the nature of the proceedings we should expect that frequent alterations would take place in the administration of finance, and both before and after these decrees we find only one treasurer of the administration mentioned.

The statement made above upon the authority of Pollux[99], that a separate office was created for paying the wages of the dicasts, which was dependent upon the treasurers of the administration, will be more clearly illustrated by the consideration of the colacretæ, respecting whom all that occurs in the ancient writers has been collected by Ruhnken[100], without any light having been thrown upon the nature of their problematical office. The singular name by which they are designated, is of itself sufficient to prove that they had their origin in very remote times; they were called *κωλακρέται*, from collecting certain parts of the victims (properly *κωλαγρέται*)[101], an expression which shows that they must have been the superintendents of the provisions at certain public feasts; and this supposition agrees with well-established facts, which we shall mention presently. They also took charge of the gifts, which the kings in the most ancient times, and afterwards the archons and prytanes in their capacity of judges, received for the administration of justice, and they had the management of everything connected with financial matters, such at least as at that time could have been in existence. It is possible that Pyrander who is said by the ancients to have been treasurer at so remote a period as that of the Eleusinian war, was only a colacretes of the king; and as we find in use at Cyzicus a verb

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[99] viii. 113, where *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως* is mentioned in connexion with the pay of the dicasts.

[100] Ad Tim. Plat. Lex. p. 171.

[101] As Timæus (p. 171) and Photius write according to the derivation. See Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 693, and thence Suidas in his second article.

which was derived from the office of colacretæ, it is evident that they came with the ancient colony of Neleus to Miletus, and from thence to Cyzicus, like the Diana of Munychia, and the names of the four ancient Athenian tribes. Solon left the colacretæ untouched, acting on a policy which he appears to have followed in numerous instances; Cleisthenes, always fond of innovation, established the apodectæ in their stead[102]; the colacretæ were now no longer receivers of the taxes, but became a subordinate department: but what was its nature? According to the Great Etymologist, they were treasurers of the money and managers of the trierarchy. This could only have been the case before the time of Cleisthenes, when indeed they might have had all the liturgies of the citizens under their superintendence, including the provision of the triremes; as to the later period in which we have more accurate information respecting the trierarchy, this assertion is absurd, nor does there anywhere occur the slightest confirmation of it; neither could they after the time of Cleisthenes have been treasurers upon the Acropolis and guardians of the sacred money, although Pollux[103] confounds them with the treasurers of the goddess. All that we know for certain is, that they paid the wages of the dicasts[104], a fact which appears as well from passages in the grammarians, as from the testimony of the poet Aristophanes[105]. These stipends they probably distributed in person, as subordinate officers to the treasurer of the administration. Aristophanes the grammarian expressly asserts, as well as Hesychius, that they had nothing to attend to except the payment of the dicasts[106], a testimony which of all others is deserving of the greatest credit. According to a statement in the Rhetorical Lexicon[107], they had authority over the fines in the courts of justice; but this is evidently a mistake, the reason of which

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[102] Androtion ap. Harpocrat. in v. *ἀποδέκται*.

[103] viii. 97.

[104] Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 693 and 723; Av. 1540; Photius and Timæus ut sup. Lex. Seg. p. 275. Hesychius and Suidas in v. *κωλακρέται*, the second article of the latter grammarian being taken from the Scholiast of Aristophanes.

[105] In the passages just quoted.

[106] Aristoph. Grammat. ap. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1540; Hesych. ut sup.

[107] Lex. Seg. p. 190, 50.

however is that the prytaneia and the other justice-fees, which the grammarian might call fines, were set apart for paying the dicasts, and consequently either directly or indirectly were delivered over to the colacretæ. The Scholiast to Aristophanes[108] again enumerates the provision of the public entertainments in the prytaneum as one of their duties, a circumstance of so little importance that Aristophanes the grammarian probably did not think proper to mention it: and indeed we are compelled to suppose that they performed this or some analogous duty; for as their office originated before the time of Cleisthenes, and the wages of the dicasts were first introduced by Pericles, they must between these two periods have performed some duty; and this was doubtless the management of the entertainments in the prytaneum, a relic of their more ancient office. The single fact that the justice-fees were called prytaneia proves that they were once paid to the prytanes, as judges in the prytaneum; which money may have been allotted to defraying the expenses of their meals (what relation the prytanes bore to the archons with regard to the judicial authority, the latter being also judges, is foreign to the present question): and when the payment of the dicasts was afterwards introduced, it seemed for this reason the obvious and natural course to assign to them this latter duty. Thus we find a perfect agreement between two duties which at first sight appeared of a very different nature; and it cannot well be doubted that they continued from this time forth to perform both together.

We must now examine what is adduced by the Scholiast to the Birds of Aristophanes, in order to confute the assertion of Aristophanes the grammarian, which I have generally followed in the above discussion. Androtion the antiquary had written, that according to some law the colacretæ were bound to furnish the Pythian theori with money for their voyage and other expenses out of the *ναυκληρικά*; from this circumstance the colacretæ have been considered the same with the treasurers of Minerva, and the grammarians have derived their statement from

[108] Av. 1540.

this authority that the funds for the festivals or for the gods[109] were under their regulations. We shall in vain attempt to discover what the *ναυκληρικὰ* were: it is clear, however, to me that the monies of the naucrarias (properly *ναυκραρικὰ* according to the ancient form) are meant; but it also appears to me probable that Androtion, who as well as Philochorus had in some things an extensive, in others an imperfect, knowledge of the earliest times of the Athenian state, spoke of the regulations anterior to Cleisthenes in the passage in which he quoted this law. In this manner Aristophanes the grammarian and Androtion can be easily reconciled; and we need not consider that the colacretæ continued to be treasurers of the sacred monies after the time of Cleisthenes, which would not accord with other ascertained facts.

CHAPTER VII.

The Hellenotamiæ; the Funds for War, and the Funds for the Theorica.

A SEPARATE office existed during some time for the management of the tributes, the hellenotamiæ or treasurers of the Greeks; to these the administration of the monies at Delos, or the *ἑλληνοταμία*, belonged[110], when in consequence of the treachery of Pausanias after the battle of Platæa (Olymp. 75, 2, B.C. 479), Athens had obtained the command, and that treasury had been created on the suggestion of Aristides. This situation was at first exclusively held by Athenians: the duty attached to it was to receive the tributes, and to deposit them in the Delian treasury in the temple of Apollo, where the meetings of the allies were held[111]. There can be no doubt that they continued to be the guardians of these monies[112]; their office was

[109] Ap. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1540; Vesp. 623; Timæus, Lex. Seg. and Photius.

[110] Xenoph. de Vectig. 5, 5, unless the right reading is *ἑλληνοταμείας*.

[111] Thucyd. i. 96; Nepos Aristid. 3; Plutarch. Aristid. 24; Andocid. de Pace, p. 107, which oration was called in question by the ancients, but is evidently the production of Andocides. Antiphon also (de cæde Herod. p. 739), mentions the office, without our deriving any information from him.

[112] Schol. Thucyd. i. 96.

retained when the funds were removed to Athens under the pretence of greater security, a proceeding which Aristides declared to be unjust, though expedient: but the whole injustice of it became first manifest through the lavish expenditure of Pericles[113]. After the Anarchy, no more traces of the hellenotamiæ occur; under the new administration they were not re-established, the ascendancy of Athens and the tributary condition of the allies having ceased: and although Athens was again enabled to exact tributes from the dependent states, this office was never again created for the management of them[114]. For this reason the grammarians know scarcely anything of these treasurers: Harpocration says, upon the authority of Aristotle, that they were an office at Athens which had the management of money; the Etymologist affirms that they were the guardians of the common monies of Greece; Suidas[115] furnishes nothing that is not known from other sources; Pollux[116] asserts that they collected the tributes, and had under their superintendence the constitutions of the tributary islands; whereas the latter duty rather belonged to the episcopi, and the former was wholly unnecessary, as the tributaries themselves paid in the money during the spring at the time of the Dionysia[117], which were celebrated annually in the city; particular persons for collecting them (ἐκλογεῖς) were appointed only upon extraordinary occasions, who were different from the hellenotamiæ; Hesychius is most correct in calling them the treasurers of the tribute accruing to the Athenians[118]. But the best information concerning them is afforded by some inscrip-

[113] Plutarch. Aristid. 25; Pericl. 12; Nepos ut sup. Diod. xii. 38.

[114] The Hellenotamias, who according to the Lives of the Ten Orators (in the Life of Lycurgus) was banished in the Democracy after the thirty tyrants, had previously held this office.

[115] Vol. i. p. 715.

[116] viii. 14. Zonaras in v. Ἑλληνοταμίαι, where it should be written ἐν Δήλῳ, hardly deserves to be mentioned.

[117] Aristoph. Acharn. 504, and the Scholiast; ibid. 643. The date of the Acharneans is Olymp. 88, 3 (B.C. 426). That the great Dionysia took place annually has been shown by Corsini and others against the unimportant testimony of Scholiasts.

[118] Οἱ τοῦ κομιζομένου φόρου παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ταμίαι. An incorrect article in Lex. Seg. p. 183 (δικ. ὀνόμ.) I entirely pass over.

tions of a date anterior to the archonship of Euclid. The form of their nomination is unknown; it seems, however, probable that they were chosen by lot, like the treasurers of the gods, out of the pentacosiomedimni. Barthélemy[119] says that they were ten in number, one out of each tribe: not only have I been unable to find any confirmation of this assertion, but I am able distinctly to refute it. In the Choiseul inscription (Olymp. 92, 3, B.C. 410), eleven hellenotamiæ are mentioned; Callimachus of Hagnus, Phrasitelides of Icaria, Pericles of Cholargus, Dionysius of Cydathenæum, Thrason of Butade, Proxenus of Aphidna, Spudias of Phlyæ, Anætius of Sphettus, Phalanthus of Alopecæ, Eupolis of Aphidna, and Callias of Euonymia, of whom Pericles and Anætius were of the same tribe Acamantis, and the two Aphidnæans of the tribe Leontis; and still more, Pericles and Anætius were both hellenotamiæ in the same, viz., the sixth prytanea, and both the Aphidnæans in like manner in the seventh. From this we are compelled to suppose either that no regard was paid to the tribes (which was not by any means necessary, as the office originally had no concern with the home administration), or that several were chosen out of each tribe. The former supposition appears to me the most probable, and I conceive that their number was only ten, and that they did not enter into their office at the beginning of the year, but after the Panathenæa and the first prytanea: if this hypothesis is adopted, two of the persons who are mentioned, Callimachus and Phrasytelides, may be deducted from the eleven, and we have only nine in the inscription, who were colleagues in this office, the name of the tenth not having come down to us.

Their duties are still more difficult to determine than their number. When the funds were at Delos, they must have acted at the same time both as apodectæ and treasurers; afterwards the apodectæ appear to have received the tributes, and the hellenotamiæ to have been merely the managers of the fund thus collected[120]: when the tributes were commuted for a

[119] Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, vol. xlviii. p. 341.
[120] Compare chap. 4.

custom-duty, the hellenotamiæ naturally remained as treasurers for these payments. The payments for certain selected purposes were assigned to their office; in the first place, that for which the tributes were originally designed, namely, the expenses of wars in the common cause, and federal solemnities; but the Athenians afterwards considered the money as their own property, and used it for buildings and works of art, festivals, distributions, and theorica[121]; the overplus was without doubt laid by among the public treasure in the Acropolis, which was chiefly formed from the tributes: but as soon as the money had been sent to Athens, or even before it was actually dispatched, and only its place of destination had been fixed, it was no longer under the superintendence of these officers, but of the treasurers of the goddess upon the Acropolis. We see that money in their hands was assigned about the 90th Olympiad (420 B.C.) to the redemption of the public debts[122]; the only example which we meet with of their having paid the money out of their own fund. On the other hand in Olymp. 92, 3 (410 B.C.), money was appointed to be paid to them from the public treasure for the provision of the cavalry, for diobelia, and war expenses[123]: at this period the cavalry appears to have been paid in time of peace by the hellenotamiæ and not by the treasurer of the administration: for the treasurer of war and the managers of the theoricon were not introduced until after the abolition of the hellenotamiæ, who used to make all payments of this description. There is nothing in the fact of money being furnished to them from the public treasure, which ought to surprise us: for if their own funds were exhausted, the treasure would naturally be compelled to furnish whatever was sufficient to enable them to pay that which belonged to their department. In the same manner gold was lent to them out of the treasury, to be paid to the athlothetæ; but evidently from the sacred money[124]. Hence the payments which they had to make must have been considerable, and their duties cannot have been unimportant. In order to execute these with the greater

[121] Plutarch. Aristid. 24; Pericl. 12.
[122] Inscript. 76, § 3.
[123] Inscript. 147.
[124] Inscript. 144, 3rd Prytan. 1st item.

facility they divided them among one another[125]; and to assist them they had as many as three superior archons as assessors (*πάρεδροι*)[126]. It must not with Barthélemy be thought singular that we only know of these officers from inscriptions, since of the hellenotamiæ themselves we have such imperfect accounts.

As after the archonship of Euclid, no mention of hellenotamiæ occurs, so before that time we hear of no treasurers of war or managers of the theorica; the former having performed all the duties which subsequently belonged to the latter: and we are thence justified in assuming, that by the changes in the constitution made in the year of Euclid, two new offices, the treasurer of war, and the manager of the theorica, were instituted. The name of treasurer of war (*ταμίας στρατιωτικῶν*) is only once made use of, and this in reference to one Callias, who is stated by the author of the Lives of the Ten Orators[127] to have held that office in the archonship of Chærondas (Olymp. 110, 3, B.C. 338); probably it was only filled in time of war, and discontinued when there was no armed force in motion. The funds for meeting the expenses of war were, with the exception of certain tributes, derived from two sources; which, however, were both of a very uncertain nature. According to ancient laws[128] the surplus money of the administration was to be applied in times of war to the use of the army (*τὰ περίοντα χρήματα τῆς διοικήσεως εἶναι στρατιωτικά*): but the people had the madness to require that the surplus should always be used for the distribution of the theorica; and the demagogue Eubulus even succeeded in passing a law, that if any person again proposed that the theorica should be applied to the uses of war he should suffer death. This law, which crippled the martial power of the Athenians, was frequently attacked by the

[125] As is proved by Inscript. 147.

[126] Inscript. 147, 6th Prytan.; Inscript. 144, 3rd Prytan. 1st item, and 8th Prytan. 4th item.

[127] In the Life of Lycurgus, according to the correction of Salmasius: for he is generally called Καλαιός. ΚΑΛΑΙΟΥ and ΚΑΛΑΙΟΥ only differ by a line.

[128] Orat. c. Neær. p. 1346, 1347; Liban. Argum. Olynth. i.; cf. Demosth. Olynth. i. p. 14; 19, and Olynth. iii. (e.g. p. 31); Harpocr. in v. *θεωρικὰ*, and thence Suidas and the Etymologist. Cf. Ruhnk. Hist. Crit. Orat. p. 146, viii. of Reiske's Orators.

well disposed: Demosthenes complained that the Athenians, though possessing large funds for war, squandered them away upon festivals: Apollodorus was condemned to a fine of fifteen talents, for having proposed in Olymp. 106, 4 (B.C. 353), that the surplus money should be used for war, though for the time he attained his object[129]: and although even Eubulus in later times proposed that the theorica should be applied to the purposes of war[130]; and although according to Philochorus[131], all the public money was at the instigation of Demosthenes, in Olymp. 110, 2 (B.C. 339), applied to the military service, it was frequently in the power of treacherous or inconsiderate demagogues to deduct very large sums from the war funds by proposing a donation of money to the people: of which unworthy conduct Demades furnished a most striking instance.

Besides this, the extraordinary property-tax (εἰσφορὰ) was set apart for the expenses of war[132]; but this being a tax which was unwillingly paid, the coffers were generally empty. Many higher as well as subordinate offices were requisite for the custody and disbursement of the war-funds. All those who bore the name of generals (as we know for certain to have been the case in the time of Demosthenes, and probably in earlier times also) were not in fact commanders of all the troops, but only generals of the infantry and cavalry of each separate army (στρατηγὸς ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων or ὁπλιτῶν, and ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππέων): of these, one in his capacity of general of the administration (στρατηγὸς ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως) performed part of the judicial labours, together with other services: the duty of giving out the pay of the troops also devolved upon him[133], for which he must have had a treasurer of his own. Among his proposals for the equipment of the troops, Demosthenes[134] particularly recom-

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[129] Orat. c. Neær. p. 1346, 19. The date is evident from book iv. ch. 13.

[130] Demosth. περὶ παραπρεσβ. p. 434, 24.

[131] Fragment. p. 76.

[132] Demosth. c. Polycl. p. 1209, and passim.

[133] Decret. ap. Demosth. de Corona, p. 265, 11.

[134] Orat. de Cherson. p. 101, 14. From this the whole passage in the fourth Philippic is borrowed (p. 137), the spuriousness of which oration was perceived by Valckenaer, in his notes to his speech de Philipp. Maced. p. 251, and by Wolf Proleg. ad Lept. p. lx.

mends that treasurers and public slaves (δημόσιοι) should be appointed for the custody of the war-funds, that the strictest watch should be kept over their administration, and that these, and not the generals, should give an account of the manner in which the money had been employed. Many of the treasurers of the generals, who are mentioned in different writers, appear however to have been merely private paymasters, without being in the service of the state; thus Philocrates was the treasurer of Ergocles, and Antimachus of Timotheus, who managed everything for this general, and also kept a secretary for himself[135]. In the same manner the trierarchs had treasurers[136].

By means of the theoricon (τὸ θεωρικὸν, τὰ θεωρικὰ, or θεωρικὰ χρήματα), the most pernicious institution in the age of Pericles, there arose in a petty republic a lavishness of expense, which was not proportionally less than that of the most luxurious courts, and which swallowed up vast sums at the very moment that the military operations were failing from want of the proper supplies. Under the term Theorica are comprised the monies which were distributed among the people, for the celebration of festivals and games[137], either to indemnify them for the entrance-money to the theatre, or to enable them to feast more plentifully: they were also in part expended upon sacrifices[138], with which a public entertainment was always combined. From the nature and character of this expense it may be expected that the surplus money of the administration was set apart for it; in the early times, however, this was frequently applied to replenishing or increasing the public treasure;

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[135] Lysias c. Philocr. p. 829; Demosth. c. Timoth. p. 1186, 17; p. 1187, 10.

[136] Eupolis ap. Harpocrat. in v. ταμίαι. Comp. book iv. c. 11. Whether Antiphanes, the treasurer of the ship's captain Philip (Demosth. c. Timoth. p. 1188, 20; p. 1189, 2), was of this description, or whether Philip was only a private individual, I leave undecided. By the treasurer who gave the crown to the trierarch that was the first in getting his ship ready equipped (Demosth. de Trierarch. Corona, p. 1228, 5), we must probably understand neither the treasurer of the trierarch, nor the treasurer of the trireme-builders, but the pay-master of war, to whom this duty is the most suitable.

[137] Pollux viii. 113; Harpocr. Suid. Hesych. Etym. Ammonius.

[138] Demosth. de Corona, p. 226, 22. See below, chap. 13.

whereas in later periods not only was no addition made to the treasure, but the war-funds did not even receive the surplus monies. The managers of the theoricon are not called treasurers, although they evidently had the charge of a fund; they belonged to the number of officers of government, and were among the principal authorities elected by cheirotonia[139]: it appears that their appointment took place about the time of the great Dionysia in the city[140]. Their number is nowhere mentioned, but there were most probably ten, one from each tribe; for in an office of such importance as this it cannot be well supposed that any other method of election was adopted. Their appellation is variable (*ἀρχὴ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ, ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ ὤν, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸ θεωρικὸν κεχειροτονημένοι, ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν τεταγμένος, ἐπὶ τοῦ θεωρικοῦ καταστα θεὶς, θεωρικὴ ἀρχὴ, ἄρχων τῶν θεωρικῶν*)[141]. To the original department of manager of the theoricon were annexed, at the time when Eubulus of Anaphlystus filled this situation, and had obtained the public confidence in a high degree, many of the other branches of the administration, particularly the control of the public revenues, the office of apodectæ, the making of wharfs, of the arsenal, the construction of roads (the latter perhaps in some degree because they were connected with the passage of processions), and nearly all the other duties of the administration, as Æschines informs us[142]: in his capacity of manager of the theoricon, Demosthenes was also inspector of the building of the walls (*τειχοποιός*)[143]; and from the same cause Eubulus appears to have superintended the ship-building[144].

The extent of their power in such corrupt times cannot appear in the least surprising. The theoricon promoted the private interest of the citizens, and therefore the assembly passed a decree by which they conferred extensive influence on any person who had either the will or the ability to fill the purses of individuals at the expense of the public. The Athe-

[139] Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 416, 418.

[140] Petit Leg. Att. iii. 2, 35.

[141] Æsch. ut sup. Demosth. de Corona, p. 264, 10; p. 243, 27; p. 266, 22; Lex. Seg. p. 264; Suidas and the Etymologist.

[142] Æschin. ut sup. p. 417 sqq.

[143] Æschin. ibid. p. 419, 425; Demosth. de Corona, p. 243, 266.

[144] Dinarch. c. Demosth. p. 66.

nian people resembled a tyrant, and the funds of the theoricon were analogous to his private purse; if a tyrant desired to have, for the gratification of his own pleasures, a private purse which should never be empty, he would take care to invest the managers of it with great power, and would leave to the branches of the administration only just so much of the public revenue as should not interfere with the proper supply of the privy purse. This contrivance of the ochlocracy was abolished between Olymp. 110, 2 (B.C. 339), and 112, 3 (B.C. 330), by a decree proposed by Hegemon[145].

At what time the managers of the theoricon were the assessors of the poletæ, is not mentioned; but it is not necessary to suppose that they only performed this duty in the time of their extended authority. For since the surplus money of the administration was in time of peace always set apart for the theoricon, and to the administration duties and taxes raised in Athens were regularly assigned, while confiscated property might appear to belong more peculiarly to the theoricon, it is possible that this regulation was made when the office of manager of the theorica was originally instituted.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Clerks and Checking-Clerks. System of Public Accountability and Audit.

FROM the multiplicity of the offices, it is evident that the quantity of writing to be performed must have been considerable; the disbursements and receipts were to be entered, and particularly the respective purposes to which the monies were assigned; these, together with the acknowledgments of payment, were to be noted down; and finally, the accounts were to be passed. All these duties came within the department of the

[145] Petit Leg. Att. iii. 2, 36. In Olymp. 110, 3, Demosthenes was both inspector of the building of the walls, and manager of the theorica, but only *accidentally at the same time*, as I have already remarked, without the two offices being at that period necessarily united.

secretary or clerk (γραμματεύς). Thus the treasurers of the sacred monies, and the Amphictyons of Delos had their clerk[146], and the same was also the case with subordinate or private cashiers, as has been already remarked of Antimachus, the paymaster of Timotheus. Citizens who were nominated to situations of this kind, were commonly persons of small fortune. Public slaves (δημόσιοι) however, who had been educated at the cost of the state, were also employed, and were sometimes appointed for keeping accounts, of the generals for instance, and the paymasters in times of war[147], some as checking-clerks (ἀντιγραφεῖς, *contrarotulatores*), as for example the clerks who checked the accounts of the treasurers of the sacred monies, and of the war-taxes, although Demosthenes thinks that each contributor ought to perform for himself the office of a comptroller[148]. A clerk in the employ of the state was never a slave; and although the clerk Nicomachus is called by Lysias[149] a public slave (δημόσιος), this instance does not apply, for he was only an under-clerk, and not one of the principal clerks or secretaries; and the orator gives him that name in reference only to his father; for he himself had been entered in the register of the phratores, and consequently was a citizen. But the chief reason why the Athenians preferred the public slaves for comptrolling the accounts, was, that they could be put to the torture, and torture was considered as the surest means of eliciting the truth[150]. Freemen could not be tortured upon the rack, nor yet resident aliens or foreigners, as Gillies asserts; for it was prohibited by the decree of Scamandrius that any citizen should be put to the torture for the purpose of examination[151]; and

[146] Inscript. 139, 141, 150, 158.

[147] Demosth. de Cherson. p. 101, 14, and thence Philipp. iv. p. 137. Ulpian. ad Demosth. Olynth. ii.

[148] Demosth. c. Androt. p. 615, 12 sqq. Lex. Seg. p. 197.

[149] C. Nicom. p. 842, cf. p. 836, 837.

[150] Demosth. c. Aphob. ψευδομ. p. 846, 7; p. 848, 8, p. 856, 20. That more weight was given to the assertions of slaves upon the rack than to the sworn testimony of freemen, is also shown by Hudtwalcker *von den Diäteten*, p. 51.

[151] Andocid. de Myst. p. 22. The torture of the concubine of Antiphon (κατηγ. φαρμ. p. 615), provided that she was a free woman, which is not certain, must be considered as a punishment, and not as a means of examination. Against the assertion made in the text, that freemen in Attica could not be put to the torture, may be adduced a passage in Antip on (de

what Lysias says of Theodotus, a youth of Platææ, that he might have been put to the torture[152], must be the rather considered as an exception, as the Platæans were citizens.

Besides these subordinate checking-clerks, there were others of a superior class, who have sometimes been confounded with the secretaries or clerks. It is difficult to obtain a clear knowledge of these officers at Athens; in the mean time thus far is certain, that there were three public clerks, as we learn from Suidas[153]. Pollux[154] gives a more exact account; one was chosen by lot by the senate in every prytanea, for the purpose of keeping the writings and decrees, and is the officer who prefixed his name to the decrees according to the form which was in use before the archonship of Euclid: of this secretary Aristotle had, according to Harpocration[155], treated at length: the second was elected by the senate by cheirotonia for the laws; a third, elected by the people, was the public reader in the senate and the assembly. The first in an inscription of the time of the Emperors is called the clerk according to the prytanea (*γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν*)[156], where it is not so easy to perceive why he should be enumerated among the aeisiti, as one should rather have expected that he would only have had the privilege of being fed in the prytaneum for a single prytanea; a fresh one was appointed in every prytanea, and the name of the clerk of the first prytanea was added to the decrees before the archonship of Euclid, and was frequently made use of to designate the year[157]. Harpocration states that it was the duty of this

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Herod. cæde, p. 729), in which it is stated that a freeman was tortured at Mytilene: but whether a Mytilenæan or a foreigner, whether according to the Lesbian or Athenian law, cannot be decided.

[152] Apol. c. Simon. p. 153. What Reiske says upon this passage does not remove the difficulty.

[153] Suidas, *κληρωτοὶ δὲ (γραμματεῖς) ἦσαν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τρεῖς γράφοντες τὰ δημόσια. Οὐδενὸς δὲ ἦσαν κύριοι ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ γράφειν καὶ ἀναγνῶναι.* The first word, *κληρωτοὶ*, is false in this general sense.

[154] viii. 98, *γραμματεὺς, ὁ κατὰ πρυτανείαν κληρωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ τῷ [τὰ] γράμματα φυλάττειν καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα, καὶ ἕτερος ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς χειροτονούμενος. Ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου αἱρεθεὶς γραμματεὺς ἀναγινώσκει τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ.* A *γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς* occurs in Demosth. pro Corona, p. 238, 14, and *τοῦ δήμου* in the third decree in the Lives of the Ten Orators.

[155] In v. *γραμματεύς*.

[156] Chandl. Inscript. ii. 55, 2.

[157] Vid. ad Inscript. 147 et 76.

officer to check the public accounts[158]; but he doubtless confounds him with the checking-clerk. The second appears to be the clerk of the senators (*γραμματεὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν*) occurring in inscriptions[159], of whom I have nothing more to say than that he is never mentioned among the aeisiti, but always among the prytanes. Lastly, the third clerk is called the clerk of the state (*γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως*), or of the senate and the people (*τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου*)[160], and he is placed in inscriptions among the aeisiti.

These officers had an under-clerk (*ὑπογραμματεύς*): and a considerable number of such persons were used even in the ancient days of Athens, some of whom were employed in the higher, and some in the inferior and subordinate offices[161]; the checking-clerks were however different from these superior secretaries or clerks, as we have already seen in the case of the inferior. A checking-clerk of the senate (*ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς βουλῆς*) is quoted by Harpocration out of Aristotle's State of Athens[162], and a checking-clerk without any farther specification frequently occurs in ancient inscriptions, and always among the

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[158] Καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀντιγράφεται καὶ παρακάθηται τῇ βουλῇ. The confusion with the checking-clerk is evident from the words of Pollux viii. 98, where it is said of him, καὶ πάντα ἀντεγράφετο παρακαθήμενος τῇ βουλῇ. This had been remarked by Valesius in his notes to Harpocration, against whom Kühn's objections (ad Poll. viii. 98,) prove nothing.

[159] Chandl. ii. 55, 1, 2, 3, 4. Spon Travels, vol. iii. in the inscription belonging to the second volume p. 116 sqq. That he may not be considered the same as the clerk according to the Prytaneia, the distinction between them in Chandl. ii. 55, 2, should be observed. There are likewise many other similar inscriptions, in which this clerk of the senators and the others occur.

[160] Thucyd. vii. 10, and the inscriptions just quoted. Besides Valesius, authorities have been collected upon this subject by Meursius Lect. Att. vi. 25; Petit, iii. 2, 28; Barthélemy Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, vol. xlviii. p. 345. The ὑπογραμματεὺς occurs in the inscriptions already quoted; in that published by Spon the editor incorrectly reads ΠΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ.

[161] Antiph. de Choreut. p. 792; Demosth. pro Corona, p. 314, 7, *ὑπογραμματεύειν καὶ ὑπηρετεῖν τοῖς ἀρχιδίοις*, Lysias c. Nicom. p. 864, ter.

[162] Harpocrat. in v. *ἀντιγραφεύς*· ὁ καθιστάμενος ἐπὶ τῶν καταβαλλόντων τινὰ τῇ πόλει χρήματα, ὥστε ἀντιγράφεσθαι ταῦτα. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀνδροτίωνος (a passage which is not to the point, as it relates to subordinate checking-clerks), καὶ Αἰσχίνης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κτησιφώντος. Δισσοὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀντιγραφεῖς, ὁ μὲν τῆς διοικήσεως, ὡς φησι Φιλόχορος· ὁ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ. The whole passage is also in Suidas.

aeisiti. According to Pollux[163] he was in ancient times elected and afterwards chosen by lot: the checking-clerk of the senate is also mentioned by Suidas[164], as well as by the Scholiast to Aristophanes[165], who however confounds him with the clerk. According to Pollux his duty was to sit in the senate and exercise a general control; a statement which may perhaps be true, but that the duty which Harpocration attributes to the checking-clerk, of comptrolling the receipts of the revenues, refers to this office, is evident, the taxes having been paid in presence of the senate. Lastly it is manifest that Æschines[166] alludes to this officer, when he remarks that the state had a checking-clerk elected by cheirotonia, who kept an account of the revenues for the people in each prytanea, until this situation was united with the office of the theoricon, by which means the duties of the apodectæ, and the checking of the accounts, were injudiciously placed in the same hands. Besides this checking-clerk for monies received, there was also a checking-clerk of the highest authority for disbursements, viz., the treasurer of the administration, who was called the checking-clerk of the administration (*ἀντιγραφεὺς τῆς διοικήσεως*)[167]. It is probable that all clerks and checking-clerks (and certainly the under-clerks) were prohibited from holding the same office twice[168], *i. e.*, not for two successive years, and it was necessary that a new person should be appointed after the interval of a year.

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[163] viii. 98. Cf. Lex. Seg. p. 190, 26.

[164] In v. *γραμματεὺς*, where see Küster's note. Compare also Lex. Seg. p. 185, 16.

[165] Eq. 1253. The following is the whole of this corrupt passage: *ἐπὶ δὲ δήμου (ὁ γραμματεὺς) ὑπογραφεὺς ἐλέγετο. ὁ δὲ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἀντιγραφεύς. δημοσίου δὲ γενομένου ἔγραφον ἀμφότεροι τὰ λεγόμενα.* The latter words, which are entirely devoid of meaning, Kühn (ad Poll. viii. 98,) endeavours to correct; but his correction does not make any better sense. The *ὑπογραφεὺς* may be the *ὑπογραμματεὺς* of inscriptions. Petit also (ut sup.) remarks the confusion between the clerk and checking-clerk in this passage.

[166] Cont. Ctesiph. p. 417. Cf. Ulpian. ad Demosth. c. Androt. ut sup.

[167] Philochorus ap. Harpocrat. ut sup. and thence Suidas and Pollux viii. 98, 99, according to the correct emendation of Valesius upon Harpocration.

[168] This is evidently the meaning of the law in Lysias c. Nicom. p. 864 extr. *ὑπογραμματεῦσαι οὐκ ἔξεστι δὶς τὸν αὐτὸν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇ αὐτῇ*, although the expression is somewhat singular; but from the context it appears to me that this is the only way in which it can be understood.

The public accounts being in this manner kept by the clerks, and comptrolled by the checking-clerks, it was rendered possible to make the scrutiny which was regularly entered into at the expiration of every office. It is the essence of a democracy that every public officer should be responsible. Among the distinguishing marks of a democratic authority, responsibility is one of the most prominent; while in the aristocratical and oligarchical states of antiquity, such as Sparta and Crete, the highest offices, those in which the aristocracy and oligarchy really existed, were subject to no responsibility. Hence the obligation of rendering accounts for official conduct prevailed to so great an extent at Athens: no person who had had any share in the government or administration was exempted from it; the senate of five hundred, even the Areopagus, at least after the loss of their great power, were bound to render an account: even the priests and priestesses were obliged to produce accounts for the gifts (*γέρα*); so also whole families, such as the Eumolpidæ and Ceryces, and even the trierarchs, although the latter furnished everything at their own expense; no person who had not rendered his account could go abroad, consecrate his property to a god, or even dedicate a sacred offering; no one could make a will, or be adopted from one family into another; in short, the state had a lien upon the whole property of the individual until he had passed his scrutiny[169]. In the same manner no honorary gift or reward (such for example as a crown) could be awarded to a person who had not passed his scrutiny[170]. The dicasts alone were free from this obligation[171].

The authorities whose business it was to pass and examine the accounts of public officers were, according to Aristotle[172], called in the Greek states, in some places *εὔθυνοι*, in others *λογισταὶ*, *ἐξεταστὰι*, or *συνήγοροι*. That the logistæ of the Athenians were employed in matters of calculation is proved by their name; the euthuni were in intimate connexion with them: the difference between their duties was not, however, as is sup-

[169] Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 405 sqq.
[170] Æsch. and Demosth. pro Corona.
[171] Arist. Vesp. 585. See Hudtwalcker von den Diäteten, p. 32.
[172] In the last chapter of the 6th book of the Politics.

posed by some, that the logistæ had authority in those cases only which concerned the administration of public money, while the euthuni acted in all other cases; but all questions belonged indiscriminately to either authority. In the examinations of persons who either had or had not the management of money, the logistæ, after the account had been rendered before them and the secretary (probably of the senate and the people), brought the cause into court, where they gave out by means of the crier that they were ready to hear any accusation[173]. The intimate connexion between the two offices is strikingly proved by a decree in Andocides, in which mention is made of those whose accounts were found unsatisfactory in the logisteria by the euthuni or the assessors, and affording ground for an indictment[174]: lastly, *εὔθυνα* is often used in speaking of the logistæ and *λογισμὸς* in speaking of the euthuni; and the Etymologist says[175] that in his time those were called logistæ who formerly had borne the name of euthuni. The distinction between them had been explained by Aristotle in the Constitution of Athens[176]; but the grammarians do not give any precise information upon this point. According to Harpocration[177], there were ten logistæ, to whom every person gave an account of his proceedings within thirty days after the expiration of his office; and the same number of euthuni, whose duties were precisely the same. All authorities agree in stating that the logistæ and euthuni were both ten in number[178]. Pollux gives us an

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[173] Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 403 sqq. Demosth. pro Corona, p. 266, 9.

[174] De Myst. p. 37, *ὅσων εὐθυναί τινές εἰσι κατεγνωσμέναι ἐν τοῖς λογιστηρίοις* (see Lysias c. Polystr. p. 672,) *ὑπὸ τῶν εὐθύνων ἢ τῶν παρέδρων*. The last words appear to be an interpretation which has crept into the text: but I do not venture to strike them out, as assessors of the euthuni are mentioned.

[175] In v. *εὔθυνοι*, from whom Photius and Zonaras took; in the latter of which grammarians read *Πλάτων Νόμων δωδεκάτῳ*.

[176] Ap. Harpocrat.

[177] In v. *λογισταὶ* and *εὔθυνοι*, and thence Suidas and Photius in v. *λογισταὶ* and *εὔθυνοι*, also Lex. Seg. p. 245, 276. The person is called *εὔθυνος* and *εὐθύνης*, in the plural *εὔθυνοι* and *εὐθύναι*, the proceeding is *ἡ εὔθυνα*, (see the law in Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 717, 19, where however it is falsely accented *εὐθύνα*), in the plural *εὔθυναι*; likewise *ἡ εὐθύνη*, which the grammarians quote as the common form, but which is perhaps of later origin.

[178] Etymol. in v. *εὔθυνοι*, Photius, and Pollux viii. 45. From Pollux viii. 99; Petit iii. 2. 6, concludes that

important addition, viz., "that the senate chose the logistæ by lot, in order to attend," as he expresses himself, "upon the officers of the administration," that is, to watch over their conduct; "but the euthuni were chosen in addition, like the assessors of the nine archons[179]."

What constituted the difference of their duties can even in general be arrived at only by conjecture. The logistæ were the chief persons, and to them the accounts were delivered, into the correctness of which they examined; they also, as the calculators of the state, superintended the payment of the public debts[180]. But while the accounts were being examined (λογισμὸς or λόγος), or even afterwards, if an accuser came forward

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there were two other logistæ: but this passage refers, as has been already observed, to the two checking-clerks.

[179] Pollux viii. 99, 100, where he says, οἱ δὲ εὔθυνοι, ὥσπερ οἱ πάρεδροι τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρχουσι, προσαιροῦνται. Comp. upon this point Petit ut sup. [The Author has since referred the first part of this passage from Pollux to the ἀντιγραφεῖς or checking-clerks, and adopted the statement of the grammarians, (Lex. Seg. p. 276, 17; Etym. Mag. p. 569, 31,) that the logistæ were appointed by lot, *Rheinisches Museum*, vol. i. p. 82. It is however singular that the author, as well as his antagonist, should have missed one of the most explicit passages on the subject, viz., in a grammarian published by Mr. Dobree at the end of Photius, p. 672. Λογισταί· καὶ συνηγόροι· Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ οὕτω λέγει· λογισταὶ δὲ αἱροῦνται δέκα, παρ' οἷς διαλογίζονται πᾶσαι αἱ ἀρχαὶ τά τε λήμματα καὶ τὰς γεγενημένας δαπάνας· καὶ ἄλλοις (ἄλλοι) δέκα συνηγόροις (συνήγοροι), οἵτινες συνανακρίνουσι τούτοις. καὶ οἱ τὰς εὐθύνας διδόντες παρὰ τούτοις ἀνακρίνοντες πρῶτον, εἶτα ἐφίενται εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἰς ἕνα καὶ φ'. This passage seems to show that the logistæ were *not* chosen by lot (αἱροῦνται, not κληροῦνται), and it is also a strong negative proof of the identity of the logistæ and euthuni. The συνήγοροι are mentioned in another grammarian quoted by the author in note 186, συνήγοροι ἄρχοντες ἦσαν κληρωτοὶ, οἳ τοῖς λογισταῖς ἐβοήθουν πρὸς τὰς εὐθύνας τῶν ἀρξάντων τινὰ ἀρχήν. Here however it is stated that the συνήγοροι *were* chosen by lot: perhaps in the former passage we should read κληροῦνται for αἱροῦνται. These συνήγοροι therefore seem to have been quite distinct from the public advocates (although the contrary is maintained by Schömann, de Comitiis, p. 108); they were probably the same as the πάρεδροι mentioned by Andocides and others. The public advocates are stated by Photius (in v. συνήγοροι) to have been nominated by election (χειροτονία). In the passage also from the Politics quoted in note 172, Aristotle mentions λογισταὶ, εὔθυνοι, and συνήγοροι as synonymous terms.—TRANSL.]

[180] Inscript. 76, § 4, λόγος and λογισμὸς is the account, the εὐθύνη or defence of the account was commonly connected with it, as *e. g.* in Inscript. 76, § 8; Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 397, 403, &c.

(who was however obliged to appear within a certain time[181], *i. e.* within thirty days after the expiration of the office), questions were put and answers required concerning the correctness of the statements (*εὔθυνα*), a point which it would be difficult and tedious to explain: now it is for this, that the euthuni appear to have been appointed as assistants to the logistæ, as may be inferred from their name. The euthuni or their assessors might decide that the account was unsatisfactory, that money had been embezzled, bribes received, &c.; when such was the case, the affair was brought before a court of justice, in the same manner as when a public accuser came forward[182]. The

[181] Pollux viii. 45.

[182] In the archonship of Alexias in Olymp. 93, 4 (B.C. 405), by the decree of Patrocleides, the public debtors were remitted their debts up to the end of the preceding year (Olymp. 93, 3, in the archonship of Callias), and those who had been condemned to Atimia for non-payment were restored to their civil rights. By this law, pardon was at the same time extended to those *ὅσων εὔθυναί τινές εἰσι κατεγνωσμέναι ἐν τοῖς λογιστηρίοις ὑπὸ τῶν εὐθύνων ἢ τῶν παρέδρων, ἢ μήπω εἰσηγμέναι εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον γραφαί τινές εἰσι περὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν*, with the addition of the date *εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον*. For the explanation of this passage I subjoin the following remarks. It was not only the public debts and Atimia that were remitted, to which the debtors had become subject by a punishment which had been previously adjudged, but it was also enacted that the actions against public officers which were at that time instituted on account of incorrect accounts, should be disannulled, *i. e.* that the causes which had not been yet decided, but were still depending, should be quashed. These however were of two kinds. In the first place the euthuni or their assessors in the examination of the accounts had decided that certain public officers were guilty, and had determined to institute proceedings against them (*εὔθυναι κατεγνωσμέναι ἐν τοῖς λογιστηρίοις*), although by these means, as a court of justice could alone pass sentence, no punishment had as yet been assigned: or an accuser had brought forward complaints with regard to the accounts of the public servants, who were undergoing the scrutiny, but the accusations were still in the hands of the presidents of the courts of justice and not yet brought before the court itself (*γραφαὶ περὶ τῶν εὐθυνῶν μήπω εἰσηγμέναι εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον*): both kinds of cases were to be put an end to. Among the first class of cases those also were included which had not yet been brought before the court of justice, which as being self-evident are therefore not mentioned; but the former class is particularly noticed, because the persons who were comprised in it had been condemned by the previous decision of a public office, and therefore seemed to be more inculpated than the others. It may be also asked why those persons are not mentioned whose causes subsequent upon the decision of the euthuni had been brought before the court previously to the end of the preceding year, but had not been decided. No cases however of this kind could have existed, because when the cause

proceedings which belonged to this stage (which are even here called *εὔθυναι*)[183], were instituted by the chief authority, the logistæ; who conducted the actions, and composed the tribunal which gave judgment in the case[184]. In bringing on the action it is possible that the euthuni again assisted the chief anthority: and perhaps too, as Pollux asserts, they enforced the payment of embezzled monies and fines, instead of the practores. Photius[185] alone states that each euthunus had two assessors, but he is supported by the words of Andocides. Lastly, the public advocates (*συνήγοροι*) afforded assistance to the logistæ[186]. Any person who neglected to render his account could be prosecuted by a particular action (*δίκη ἀλογίου*)[187].

From what has been said it is evident that there was no want at Athens of well-conceived and strict regulations; but what is the use of provident measures, where the spirit of the administration is bad? Men have at all times been unjust and covetous and unprincipled, and above all the Greeks distinguished themselves for the uncontrolled gratification of their own desires, and their contempt for the happiness of others.

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had been once brought before court, the decision immediately ensued, without the defendant being able to delay it by objections or cross suits.

[183] Pollux ut sup.

[184] Æsch. c. Ctesiph. p. 395 sqq. and 408; Suidas in v. *εὐθύνη*, Lex. Rhet. (Seg. p. 245, also Lex. Seg. p. 310, 6); Etym. and Phot. in the passages quoted by Ruhnken ad Tim. p. 126. See Petit ut sup.

[185] Εὔθυνος· *ἀρχὴ ἦν τις. Ἐξ ἑκάστης δὲ φυλῆς ἕνα κληροῦσι, τούτῳ δὲ δύο παρέδρους*: in which passage the *εὔθυνοι* are falsely represented as chosen by lot, which is only true of the logistæ. Hesychius in v. *εὐθύνας* only speaks incidentally of the assessors of the archons, the word *εὐθύνας* occurring in a passage of Aristotle concerning the latter officers: no one should therefore be led into error by this article.

[186] Lex. Seg. p. 301.

[187] Suidas, Hesychius, Etymol. in v. *ἀλογίου δίκη*, Pollux viii. 54. To approve the accounts is called *τὰς εὐθύνας ἐπισημαίνεσθαι*. Demosth. pro Corona, p. 310, 21. Ἐπισημαίνεσθαι means to approve, *ἐπαινεῖν* (cf. Æsch. *περὶ παραπρεσβ.* p. 230. Harpocrat. in v. *ἐπισημαίνεσθαι*, and thence Suidas and Zonaras, p. 848, cf. p. 830, and the editor's note) because that which is signed and sealed is approved of by him to whom the decision belongs: however it may be possible that after the accounts had been found to be correct by the proper authorities, the testimony of their correctness was added in writing and confirmed by a seal, so that *ἐπισημαίνεσθαι τὰς εὐθύνας* may signify the approval of them which was vouched by being sealed in this manner.

If any competent judge of moral actions will contemplate their character without prejudice, and unbiassed by their high intellectual endowments, he will find that their private life was unstable, and devoid of virtue; that their public life was a tissue of restless intrigues and evil passions; and, what was the worst of all, that there existed to a far greater degree than in the Christian world, a want of moral principle, and a harshness and cruelty in the popular mind. The display of noble actions, it is true, has ceased, and will never re-appear with the same brilliancy; but the principles of the majority of mankind have been elevated, even if we allow that some distinguished individuals in ancient times were as pure as the most exalted characters of modern days; and in this general elevation consists the progress of mankind.

When we consider then the principles of the Greeks, which are sufficiently seen from their historians and philosophers, it cannot be a matter of surprise that fraud used by public officers at Athens against the state, was of common occurrence: in the early times of the republic Aristides, the contemporary of Themistocles, complained of it; it was even the common opinion that there existed a certain prescriptive right to the commission of this fraud, and a person who had scruples on the subject was censured for his too great strictness[188]. Every where we meet with instances of embezzlement of money by public officers; even the sacred property was not secure from sacrilegious hands. The Romans had at least a period in which fidelity and honesty were practised and esteemed: but among the Greeks these qualities will be sought for in vain. The former were bound by a solemn oath to administer without peculation the money entrusted to their care; "but if in Greece," says the faithful Polybius[189], "the state entrusts to any one only a talent, and if it has ten checking-clerks, and as many seals and twice as many witnesses, it cannot ensure his honesty." The officers of finance were therefore not unfrequently condemned to death or to loss of property and imprisonment; sometimes indeed unjustly, when money had acci-

[188] Plutarch. Aristid. 4.

[189] vi. 56.

dentally been lost[190]; but the logistæ allowed themselves to be disgracefully bribed in order to enable the offender to evade the legal penalty[191].

Even the great Pericles does not appear to have been free from the charge of peculation, if at least the story is true which represents Alcibiades to have said, on hearing that Pericles was occupied in preparing his accounts for the people, that he would be better occupied in endeavouring to render none at all[192]. The comic poets, who undermined the fame of every distinguished person, have also brought against him charges which are doubtless exaggerated; for example, Aristophanes in the comedy of the Clouds misunderstands and ridicules an item in the account of Pericles which he had rendered in his capacity of general, although in this instance he was free from all blame. The truth is that he had charged 10 talents, without specifying the particular object to which they had been applied; but the charge was allowed by the people, as it was well known that they had been used for purposes of bribery, and that the names of those who had received them could not be mentioned without offending Pleistonax the king of Sparta, and the harmost Cleandrides[193]. There is however a very general tradition that Pericles was in great difficulties with his accounts. Before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, Phidias the sculptor was subjected, by means as, it appears, of a conspiracy, to an examination respecting some gold which he was accused of having embezzled[194]; on that occasion Pericles extricated himself and Phidias from the difficulty. But other attacks were made upon him for the purposes of annoyance; and at last when the Athenians were dissatisfied with his lavish expendi-

[190] Comp. e. g. Demosth. c. Timoth. p. 1187, 1197; c. Timocrat. p. 742 sqq.

[191] Æschin. c. Timarch. p. 126.

[192] Plutarch. Alcib. 7; Diod. xii. 38.

[193] Aristoph. Nub. 856, and the Scholiast, and thence Suidas in v. δέον, Ἔφοροι, εἰς δέον, εἰς τὸ δέον, Lex. Seg. p. 234. The Scholiast of Aristophanes says 20, Suidas in one place 15, in another 50 talents: I have followed the statement of Plutarch (Pericl. 22, 23) which has greater probability.

[194] Plutarch. Pericl. 31. This cause instituted against Pericles is alluded to by Plato Gorg. p. 516 A. where see Heindorf: the Scholiast of Aristophanes and Suidas confound this with other things.

ture[195], they required an account of his financial administration. The importance of this transaction is evident from the proceedings which were proposed for it: the account was to have been referred to the prytanes; and according to the decree of Dracontides, the judges were to vote from the altar upon the Acropolis, which was the most solemn method of deciding. This last ceremony was dispensed with by the interference of Hagnon, and it was directed that fifteen hundred judges should sit in judgment upon this case, in which it was uncertain whether there had been peculation or some other offence[196]. In order to put an end to this contest, in which he was in danger of falling a sacrifice both to party rage and his own dishonesty, Pericles is said to have engaged his country in a war[197]; a severe accusation, which however will be in some degree diminished, if it is considered that several causes contributed, and that this selfish motive might only have added strength to other inducements. I am the less inclined wholly to acquit Pericles of this charge, because Aspasia is also said to have contributed to the undertaking of the Samian war.

In order that the accounts rendered by persons who had filled public offices should have the greatest possible publicity, and that it should be in the power of every one to bring forward accusations, these accounts were, like the decrees, engraved on stone and exposed in public. Thus Lycurgus set up the account of his administration before the wrestling-school which he had built a short time previously[198]; a fragment of a similar account of the treasurer of the administration and manager of the public revenue, and probably of this very one made by Lycurgus, has been preserved to our days[a]. In like manner the treasurers of the goddess and of the other gods were obliged to have an account of what they had received, disbursed, and

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[195] Plutarch. Pericl. 14.

[196] Plutarch. ibid. 32.

[197] Plut. ibid. 31, 32; Diod. xii. 38 sqq.; Aristoph. Pac. 604 sqq. and Schol. Concerning the difficulties in arranging the date see Dodwell Annal. Thucyd. in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, and Heyne (Antiquarische Aufsätze, i. p. 188 sq.) who has well examined the question. Concerning the Samian war see Plutarch. Pericl. 25.

[198] Life of Lycurgus at the end, in the Lives of the Ten Orators.

[a] Inscript. 157.

delivered to their successors, engraved upon stone and set up in the Acropolis[199]: Chandler has published three inscriptions of this kind, and saw still more in the Parthenon[200], and some have been brought to England by Lord Elgin. Several documents of this description, some money-accounts, some lists of treasures belonging to temples, delivered over to other treasurers, which were accurately weighed, have come down to our days; among which may be mentioned the remarkable account given by the Amphictyons of Delos, of their revenues, expenses, and outstanding debts. Lastly, we know that the poletæ also fixed up lists of confiscated property (*δημιόπρατα*), (whether before or after the sale is uncertain,) upon tablets of stone, some in the Acropolis, some at Eleusis[201], and doubtless also in other places; and probably a fragment of an inscription now extant was a part of a document of this nature[b].

Monuments of this kind are necessarily destroyed by length of time; but it is much to be lamented that we should not be possessed of those which had been collected by Greek antiquarians. The Attic epigrams of Philochorus were probably only poetical inscriptions; but the traveller Polemon, who from his fondness for inscriptions had acquired the surname of Stelocopas (*στηλοκόπας*), wrote four books on the sacred offerings upon

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[199] Inscript. 76, § 7, 8.

[200] Chandl. Syllab. p. 17, of his Inscript. Antiq. besides those which I have published. The inedited inscriptions occur in Lord Elgin's collection, as stated by Visconti in his Mémoire, No. 36, upon two sides of a stone, upon one side of which there are forty, on the other more than fifty lines, of the writing before Euclid. The authorities are the treasurers of sacred money (*ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων*), the articles enumerated partly weighed, partly unweighed (*ἄσταθμοι*). The first line contains the words *ἐκ Παναθηναίων ἐς Παναθήναια*: which is to be explained from what is said in the text. No. 37, also a fragment, written in the ancient manner, upon both sides of the stone, each of which contains more than forty lines. The first side begins with *ἐδίδοσαν τὸν λόγον*, the other with H H H H Δ Δ. This inscription is evidently allied to Nos. 109 and 141 ed. Boeckh. No. 38, another fragment of the same description in the ancient manner of writing, written in the same way. No. 46, a fragment of the same kind as the two inscriptions just mentioned, but very imperfect: there are forty-five lines remaining. No. 50, a later inscription which contains a catalogue of treasures belonging to a temple of great length. Concerning these inscriptions see also *The Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece*, p. 17, 18.

[201] Casaub. ad Athen. xi. p. 476 E. Hemsterh. ad Poll. x. 96.

[b] Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. No. 161.

the Acropolis[202], as well as copiously upon other inscriptions, and collected decrees[203] engraved upon stone, particularly at Athens; a collection of decrees, most of them doubtless taken from inscriptions, was given to the world by Craterus[204]. Another collection of the registers of the demioprata was likewise extant, and is frequently quoted by Pollux in the tenth book[205], and once by Athenæus; from this source the former writer drew his information respecting the confiscated property of Alcibiades[206]; and in this collection of the demioprata there were also accounts of the treasurers of the Acropolis concerning the cession of the sacred treasures, probably from the work of Polemon; among others one which by chance has come down

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[202] Athen. vi. 234 D, and Casaubon's note.

[203] An example occurs in Athen. vi. p. 234 E. From him also the inscription in the Anaceum (p. 235 B) is no doubt taken.

[204] Plutarch. Cim. 13. From some such collection the decrees which occur in the Lives of the Ten Orators are borrowed.

[205] The tables of the goods sold or confiscated by the state (*τὰ δημιόπρατα*), which were affixed in different places, contained various articles of household furniture, and are therefore often cited by Pollux in his 10th book, in which he treats of utensils; he himself had not seen them, but followed a written collection. Thus he mentions *ἐνμόχλια σιδηρᾶ*, where the *ν* before *μ* betrays the inscription (23); also *θύρα διάπριστος* and *θύραι συνδρομάδες* (24); from the confiscated property of Alcibiades *χαμεύνη παράκολλος καὶ κλίνη ἀμφικνέφαλος* (36); furthermore, *κνέφαλον καινὸν* and *κνέφαλον παλαιόν* (39), *λουτήριον καὶ ὑπόστατον* (46, 79), *φιδακνὶς*, a wine vessel (74), *τράπεζα μονόκυκλος* (81); likewise paintings, *καὶ πίναξ ποικίλος ἀπ' ὀροφῆς καὶ πίναξ ἕτερος γεγραμμένος*; and plates or *πίνακες μαζηροὶ* (84), *κάναστον* and *κάνυστρον* (86), *λέκος* (87), *μαχαίρια ἐλεφάντινα*, *μαχαίρια κεράτινα*, also, as it seems, *χέρνιβα*, *λέβητες*, *πρόχους*, *χερνίβιον* (89, 90), *κυμινοθήκη* (93), *ἄρτηκια ὀβελίσκων* (96), *μολυβδοκρατεναὶ*, or leaden stands for spits (96-7), *σκάφη μακρὰ* and *σκάφη στρογγύλη* (103), *δευτὴρ* (105), *ἠθμὸς ὑποκρητηρίδιος* (108), mere kitchen and table utensils; also other implements, as *κόσκινος κριθοποιὸς* (114), *ὑπολήνιον* (130), *ἐκπιεστήριον* (135), *κιβωτὸς θυριδώτη* (137), *ῥάκια* and *κηρωτὰ* (150), *καλυπτῆρες Κορινθιουργεῖς* (157), *ἁλῶν τρία ἡμιφόρμια* (169), *παρωλενίδες* (171), *κλιμάκιον* (182), *κέραμος Ἀττικὸς* and *κεραμὸς Κορίνθιος* (182). These examples sufficiently prove the similarity of the inscriptions which were included in the collection of the Demioprata, with Inscript. No. 161, ed. Boeckh.; although it is not to be denied that lists of offerings and temple utensils were also included in it. It may be observed that Pollux doubtless cited many words from the Demioprata in his 10th book, without mentioning his authority; at least many words occur in the inscription just quoted which are also to be found in Pollux.

[206] Pollux x. 36.

to our time and is now in England[207]. Probably the list of the sacred offerings upon the Acropolis quoted by Pollux[208], was set up during the archonship of Alcibiades, that is, a memorial of the treasurer's accounts, of whom he was the first, borrowed from these demioprata.

CHAPTER IX.

How far a regular comparison of the Public Revenue and Expenditure was instituted. On the Heads of Expenditure.

BUT however essential the settlement of accounts may be to a regular administration of finance, it is not of itself sufficient. The first requisite is a correct estimate of the revenue and expenditure, in order that the former may be sufficient to meet the latter. It can hardly be said that this estimate was made regularly in any Grecian state; at the same time they must have been able from experience and a comparison of the public accounts, to form a tolerable judgment as to the amount of the regular income and expenditure, and how far the former was or was not sufficient, and the latter necessary or superfluous. Aristotle says[209], "Whoever wishes to deliberate upon matters of finance must be acquainted with the revenues of the state,

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[207] See the remark on l. 37 of No. 151, in Corp. Inscript. Gr. vol. i. p. 242.

[208] *Ἀναγραφὴ τῶν ἐν Ἀκροπόλει ἀναθημάτων*, x. 26. The quotations that are made from this catalogue occur in two inscriptions still extant. See Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 150, and the remark, vol. i. p. 236. There is no mention of any Archon Alcibiades. Pollux probably confounded the first treasurer of the goddess or of the gods, whose name stood at the head of the inscription, with the archon. If Alcibiades had not been a treasurer upon the Acropolis, how could it have come to pass that he, as Plutarch relates in the Life of Alcibiades, had in his house many gold and silver ornaments for processions belonging to the state, which he used as his own property; if he held the office of treasurer upon the Acropolis he would have had the means of doing this. The account given by Andocides (cont. Alcib. p. 126, 127), is different from this story of Plutarch taken from Phæax, where he speaks of ornaments for processions, which Alcibiades had borrowed from the architheori of Athens for the sake of his triumphal festival. This has been also observed by Ruhnken Hist. Crit. Orat. p. 138, vol. viii. of Reiske's Orators.

[209] Rhet. i. 4; cf. Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. iii. 6, 4—6.

what and how great they are; in order that if any branch of them is deficient, it may be added, and if too small, it may be increased. He should also know all the expenses of the state, in order that if any one is superfluous, it may be retrenched, and if too large, be curtailed. For wealth is augmented, not only by increasing revenue, but by diminishing expenditure, and these things a man cannot learn from his own individual experience; but it is also necessary in order to deliberate upon subjects of this nature that he should have the habit of inquiring into the discoveries of others." Here the questions are clearly laid down which a minister at the head of the public revenue should undertake to consider; it may, however, be fairly questioned whether the Athenians always went correctly to work in the difficult application of these simple principles. The necessity, and afterwards the habits or convenience of the people, introduced certain expenses; the time soon came when the revenues were not sufficient to defray them, and then the former were to be diminshed or the latter increased; of these alternatives it must be supposed that they generally took the latter, and this without previously making any correct estimate. This was the case to a greater degree in their extraordinary expenses, and after the public treasure had been exhausted, all the great enterprises were checked by a want of supplies.

With regard to the Athenian revenue we have its amount at different periods of the republic; but of that of the expenditure we know but little, though it must have varied very much at different times. I shall treat of the latter first; but as it is a subject branching out into many different directions, it will for that reason be impossible for me to give so complete and satisfactory an account of it as of the revenue, and I must be content with touching upon the chief points.

The regular expenditure may be arranged under the following heads: expenses of buildings, police, celebration of festivals, donations to the people, pay for certain public services in time of peace, maintenance of the poor, public rewards, and the providing of arms, ships, and cavalry, in time of peace. Extraordinary expenses were occasioned by war, of which I shall speak at the end of this book.

CHAPTER X.

The Public Buildings.

THE public buildings, the magnificence and splendid execution of which still excite astonishment even in their ruins, were constructed at so great an expense, that they could not have been attempted without the treasure derived from the tributes: their maintenance alone required a considerable standing expense. I will only mention the building of the Piræus by Themistocles, the fortification of it together with the other harbours, the market place of the Hippodamus, the theatre and the many temples and sacred edifices, in the Piræus; the wharfs, in which the ships lay as it were under cover, cost 1000 talents, and after having been destroyed in the Anarchy by the contractors for three talents, were again restored and finally completed by Lycurgus[210]. A splendid edifice in the Piræus was the arsenal built by Philon and destroyed by Sulla (*σκευοθήκη, ὁπλοθήκη*)[211]. The fortifications of Athens were enormous; besides the Acropolis, the city and the Piræus with Munychia were respectively fortified: the two latter embraced a circumference of 8 English miles, with walls 60 Grecian feet high, which Themistocles wished to make as much as double this height; and at the same time so wide that two carriages could easily pass one another upon them; they were built of square stones, without cement, joined together with iron cramps; the city and the harbour were also connected by the long walls, the longer of which was equal to 40 stadia (5 English miles), the shorter to 35, built upon marshy ground raised with stones. And these immense works were restored after their destruction in the time of the Thirty Tyrants: for which purpose the Athenians were, it is true, assisted by Persian money[212]. To these were added in time of war, ramparts of earth, trenches, and parapets, for the strengthening of the works: together with the

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[210] Isocrat. Areopag. 27; Meurs. Fort. Att. vii.
[211] Meurs. ibid.
[212] Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 8, 12.

fortification of smaller places in Attica. Thus Eleusis was fortified as being an ancient, and formerly an independent city; also Anaphlystus, as we learn from Xenophon[213] and Scylax; so again Sunium was fortified in the Peloponnesian war[214], as well as Thoricus[215] and Œnoë, a stronghold upon the Bœotian frontier[216]; together with the secure defences of Phyle[217]; lastly, Aphidna and Rhamnus, which in the time of Philip, together with Phyle, Sunium, and Eleusis were used as places of refuge[218]. But how great was the number of splendid buildings which the city and its environs contained; if we consider the spaces used for the assembly, the courts of justice, and markets, the highly ornamented porticos, the pompeum, prytaneum, tholus, senate-house, and other buildings for the public offices: the innumerable temples, the theatre, the odeum, wrestling-schools, gymnasia, stadia, hippodromes, aqueducts, fountains, baths, together with the buildings belonging to them, &c.[219] And again, how great must have been the expense of the works upon the Acropolis. The entrance alone, the Propylæa, which occupied five years in its construction, cost 2012 talents[220]. Here too the numerous temples, the temple of Victory, the Erectheum, with the temple of Minerva Polias and the Pandrosium, and the splendid Parthenon, all these were adorned with the most costly statues and works of art, and enriched with gold and silver vessels. And besides these great works, how many were the perpetual small expenses, of which *we* have scarcely any notion, that occurred in an ancient state: for example, the building of altars, which were always erected for certain festivals[221].

Here we may also mention the construction of roads, not only as regards the paving of streets in Athens, but the formation of the roads to the harbours, of the sacred road to Eleusis and perhaps to Delphi as far as the boundary, since it is asserted

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[213] De Vectig. 4, 44. Scylax mentions four fortresses, Eleusis, Anaphlystus, Sunium, and Rhamnus.

[214] Thucyd. viii. 4.

[215] Xenoph. Hell. i. 2, 1; cf. de Vectig. ut sup.

[216] Thucyd. ii. 18.

[217] Xenoph. Hell. ii. 4, 2; Diod. xiv. 32; Nep. Thrasyb. 2.

[218] Demosth. de Coron. p. 238.

[219] Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. 2, 10.

[220] Heliodorus ap. Harpocrat. and Suidas, and Photius in *προπύλαια*.

[221] Plutarch. in vit. Demosth. 27.

that the Athenians first opened the road to this place. I grant that the Romans and Carthaginians expended more money upon the construction of roads than the Greeks; but roads were formed which were much travelled over, and intended in particular for sacred processions; these were not merely constructed with an uneven pavement, but were made firm and smooth with small stones taken out of the quarries[222].

For the superintendence of all these labours there were some regular officers, and some appointed only for certain periods. Over the wharfs and the ships that lay in them, the inspectors of the wharfs (ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν νεωρίων) were placed[223]; for the repairs of the walls certain commissioners (τειχοποιοὶ) were named, the most distinguished amongst all the directors of the public works (ἐπισταταὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων)[224], who, like the builders of the triremes, were elected one from each tribe[225]. All other buildings were under the superintendence of a manager of public works: it was in this capacity that Pericles, and subsequently Lycurgus, undertook so many works of architecture[226]. In the building of the temple of Minerva Polias, we likewise find directors (ἐπισταταὶ) who had a clerk[227], and probably every temple had directors of this kind, who together with the priests and sacrificers (ἱεροποιοὶ) composed a college or board[228]. Similar authorities were appointed for the care of the roads and of the supply of water (ὁδοποιοὶ, ἐπισταταὶ τῶν ὑδάτων)[229]. The astynomi composed the street police, five

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[222] Σκῦρον as well as λατύπη is what breaks off in the hewing of stone, and sometimes even signifies mortar. From this is derived σκυρωτὴ ὁδὸς, of which kind there was one at Cyrene for processions (Pindar Pyth. v. 90 sqq.), consequently it is not a paved road, but made in the same manner as ours, only with greater care. Σκυρωτὴ ὁδὸς is however interpreted by λιθόστρωτος, and therefore it seems to me probable that this word does not always mean a paved road, but one formed with stones.

[223] Sigon. R. A. iv. 3, where he also speaks of the builders of the walls.

[224] Æsch. c. Ctesiph. p. 400. Pollux viii. 114, improperly includes them among the ὑπηρέται, as well as the sacrificers (ἱεροποιοὶ) and Boönæ.

[225] Æschin. ut sup. p. 422, 425.

[226] Plutarch Pericl. (cf. Diod. xii. 39), and the Life of Lycurgus in the Lives of the Ten Orators.

[227] See the inscription cited in note 232.

[228] At least so the passage in Inscript. 76, § 7, may be interpreted.

[229] Sigon. ut sup. p. 176, vol. i. of his works; Petit Leg. Att. v. 1, 3. Concerning the ὁδοποιοὶ see more par-

in the city and as many in the Piræus: among other duties, they had to attend to the cleansing of the streets, and had on that account the superintendence of the scavengers (κοπρολόγοι)[230].

All works of building undertaken by the public were by the proper authorities let to contractors (ἐργόλαβοι), as was the case at Rome; this is particularly mentioned of the repairs of the temples and public buildings[231], and an inquiry was made from time to time, probably at the change of office, how far the building had proceeded, and what was still remaining to be done. An inscription, in which the unfinished parts of the building of the temple of Minerva Polias in the archonship of Diocles (Olymp. 92, 4, B.C. 409), are recited, has been preserved to our days[232].

The amount of money expended upon works of building was necessarily quite undefined, and must obviously have depended upon the quantity of disposable revenue and the necessity of the projected work. Demosthenes received nearly 10 talents for the repairs of the walls[233]; but it is uncertain whether, as he was appointed only for the tribe Pandionis, he received all the money, or whether it was divided between him and his nine colleagues; the last supposition is rendered more probable from the circumstance of several treasurers being mentioned: that the expenses of building were defrayed by the state and not by the tribes, as might appear from another passage of Æschines, is sufficiently manifest from the fact that the money was furnished by the administration. Probably the commissioner of each tribe had a particular part of the walls to repair, and Demosthenes received the sum just mentioned for the expense of his share; this being insufficient, he added, according to the testimony of a contemporary decree, and of another which was made subsequently, 3 talents of his own money,

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ticularly Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 419, and the comic poet ap. Plutarch. Præc. Polit. 15. The κρηνοφύλακες mentioned by Sigonius probably were not public officers (see the note of the editor upon the passage quoted).

[230] Aristot. ap. Harpocrat. in v. ἀστυνόμοι.

[231] Petit. Leg. Att. i. 2, 7.

[232] Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. No. 160.

[233] Æsch. c. Ctesiph. p. 415, cf. p. 425.

in addition to which he caused two trenches to be drawn round the Piræus at his own expense[234]. Conon, the son of Timotheus, was obliged to repair a part of the walls at a cost of 10 talents. In general the surplus of the revenue only was applied to building, unless necessity compelled the infraction of this rule: thus in an ancient decree it is ordered that whatever should remain over and above the money assigned for the payment of the public debts should be applied to the repairs of the wharfs and walls[235]. In the time of Pericles this overplus was extraordinarily great, on account of the large sums produced by the tributes, and out of this fund the public treasure was formed; thus he was able, as Plutarch[236] says, to build temples which cost even 1000 talents, and in fact he used 3700 talents out of the treasury for works of architecture and for the Potidæan war[237], besides what he may have added from the current revenue. Before his time, not only Pisistratus, but Themistocles and Cimon had spent much money in building; after these, Conon deserves to be mentioned, as the restorer of the walls, and Lycurgus, who completed the many works that had been left unfinished, the wharfs, the arsenal, and the theatre of Bacchus; it was he who laid the foundation of the Panathenaic stadium, the gymnasium, odeum, and lyceum, embellished the city with several other works, and moreover furnished many decorations for processions, and for the temple of Minerva, golden statues of Victory, and gold and silver ornaments for 100 canephoræ[238].

But upon the whole the public buildings of this age were inconsiderable when compared with those of earlier times, while the splendour of private buildings had increased. "In ancient

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[234] Decret. ap. Demosth. de Cor. p. 266, and decrees after the Lives of the Ten Orators. In Æsch. c. Ctesiph. p. 405, only 100 minas are mentioned, but evidently from a confusion with the sum which he contributed as manager of the theorica (de Coron. p. 266); he is followed by the author of the Lives of the Ten Orators (p. 263, ed. Tübing.). Concerning Conon see Nepos Timoth. 4.

[235] Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. 76, § 9.

[236] Pericl. 12.

[237] Thuc. ii. 13.

[238] See the passages in Meursius Fort. Att. p. 58 of the 4to edition, where nothing is omitted but the original source, viz. the third decree after the Lives of the Ten Orators.

days," says Demosthenes[239], "everything that belonged to the state was costly and splendid, and no individual distinguished himself from the multitude; and the proof of it is, that if any of you know the houses of Themistocles and Miltiades, and the famous men of that time, he will see that they are not more magnificent than those of other people; but the buildings and constructions of the state were of such grandeur that it is not in the power of succeeding generations to surpass them—the Propylæa, the wharfs, the porticoes, the Piræus, and the other works with which you see the city adorned. But now all who are concerned in the management of public affairs have such a superfluity of riches, that some have built private houses more magnificent than many public edifices; and some of them have purchased more land than all of you who are sitting in the court are together possessed of; but your public buildings and works, it is disgraceful to tell how scanty and contemptible they are. What indeed can be said of your works? what of the parapets which we throw up? of the roads which we construct, and the fountains and the trifles at which we labour?" Thus speaks the ardent enthusiast for the happiness and fame of his country; his speeches of admonition might with a few alterations be adapted to the present age, in which such vast sums have been squandered away without producing anything great or durable.

CHAPTER XI.

The Police. The Scythian Bowmen.

IT is evident that the police could not possess that distinct and important character among the Greeks, which it has in the states of modern Europe, as from their republican government, judicial decisions were always preferred to the operations of police. It is indeed wholly impossible for such an institution

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[239] C. Aristoc. p. 689, 11–24. Olynth. iii. p. 35, 36, which two passages I have combined. See the spurious speech *περὶ συντάξεως*, from p. 174, 17, to p. 175, 12.

as a secret police to exist as a separate establishment in a democracy: but a strict and vigilant inspection was produced by the privilege which the citizens possessed of coming forward as accusers in all things which affected the public interest, though this right was not exercised without malignity, envy, and calumny. There existed a system of watching and espionage, which was not less oppressive and formidable than the worst institutions of modern despots; although it had the double advantage over these, that no person could be condemned without a public trial, and that it cost the state nothing.

The only kind of police which existed as a distinct institution in ancient times, was that to which was entrusted the performance of certain needful services, such as the street-police, which was in the charge of the astynomi, together with that of the market and traders, which latter did not cause any expense: and finally, some institution must have been indispensable as well in respect to the aliens, as to the maintenance of order and security in the city, particularly in the public assembly. In all the Grecian states, notwithstanding their hospitality, foreigners were considered as enemies, and for that reason they were at Athens under the jurisdiction of the archon polemarchus, as at Rome under that of the prætor peregrinus: it is not improbable that the foreign police as well as some establishment for granting passports was under his direction, of which a slight indication occurs in a passage of Aristophanes[240]. For the maintenance of security and order there was a city-guard composed of public slaves (*δημόσιοι*)[241]: these persons, although they were of low rank, enjoyed a certain consideration, as the state employed them in the capacity of bailiffs. Such public slaves were sometimes also appointed for the trade-police[242]; and subordinate places, such as heralds and checking-clerks, together with other offices in the assembly and courts of justice, were filled by persons of the same description. The public slaves

[240] Av. 1209, and Schol. ad 1214. The name is *σφραγίς, σύμβολον.*

[241] Concerning these see Harpocrat. Suid. Etym. Pollux ix. 10, and Hemsterhuis' note, also Maussac ad Harpocrat. in v. *δημόσιος*, Lex. Seg. p. 234.

[242] Boeckh. Corp. Inscript. 123, § 5 sqq.

who composed the city-guard must be looked upon as a body-guard of the Athenian people; which thus resembled Polycrates the tyrant of Samos, who kept 1000 bowmen about his own person[243]. They are generally called bowmen (τοξόται), or from the native country of the majority, Scythians, also Speusinians; they lived under tents in the market-place, and afterwards upon the Areopagus[244]. Among their number there were also many thracians and other barbarians. Their officers had the name of Toxarchs (τόξαρχοι)[245]. Their number increased progressively: in the first instance 300 were purchased soon after the battle of Salamis[246]; subsequently it rose, according to the Scholiast to the Acharneans of Aristophanes and Suidas, to 1000, according to Andocides and Æschines, to 1200[247]. It is evident that these troops might, if necessary, be used in the

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[243] Herod. iii. 39, 45.

[244] Pollux viii. 132, and his commentators, Aristoph. Lysistrat. 437; Acharn. 54; Schneider ad Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. iii. 6; Lex. Seg. p. 234; Photius in τοξόται.

[245] Corp. Inscript. No. 80.

[246] Æsch. περὶ παραπρεσβ. p. 335.

[247] Æschin. ut sup. p. 336, χιλίους δὲ καὶ διακοσίους ἱππέας κατεστήσαμεν καὶ τοξότας ἑτέρους τοσούτους. Hieronymus Wolf asks whether 300 or 600 are meant, as he makes ἑτέρους τοσούτους refer to the 300 mentioned in p. 335, which were first bought: it is clear to me that ἕτεροι τοσοῦτοι used in this manner can only refer to the number which immediately precedes, and therefore in this place only to χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους, and that here the whole number of the bowmen is meant, including those that were first bought, most of whom might besides have died and their vacancies been filled up. It is undeniably true as Hier. Wolf observes, and as Viger has said after him, that *once as many* is often said, when the preceding number is reckoned, and the same number is added. But unquestionably, taken in its original and strict sense, it means *just as many*, as ἕτερος τοιοῦτος, *another person of the same kind*, as in Æsch. c. Ctesiph. p. 488, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου μὲν πλείονας ἢ δισχιλίους ὁπλίτας, ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας δὲ ἑτέρους τοσούτους. That this is the force of it in the present passage is shown more particularly by Andocides de Pace, p. 93, χιλίους τε καὶ διακοσίους ἱππέας, καὶ τοξότας τοσούτους ἑτέρους κατεστήσαμεν, where the preceding number fixes the meaning of τοσούτους. This also agrees the best with Suidas and the Scholiast. There were 1200 horsemen at Athens, but Xenophon only speaks of 1000. The same account is given by Suidas and the Scholiast in reference to Æschines. The only thing that can be remarkable is the word ἑτέρους, since bowmen were not cavalry; this however is evidently according to the same idiom, by which Xenophon says, τοὺς ὁπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας. Moreover the rest of the narration shows that the author is not speaking here of bowmen in general but of the slaves, since the first 300 are distinctly said to have been bought.

field, although the Athenians had also free bowmen, of whom I shall presently speak.

The expense which this regiment occasioned may be nearly ascertained. As it was necessary for them to be strong, able-bodied men, upon whom dependence could be placed, the purchase-money cannot be fixed at less than 3 or 4 minas apiece: and as the whole number would have required renewal about every 30 or 40 years, exclusively of any increased number of casualties which might have been produced by war, 30 at least must have been purchased annually, which would have caused an expense of from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 talents. Their pay doubtless amounted to 3 oboli a day[248], making altogether about 36 talents a year.

CHAPTER XII.

Celebration of Festivals and Sacrifices.

THE celebration of festivals produced in the early times of the Athenian republic, a profuseness of expenditure in no way inferior to that of the courts of luxurious princes: this republican system however possessed several advantages over the latter sort of useless expenditure. For, in the first place, all the citizens partook in these solemnities, and not a select few; in the second place, they were founded upon the duties of religion; and again, the public games or contests, which had a powerful influence in forming the national mind, awakened and improved the taste and spirit of the people. To expend large sums of money on the fine arts, which appeared in the highest perfection at the sacred festivals, upon costly but lasting ornaments for the temples, upon choruses and musical entertainments, and upon a theatre, which was so perfect that it excelled equally in tragedy and comedy, were considered as acts of a liberal and noble mind. And while the Athenians were led by their religious obligations to these costly practices, the Spartans were satisfied to manifest their piety by offering small sacrifices to

[248] From the traces in Inscript. No. 80.

the gods. That the person who provides the sacrificial feast should receive a share of the offering, appears both natural and reasonable; but when the principal revenues of the state were wasted upon public banquets, and the sacrifices were maintained at the public expense, not so much for the purposes of religion, as for the support of the poor[249], the policy of the Athenians was alike unjust and inexpedient, inasmuch as the continuance of it without oppressing the allies was impossible, and the state, being deprived of the means of self-defence in a most frivolous and unpardonable manner, was led on to certain destruction. The Athenians not only had twice as many festivals as other Grecian states[250], but everything was considered secondary to them. "The Panathenæa, the Dionysia," says Demosthenes[251], "are always celebrated at the proper time, festivals on which you expend more money than on any naval enterprise, and for which you make such preparations as were never heard of elsewhere; but when you send out a fleet it always arrives too late." Even Plutarch, by nature of an admiring and laudatory turn of mind, who with his beautiful style and amiable disposition has misled the understandings of many readers by engaging their feelings, in his Essay upon the Glory of Athens[252], perceives this weak point. For after having enumerated the various splendour of the tragedies, he thus proceeds. "Gazing upon this the Lacedæmonian justly remarked that the Athenians erred greatly in making serious matter of trifles, that is, in expending upon the theatre sums sufficient for the equipment of large fleets, and for the maintenance of great armies. For if it were calculated what sum each play cost the Athenians, it would be found that they had spent more treasure upon Bacchæs, and Phœnissæs, and Œdipusses, and Antigones, and the woes of Medea and Electra, than upon wars undertaken for empire and for freedom against the Barbarians."

With the exception of the theoricon, the most considerable expenses of the festivals were those for sacrifices, plays, and processions. In many festivals all these three were combined,

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[249] Cf. Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. 2, 9.
[250] Xenoph. ibid. 3, 8.
[251] Philipp. i. p. 50, 3.
[252] Cap. 6.

as, for instance, at the great Dionysia; and such festivals must therefore have been extremely expensive[253]. The sacrifices were of very different kinds; a number of small offerings, consisting either of young pigs, sheep, cocks, &c., or of cakes, and fruits, were sacrificed to some god or object of worship: of this description were the sacrifices performed before every public assembly and every sitting of the senate and the courts of justice; and, in the second place, more expensive sacrifices, which had been in use from early times. The ancient and most sacred offerings were called paternal sacrifices (*πάτριοι θυσίαι*), and were opposed to those which were made at the more recent, or, as they were called, the *additional* festivals (*ἐπίθετοι ἑορταί*). In the bad times which ensued, the former were at most but sparingly solemnized, or were sometimes entirely discontinued: at the celebration of the latter great banquets were given, for which perhaps three hundred oxen were slaughtered at the public cost, and the paternal sacrifices were paid for out of the rents of the sacred estates, or rather they were furnished by a contractor for a certain sum, who was indemnified out of these rents[254]. It is easy to judge of the immense number of these great sacrifices, from the fact, that the money received for skins

[253] An account of the costliness of the Dionysia, especially on account of the sacrifices, is given in the second book of Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. sec. 6, where it has been thought that Athens was meant. It is however by no means certain that it relates to that town, as may be seen from Schneider's note. It seems to me most probable that it should be referred to Antissa, as the man is called Ἀντισσαῖος, who is mentioned as the originator of the proposal there cited.

[254] Isocrat. Areopag. 11. *Οὐδ' εἴ ποτε μὲν δόξειεν αὐτοῖς, τριακοσίους βοῦς ἔπεμπον· ὁπότε δὲ τύχοιεν, τὰς πατρίους θυσίας ἐξέλιπον· οὐδὲ τὰς μὲν ἐπιθέτους ἑορτὰς* (cf. Harpocrat. in h. v.), *αἷς ἑστίασίς τις προσείη, μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἦγον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἁγιωτάτοις τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπὸ μισθωμάτων ἔθυον.* That *ἀπὸ μισθωμάτων* means *ἐκ τῶν τεμενικῶν προσόδων*, we learn from Harpocration in this phrase. That the sacrifices were let to contractors is shewn by the last words of this article: *οὐ γὰρ κατ' εὐσέβειαν ἔθυον τὰ ἱερεῖα, ἀλλὰ μισθούμενοι*, and more distinctly in Lex. Seg. p. 207, of which I only transcribe the end: *ἔθος γὰρ ἦν τοῖς βουλομένοις μισθοῦσθαι τὰς θυσίας, καὶ τέλος ἦν τῶν θυσιῶν πωλούμενον τῷ βουλομένῳ*: an incorrect expression, for how could it be called a *τέλος*, when a contractor undertook any thing at the expense of the state? Concerning the neglect of the *πάτριοι θυσίαι*, see also Lysias c. Nicomach. in the passage quoted below, and concerning the public banquets in the temples Petit i. 2, 1.

(δερματικὸν) in Olymp. 111. 3 (B.C. 334), amounted to 5148⅔ drachmas for only seven months[c]. Thus five hundred young kids were sacrificed to Diana Agrotera alone at the festival for the battle of Marathon[255]: but the frequent sacrifices of oxen were particularly designed to allure the people, on which account Demosthenes[256] connects this donation of oxen with the theoricon. A hecatomb alone cost upon an average a talent[257]; and many other expenses were necessarily connected with these solemnities. The law of Solon upon the sacred tablets (κύρβεις) had fixed the amount of the sacrifices and of other solemnities; a single one was rated at 3 talents. But this in the age of Lysias appeared very inconsiderable: a secretary named Nicomachus, who was employed to transcribe the laws, fixed it upon his own authority at 9 talents, and moreover at a moment when the state had from poverty suffered the walls and docks to fall out of repair, and was unable to pay 3 talents to the Bœotians, as an indemnity for the reprisals made against them: by which means the state lost 12 talents in two years, and was incapable of performing the paternal sacrifices[258]. Demosthenes, when he was manager of the theoricon, contributed 100 minas to the sacrifices, which he paid out of that fund[259]; a proof that, though for the most part well filled, it did not satisfy the people.

Besides the sacrifices furnished by the state (δημοτελῆ ἱερὰ), there were many others provided by particular corporations and societies, such, for instance, as those furnished by the demi (δημοτικὰ ἱερὰ) and by the societies of orgeones (ὀργεωνικά)[260]; not to mention the feasting of the tribes, of which I

[c] See Boeckh.Corp.Inscript. No. 157.

[255] See the passages in my Preface to the Catalogue of the Lectures in the University of Berlin, Summer, 1816, p. 4.

[256] Olynth. p. 37, 6. These were presents from the public coffers. Those referred to in the second Prytaneia of Inscript. No. 147. are quite different.

[257] Book i. ch. 14.

[258] Lysias c. Nicomach. p. 856—860, which passage has not been entirely understood by the commentators.

[259] Decret. ap. Demosth. de Coron. p. 266, 23. Lives of the Ten Orators, p. 263, where the words ἀπέδωκε δὲ καὶ θεωροῖς (a singular expression) μυρίας refer to this circumstance.

[260] Lex. Seg. p. 240; Hesychius and Harpocration in v. δημοτελῆ ἱερά. Some of these expressions occurred in the Laws of Solon, as *e. g.* the δημοτελῆ ἱερά. See Æsch. c. Timarch. p. 47,

will speak in a subsequent part of this work*. The entertainments at the festivals were either musical or gymnastic, both being attended with considerable expense. The choruses, both in and out of the plays, their teaching, maintenance, and dresses, the cost of the musicians and actors, together with the decorations, machinery, and dresses, and in the gymnastic games, the maintenance of the combatants of all kinds, and the preparation of everything which belonged to their exercises and contests, required a considerable outlay of money: and although this was in part provided by direct Liturgies, the Choregia and Gymnasiarchy, it all came at last from the same source; and it makes no essential difference whether the state raised the money and gave entertainments for it, or whether private individuals provided the games instead of paying the money in the shape of a tax. To these must be added the prizes awarded to the successful competitor, of which some had no great value, while others were costly, and were given either in money (in the *ἀγῶνες ἀργυρῖται*), crowns, or tripods, which either the state or whoever defrayed the costs of the festival provided, or the conqueror himself furnished at his own expense[261]. There occurs in an inscription[262] a golden crown of victory weighing 85 drachmas, which must at the least have cost 1000 or 1200 drachmas of silver. At the games of Neptune in the Piræus, the first Cyclic chorus that gained the victory, received, according to a regulation of Lycurgus, at the lowest a reward of 10 minas, the second

p. 176, c. Ctesiph. p. 566. These words also occur in the speech against Neæra (p. 1374, 2, p. 1374, 4,) in the Formula *εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ δημοτελῆ ἱερά*, which induced Reiske, in the Index to Demosthenes, and Buttmann ad Mid. p. 125, to think that the temple was meant: but *εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ* evidently refers in particular to the admission to the sacrifices, although it also includes permission to enter the temples in which the sacrifices were held. To these passages all the interpretations of the grammarians refer, and perhaps to the words of the Dodonæan oracle excellently emended by Buttmann ad Demosth. c. Mid. p. 531, 24. Buttmann also quotes from Pollux the *δημοτελεῖς ἑορταί*, from which these sacrifices were bought. Thyatir. Inscript. in Spon's Travels, vol. iii. part i. p. 110, *τὰς δημοτελεῖς θυσίας καὶ ἑορτὰς ἀφθόνως καὶ ἀνυπερκρίτως ἐπιτελέσαντα*. Thucydides (ii. 15,) has *ἑορτὴν δημοτελῆ*, Dio Cassius (xliii. 25,) and Herodotus (vi. 57,) *θυσίην δημοτελῆ*.

* B. iii. ch. 23.

[261] Lysias pro Aristoph. bonis, and Inscript. 158, § 5.

[262] No. 150, § 15.

8, and the third 6[263]; and even Solon granted to the Athenians who gained the prize in foreign sacred games, (*i. e.* in the four great contests,) rewards of a certain sum of money, which for that age were not inconsiderable, to the conqueror at the Olympic contests 500 drachmas, at the Isthmian 100, and to the others in proportion[264].

Lastly, something may be said upon the splendour of the Athenian πομπαὶ, or sacred processions. These indeed yielded in nothing to the theatrical representations: no expense was spared for them, and even the cavalry was partly maintained in time of peace for their sake. Another expense connected with this subject were the public burials (δημόσιαι ταφαὶ), which indeed only occurred in time of war. Again, the greater and less theorias, or sacred embassies, were of frequent occurrence, which were sent, after each of the four great Grecian games, to Delos and to other sacred places, for the purposes of festivals, and united in themselves sacrifices and processions. One part of the expense was borne by the architheorus as a liturgy, another part by the state: thus the Delphian theori, according to an ancient law, received money for their journey and all their other expenses; and thus Aristophanes mentions the wages of a theorus to Paros of so small an amount as 2 oboli[265]; thus also the Delian architheorus received a talent from the public purse[266]. The theori were obliged to appear with a splendour and dignity suitable to the character of their nation; they themselves, wearing splendid crowns, drove into the city upon crowned chariots, which were often expensively painted, gilt, and hung with carpets[267]. When Nicias went as architheorus to Delos, he built a bridge from Rhenea to Delos, for his entry, 4 stadia in length[268]. The passage of the theori

[263] Lives of the Ten Orators, p. 252.

[264] Petit Leg. Att. i. 1, 29, 30.

[265] Concerning the former see Androtion ap. Schol. Aristoph. Av. 1545 (comp. above book ii. ch. 6); concerning the latter see Aristoph. Vesp. 1183, where neither the entrance-money into the theatre, nor the pay of the soldiers, can be meant, as the Scholiast thinks. The first does not at all suit the context; in the latter case a soldier would have been called in joke a theorus, which is very improbable.

[266] Inscript. 158, § 5.

[267] Hesych. in v. θεωρικὸς and his commentators, and Plutarch. Nic. 3.

[268] Plutarch. ut sup. See Taylor ad Marm. Sandw. p. 18.

and choruses from Athens to Delos, cost on a later occasion 7000 drachmas[269], and the quadriennial Delian festival, which was celebrated entirely at the expense of this theoria, cost, according to the accounts now extant, inclusively of this latter expense, but with the exclusion of many other items which have been lost, 4 talents 43 drachmas, although they were not paid out of the funds of the state, but from those of the temple of Delos. From all that has been said, it is easy to conceive that the state expended much money upon the celebration of festivals; and at times it even became necessary to resort to the public treasure for money to defray those expenses. Thus in Olymp. 92, 3, 5 talents and 1000 drachmas were paid out of the treasure for the athlothetæ, at the celebration of the great Panathenæa, and 5114 drachmas to the sacrificers for the hecatomb, and an Olympiad earlier the athlothetæ received at the same festival 255 Cyzicenic staters (7140 drachmas)[270]. A large part of the other payments in Olymp. 92, 3 (410 B. C.), appear, according to an account of the money disbursed from the public treasure, of which the destination is not specified, to have been also for festivals[271].

For the administration and superintendence of all religious solemnities certain unpaid authorities were appointed, who ranked among the principal public officers. Of this description are the managers of the mysteries, and of the Dionysia (*ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν μυστηρίων, τῶν Διονυσίων*): to particular archons certain sacrifices also belonged[272], as well as to the generals[273], together with the collectors of the people (*συλλογεῖς τοῦ δήμου*)[274], and all sacred rites at Delos were managed by the amphictyons; but the most numerous officers were the yearly and monthly sacrificers, the former of whom were ten in number; and again there were sacrificers for the revered goddesses

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[269] Inscript. 158, § 5.

[270] Inscript. 147, 2d Prytan. Inscript. 144; Pryt. 3, Item 3.

[271] Barthélemy Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. XLVIII. p. 378, calculates the money supplied out of the public treasure for the festivals, as given in the Choiseul Inscription, upon perfectly false suppositions; for which reason I have made no use of his computation. (Ibid. No. 147.)

[272] Sigon. R. A. iv. 7.

[273] Inscript. 157, § 2, 3.

[274] Inscript. 157, § 2.

or the Eumenides (*ἱεροποιοὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν, ἐπιμήνιοι, ἱεροποιοὶ ταῖς σεμναῖς θεαῖς*)[275]. For the games there were the athlothetæ, who had the particular care of the great Panathenæa (though probably with the exception of the sacrifices)[276], as also the agonothetæ, &c. Lastly, the *βοῶναι*, or purchasers of oxen, were considered among the highest officers; Demosthenes ranks them with the sacrificers, and Libanius with the sitonæ, generals, and ambassadors: they were elected by the public assembly, and provided the cattle and animals which were slaughtered at the sacrifices and feasts[277]; a proof how important to the people these institutions were, which suited equally their appetite and their principles of religion, and by which we are forcibly reminded of the roast beef of old England.

CHAPTER XIII.

Donations to the People.

THE public donations, or distributions among the people (*διανομαὶ, διαδόσεις*), were of frequent occurrence. To these belong the distributions of corn, which have been mentioned before[278],

[275] Hesychius in v. *ἱεροποιοὶ*, and his commentators, who quote Photius and other grammarians, Pollux, viii. 107, and his commentators, Lex. Seg. p. 265, they also occur particularly often in Inscript. 157, i. p. 250. See also Barthélemy ut sup. p. 342. The *ἱεροποιοὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν*, quoted by Photius, are taken from Demosth. in Mid. p. 552, 6. Whether they, as Creuzer represents them (Symbolik, vol. iv. p. 518), were properly priests for sacrifices, might appear uncertain, if Demosthenes did not show that they at least performed the commencement of the sacrifice, or the immolation of the victim (*τὸ κατάρξασθαι τῶν ἱερῶν*). The grammarians also consider the *ἱεροποιοὶ* as having actually performed the sacrifice. Aristotle Polit. vi. 8, expresses himself too generally to allow a safe conclusion to be drawn. That they had however certain duties of administration to perform is evident from Inscript. Nos. 147 and 158. That the *σεμναὶ θεαὶ* are the Eumenides is remarked by Ulpian, Photius, and Harpocration, in v. *σεμναὶ θεαὶ*, and Lex. Seg. p. 303.

[276] See Inscript. No. 147, Pryt. 2, although the grammarians assert, (see Barthélemy and Photius, and Lex. Seg.) that the sacrificers had nothing to do at the great Panathenæa.

[277] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 570, 7, and there Ulpian. Liban. Declam. viii. Harpocrat. Suid. in v. *βοώνης*, Lex. Seg. p. 219, Harpocration: *ὅτι λαμπρὸς ἦν ὁ βοώνης καὶ αἱ μέγισται ἀρχαὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐχειροτονοῦντο.* Pollux viii. 114, incorrectly includes them among the inferior offices, or offices of *service* (*ὑπηρεσίαι*). They occur frequently in Inscript. 157.

[278] Book i. ch. 15.

the cleruchiæ, and the revenues from the mines, which before the time of Themistocles were divided among the citizens; and lastly, the money of the theorica, for the introduction of which Pericles is chargeable. For this statesman, finding himself unable by reason of the scantiness of his fortune to vie with other public leaders and demagogues in liberality, thought of supplying his private incapacity (according to the testimony of Aristotle, at the suggestion of Demonides of Œa), by a distribution of the public revenue, and bribed the multitude partly with the theorica, partly with the payment of the dicasts, and salaries of other descriptions[279]: while he at the same time maintained himself in popular favour by processions, feastings, and other solemnities.

The admirers of the Lacedæmonian customs, who, like Plato and his master, formed a correct judgment in a moral point of view, perceived that Pericles had made his countrymen covetous and indolent, loquacious and effeminate, extravagant, vicious, and unruly, by maintaining them at the public expense with donatives, salaries, and cleruchiæ[280], and by flattering their sensuality and love of enjoyment with sumptuous festivals. Pericles indeed had too acute a mind to overlook the consequences of his own measures; but he thought that there was no other means of maintaining his own and the people's sovereignty in Greece, than by supporting the populace in this manner; he was aware that with him the power of Athens would cease, and he endeavoured to preserve it as long as was possible; but upon the whole his contempt for the people was as great as his liberality towards them. In the mean time the people, so long as Pericles lived, were neither wanting in activity nor public spirit, which tended to make these measures more harmless; and as long as neither injustice abroad, nor negligence in the national enterprises, nor disorder in the state, resulted from them, it might even appear just that the citizens should enjoy the fruit of their exertions and valour. Besides which Pericles could not suspect that, twenty Olympiads after his death, the multitude would rather consume the public revenues in feasting, than

[279] Plutarch. Pericl. 9, cf. 11. [280] Plat. Gorg. p. 515 E. Plutarch. Pericl. 9.

equip an armament in defence of their freedom, a corruption which was first produced by the avaricious and treacherous demagogues of later days, who flattered every whim of the twenty-thousand-headed hydra. These considerations might then appear to palliate the conduct of Pericles. But he must have been aware that the unavoidable result of his measures was to increase the oppression of the allies, the dominion of the multitude, and the injustice towards the opulent citizens. While Pericles himself only raised the tribute by a small amount, his successors were forced to augment it to a far greater extent, in order to keep up his profuse expenditure. The surplus of the tributes was brought by talents at the Dionysia into the orchestra to be distributed: here the allies were shown in what light their property was viewed[281]. The oligarchical party was well aware that the abolition of these payments would be a severe blow to the democracy; and accordingly, during the government of the Five Thousand (Olymp. 92, 1, 412 B.C.), which was only of very short duration, no superior office received any salary[282]. Aristotle[283] has indeed already remarked, that the different kinds of salaries, for example, the wages of the public assembly, are dangerous to the chief persons in the state, for that they occasion the imposition of property-taxes, confiscations of property, and bribery of justice. Not only was it the practice to adjudge property to the state, in order to increase the revenue[284], but the demagogues publicly declared in law-suits, that if judgment was not given in some certain manner, the salaries could no longer be paid to the people[285]; and therefore the wealthy, in order to prevent every jealousy, made voluntary donations of their possessions[286]. It sometimes happened that the proceeds of confiscated property were distributed among the citizens without authority; and even Lycurgus divided in this manner 160 talents, which the property of Diphilus had produced. Thus they were not satisfied that by these distributions the state was deprived of its most powerful resources for useful and advantageous objects,

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[281] Isocrat. συμμαχ. 29.
[282] Thucyd. viii. 97.
[283] Polit. vi. 5.
[284] Lys. c. Nicom. p. 861.
[285] Lys. c. Epicrat. init.

but those who profited by these measures encouraged in the people a desire to obtain the property of others, and widened the breach between the rich and poor, which in the states of antiquity was an incessant and highly dangerous evil. Aristotle justly compares these institutions to the perforated vessel of the Danaides, as the Athenians were perpetually receiving taxes, and then paying them away, and were then compelled to raise fresh supplies[d]; but the moral corruption which they caused was a far more pernicious consequence; the Athenians were themselves, to make use of an illustration of Plato's, the vessels of the Danaides, which were continually receiving the gratification of their desires, without ever being completely satisfied.

The distribution of the theorica, which, as we have seen, produced such fatal consequences to the Athenians, had its origin in the entrance-money to the theatre. The entrance having been at first free, and crowds and tumults having arisen from the concourse of many persons, of whom some had no right to enter, it was to be expected that in a theatre constructed of wood, which was the only one that Athens then possessed, the scaffolding would break; and this accident in fact took place; to avoid which evil it was determined to sell the seats for 2 oboli; but in order that the poor might not be excluded, the entrance-money was given them, on the delivery of which each person received his seat[287]. Persons of high rank doubtless at first disdained this as well as other donations[288]; though in the age of Demosthenes they received the theoricon[289]. It is possible that the entrance-money for the theatre

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[286] Herald. Animadv. in Salmas. Observat. ad I. A. et R. vi. 3, 13.

[d] [Aristot. Polit. vi. 5, Ὅπου δ' εἰσὶ πρόσοδοι, μὴ ποιεῖν ὃ νῦν οἱ δημαγωγοὶ ποιοῦσι· τὰ γὰρ περιόντα νέμουσι. Λαμβάνουσι δὲ ἅμα καὶ πάλιν δέονται τῶν αὐτῶν· ὁ τετρημένος γάρ ἐστι πίθος ἡ τοιαύτη βοήθεια τοῖς ἀπόροις.]

[287] Liban. Argum. ad Demosth. Olynth. 1; Schol. Lucian. Timon. 49. Suidas in the first article of θεωρικὸν, and Etymol. in v. θεωρικὸν ἀργύριον, where, as in Photius, there is a mixture of the articles occurring in the other grammarians. The account given in Lex. Seg. (δικ. ὀνόμ.) p. 189, 29, does not deserve to be mentioned.

[288] See Herald. Animadv. in Salmas. Obser. ad I. A. et R. vi. 3, 11.

[289] Philipp. iv. p. 141, 18, which oration, as Valckenaer and Wolf have justly remarked, is not the production of Demosthenes, but is composed of different passages of this orator, and is

was introduced before the theoricon was first paid by the state: it may be fairly supposed that, the citizens having for a time defrayed it at their own expense, the state undertook to pay for the poor; and the introduction of the entrance-money may be fixed without improbability as early as the 70th Olympiad (B.C. 500), at which time the scaffolding fell in suddenly, when Pratinas, and probably also Æschylus, were representing in the theatre[290]. But the payment of the theoricon out of the public money was first introduced by Pericles[291]; and when Harpocration calls Agyrrhius the author of the theoricon in the extended sense of a distribution of money, he refers to an increase of it made at a later period, of which I shall speak presently[292]. This distribution of the theoricon filled the theatre[293]. We may observe, that the entrance-money was paid to the lessee of the theatre (*θεατρώνης, θεατροπώλης, ἀρχιτέκτων*)[294], who was bound to keep the theatre in repair, and who paid something to the state for rent, as we see in the case of the theatre at the Piræus. Ulpian, a writer on whom very little dependence can be placed, affirms that 1 obolus was given to the lessee of the theatre, or, as he calls him, to the architecton, and that the citizens received the other for their support; this statement is however without foundation, for, according to Demosthenes, the regular entrance-money was 2 oboli[295]; although it is so far true, that a separate payment of theorica was made for the banquet of the citizens[296]. It might also be supposed that, as Demosthenes reckons the entrance-money among the smaller revenues of the state, the payment was

written in the style of a sophist. The defence of the theoricon in particular, which occurs in p. 141, is in direct contradiction with Demosthenes.

[290] Vid. Græc. Tragœd. Princip. p. 38, and particularly Hermann de Choro Eumenidum Æschyli Diss. ii. p. viii. xiv.

[291] Ulpian. ad Demosth. Olynth. 1; Plutarch. Pericl. 9.

[292] Petit iv. 10, 9, unjustly charges the grammarian with confounding this with the pay of the assembly.

[293] Plutarch de Sanit. Tuend. p. 373, vol. i. ed. Hutt.

[294] Ulpian. ad Demosth. Olynth. 1; cf. Casaub. ad Theoph. Char. 11.

[295] De Corona, p. 234, 23.

[296] Harpocrat. in v. *θεωρικὸν* (from Philinus), from which the second article of *θεωρικὰ* in Suidas, and the third in Photius, is transcribed. As this is frequently the case, I shall not always quote Suidas and Photius, where they have nothing new.

received on the public account, and not for the lessee; but even though the tenant received it, it might have been enumerated among the national profits, inasmuch as he paid a rent to the state; so that this example from Demosthenes, who only speaks in general terms, and without any great precision, proves nothing in contradiction to my opinion.

The privilege of receiving the theorica was obtained through registration in the book of the citizens (*ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*)[297]; the distribution was made both individually and by tribes[298], absentees receiving nothing[299]; and it took place in the assembly[300], which was sometimes held in the theatre, particularly when the business related to the celebration of the Dionysia[301]. The application of the theorica was soon extended, and money was distributed on other occasions than at the theatre[302], though always at the celebration of some festival; and as either a play or procession was invariably connected with it, the name still continued applicable. Under the head of theorica were also comprised the sums expended upon sacrifices and other solemnities[303]. Not only at the Panathenæa[304], but at all the great festivals (*ἱερομηνίαι*)[305], theorica were distributed. In the Choiseul Inscription we find that in Olymp. 92, 3 (B.C. 410), from the public treasure alone (probably however on condition of repayment) in the first seven prytaneias 16 talents 4787 drachmas were paid to the hellenotamiæ, under the name of diobelia, which formed a part of the theorica. The citizens were thus to be enabled to celebrate the festival with greater luxury; and from this altered destination of the money there has arisen an uncertainty whence the theoricon took its name; and Ammonius, in direct contradiction to Cæcilius, denies that it had reference to *spectacles* (*θέαι*)[306]. From this

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[297] Demosth. c. Leochar. p. 1091 sq.

[298] Herald. ut sup. vi. 3, 10, also Lucian Timon. 49.

[299] Hyperides ap. Harpocrat. ut sup.

[300] Æsch. c. Ctesiph. p. 642.

[301] Lex. ap. Demosth. c. Mid. p. 517. Compare Isocrat. *συμμαχ.* 29.

[302] Libanius ut sup.

[303] Hesych. in v. *θεωρικὰ χρήματα, θεωρικὸν ἀργύριον*, and *θεωροί*, and his commentators. See above, chap. 7.

[304] Hesych. in v. *θεωρικὰ χρήματα*. Dem. c. Leochar. ut sup.

[305] Ulpian. ad Demosth. Olynth. iii.

[306] Ammonius in v. *θεωρὸς*, where he falsely derives it from *θεῶν ὠρεῖν*:

uncertainty the question suggests itself, whether the rate of the theoricon for the separate festivals was not raised when its objects were multiplied, and whether the difference in the statements of ancient writers may not be thus explained. The grammarians speak in general of 2 oboli[307]; the inscription above referred to mentions the diobelia, as also Aristotle and the Lexicon Rhetoricum[308]. In an oration falsely indeed attributed to Demosthenes, but not on that account undeserving of credit[309], the theoricon, for the distribution of which a nominal assembly was held, is estimated at 2 oboli. On the other hand, Philochorus, as quoted by Harpocration, states, that "the theoricon was originally a drachma for the theatre, whence in after times it received its name," and the grammarians mention the same amount[310]; Lucian[311] speaks of the drachma and the 3 oboli, where from the context the former can only be referred to the theoricon, and the latter to the pay of the assembly or of the dicasts; and in the spurious Proœmia to the Public Speeches of Demosthenes[312] it is said, "with the drachma, and the chus (of wine probably), and the 4 oboli (which latter I confess I cannot explain), the orators prolong the life of the people, as physicians do of the dying." The difficulty appears to vanish if we admit that the theoricon was very variable, which seems to be pointed at by Harpocration; nor will I deny that this was the case: since however 2 oboli are mentioned both in ancient and recent times, it does not appear to have been raised by increasing the regular rate; the change was probably effected by doubling or trebling the same 2 oboli for festivals which lasted several days, in such a manner that for a festival of three days a drachma was

διὰ τὸ ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβεῖν καὶ ἐπιθύειν (as Valckenaer corrects for ἐπιθεῖν) καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι.

[307] Ulpian, Libanius, Suidas, in the first article, Etymol. Photius in the first article, Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 1183.

[308] Aristot. Polit. ii. 5 (ii. 4, 11, ed. Schneid.), who calls it διωβολία, although he speaks of it with another view. Schneider has not examined the subject with sufficient accuracy. Lex. Seg. p. 237, διωβελία· ὀβολοὶ δύο, οὓς καθήμενος ὁ δῆμος ἐμισθοφόρει.

[309] Περὶ συντάξ. p. 169, 1.

[310] Hesych. and Suid. in v. δραχμὴ χαλαζῶσα, Zenob. iii. 27.

[311] Demosth. Eulog. 36, where J. M. Gessner thinks that the drachma is the pay of the orators, which however is too small a sum for the regular stipend, to be meant here. He should have rather instanced the pay of the senators

[312] P. 1459, 27.

given, and for one of two days 4 oboli, to which the above-cited passage of the pseudo-Demosthenes may be referred. Hesychius, Suidas, and Zenobius, indeed, assert, that in the archonship of Diophantus the theoricon amounted to a drachma; but this is not contrary to my supposition. Diophantus was archon in Olymp. 96, 2 (B.C. 395), according to Petit's correct remark, against which it is needless to object that the nation could not at that time have given so high a theoricon, as it had not yet recovered from its impoverished state; for it was precisely at this moment that the condition of Athens began to ameliorate; and with the democratic constitution which then existed, it would undoubtedly have been the first object to restore the theoricon: and this probably was in fact the case; so that for the great festivals of three days a diobelia was paid three times. From a passage of Harpocration[313], rather obscurely expressed, it may be inferred that its renewal was effected by Agyrrhius, who flourished at this period, and who, as will be presently shown, tripled the pay of the assembly about the same time. Moreover it may be observed, that in the age which followed the anarchy, the price of an ordinary place in the theatre remained at 2 oboli[314]; the price of the best places at the representation of comedies was at the highest no more than a drachma[315].

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[313] In v. *θεωρικά*: *θεωρικὰ ἦν τινα ἐν κοινῷ χρήματα ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς πόλεως πρόσοδων συναγόμενα· ταῦτα δὲ πρότερον μὲν εἰς τὰς τοῦ πολέμου χρείας ἐφυλάττετο καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο Στρατιωτικά, ὕστερον δὲ κατετίθετο εἴς τε τὰς δημοσίας κατασκευὰς καὶ διανομάς, ὧν πρῶτος ἦρξατο Ἀγύρριος ὁ δημαγωγός.* Photius has the same article, only he omits the most important part, the mention of Agyrrhius.

[314] Demosth. pro Corona, p. 234, where he says if it had not been ordered that the architecton was to assign a place to Philip's ambassadors, they must have sat *ἐν τοῖν δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν*, which should not be taken with Hier. Wolf for *δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν*, for in that case what would be the use of the preposition and the article? Reiske correctly refers it to a particular place; it means however a common, as opposed to a good, seat; such for instance as the place of those who had the privilege of proedria (cf. Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 466), which the ambassadors occupied: what Ulpian (p. 281, ed. Bekker.), or rather the collection of scholia composed of various kinds of notes, says in this place about a triobolon and an obolus, is mere absurdity.

[315] Plat. Apol. Socrat. p. 26 E. Suidas also and Photius (in the second article) in v. *θεωρικὰ*, and Schol. Lucian. ut sup. assert that a drachma was the highest sum which was given for a

If we reckon that 18,000 people received the theoricon—and the number cannot have been well less—the diobelia for one day amounted to a talent; and since it was without doubt paid on twenty-five or thirty days in the course of a year, the lowest rate at which we can estimate the annual expense of it, is from 25 to 30 talents. They were not however satisfied with allowing it to remain at this point, but, as I have before remarked, they squandered away as theorica all the money destined for the uses of war. It was by this means that the Athenians delivered themselves to the power of Macedon. "With the death of Epaminondas," says Justin[316], who probably avails himself of an idea of Theopompus, "perished also the virtue of the Athenians. For after the excitement which had been produced by the emulation existing between the Athenians and Epaminondas had ceased, they resigned themselves to indolence and inactivity, and squandered away on festivals and shows the public revenue which formerly had been used for the equipment of fleets and armies. Then were the taxes, with which soldiers and sailors used to be maintained, distributed among the inhabitants of the city. Thus was Philip able to gain the ascendancy." What in Pericles indeed originated from no motives of patriotism, was employed by profligate demagogues to work upon a depraved multitude; and we may here remark that nothing can be a more striking proof how destructive the immorality of the governors is to the welfare of the governed. For is it not the fact that the chief promoters of the theoricon were men distinguished for their effeminacy, immorality, and general depravity? Agyrrhius, who by his profuse administration of the public revenue obtained so great popularity, that after the death of Thrasybulus (Olymp. 97, B.C. 389) he was appointed to succeed him as general[317], was notorious for his effeminacy, farmed the taxes like an usurer, and was in prison

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place; but to suppose that a lower sum was never given, as they assume, with the exception of Photius, is absurd, since it would contradict what occurs before.

[316] vi. 9. He says at the end, *Dividi cœptum est*, which is not entirely correct.

[317] Xenoph. Hell. iv. 8, 31; Diod. xiv. 99.

many years for embezzlement of public money[318]. Eubulus of Anaphlystus, by his distribution of the theorica, arrived at the highest pitch of popular favour[319], and after his death great honours were decreed him (as had been done to Lycurgus and Demosthenes), which Hyperides spoke of in his oration *περὶ τῶν Εὐβούλου δωρεῶν*; but he was strongly suspected of being in the pay of Philip, and was actively instrumental to the downfal of his country. The severe but impartial Theopompus gave his character with perfect justice, "that he was a celebrated demagogue, active and indefatigable in his vocation, but that during his administration and by his distributions of money, Athens sunk to the lowest state of inactivity and indolence, exceeding even Tarentum in extravagance and debauchery[320]." Lastly, what shall we say of Demades, who promised each Athenian 50 drachmas for the Choëis in order to hinder the equipment of a fleet against Alexander for the support of the common safety of Greece[321]; and carried his effrontery to such a pitch as to call these distributions the cement of the democracy[322]? Even Æschines[323] did not go so far as this, for he at least declared himself hostile to the distribution of the revenue;

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[318] Concerning him see Harpocration in v. *Ἀγύρριος*, and there Valesius and Suidas, also Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 742, 16, and Andocid. de Myst. p. 65, who ironically calls him *τὸν καλὸν κἀγαθὸν*, and the passages collected by Meursius, Lect. Att. vi. 4.

[319] See book ii. c. 1 and 7. Concerning the theorica which he distributed, see more particularly Philinus ap. Harpocrat. and Photius in v. *θεωρικά*.

[320] Theopompus in the tenth book of the History of Philip had treated of the Athenian demagogues, and particularly of Eubulus. Some account from that source is given by Harpocration in v. *Εὔβουλος*, and more by Athen. iv. p. 166 E, according to whom he had called him *ἄσωτος*. But the passage of Theopompus quoted as a proof refers to the Athenian people and not to Eubulus: *καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀσωτίᾳ καὶ πλεονεξίᾳ διενήνοχε τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ταραντίνων, ὅσον ὁ μὲν περὶ τὰς ἑστιάσεις εἶχε μόνον ἀκρατὴς, ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὰς προσόδους καταμισθοφορῶν διατετέλεκεν.* Casaubon perceived this, but Schweighæuser confuses it all again, although the passage of Æschines (c. Ctesiph. p. 300), which he had already quoted upon the word *καταμισθοφορεῖν* might have taught him that the people is meant. Theopompus however had evidently censured Eubulus severely, and compared him to his disadvantage with Callistratus, the son of Callicrates, whose luxurious life he indeed blamed, but appears to have praised his political conduct.

[321] See book ii. ch. 6.

[322] Plutarch. Qu. Plat. x. 4.

[323] Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 642.

although his professions and his real opinions probably disagreed. What however was the public and private life of Demades? Though a man of such splendid qualities of mind that an ancient said of him, that he was above the state, while he could only call Demosthenes worthy of the state, he yet became openly a traitor to his country, indulging only his own appetites, and his principles were as loose as his wit was unscrupulous. It is vain to urge in extenuation of his public conduct that a fragment only of the vessel of the state was left to his charge, which was scarce worth preserving from shipwreck; he himself was, as Plutarch happily expresses it, the shipwreck of the state[324]. How disgracefully he yielded himself to the will of Antipater; how did he delight in every unlawful practice, and in dissolute opulence, fragrant with perfumes and walking in a costly chlamys! He lived in such a manner that Antipater could never supply him with money sufficient for his purposes, and aptly said of him when he grew old, that like a dressed ox upon the altar, nothing remained of him but belly and tongue[325]. His profligate life hardly allows us to bestow upon his mournful death the compassion which common humanity would dictate.

CHAPTER XIV.

Pay of the Members of the Public Assembly, and of the Senate.

THE salaries at Athens were of various kinds, but the most important were the wages of the assembly, the senate, and the dicasts.

The nature of democracy requires that all public affairs should be determined upon by the whole people in an assembly, and that the business and decrees be prepared beforehand by a select body, which should have the management of them, and execute the resolutions of the popular assembly; and unless

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[324] Plutarch. Phoc. 1, where he calls him the ναυάγιον τῆς πόλεως, which does not however signify shipwreck, but a fragment of a vessel wrecked; there is however no other word by which it can be translated into our language.

[325] Plut. Phoc. 20, 26, 30.

the governing power is to fall into the hands of the mob, the people should receive no pecuniary compensation for their share in the government, an expense which it is impossible to defray by revenues justly raised; it is a condition requisite for good government, that all who wish to partake in the ruling power should support themselves upon their own property. Athens was not, however, the only state in which the people were paid for governing; a similar system of salaries had been introduced at Rhodes by the demagogues[326]. As to the wages of the dicasts, it is right that some compensation should be allowed for the performance of judicial duties, and it has been at all times customary; oligarchies, indeed, were enabled to compel the rich by the threat of punishment to execute these duties, whereas in democracies the poor were paid for their labour[327]. But from the number of judges in a democratical court of justice, this practice could not exist without the expenses being defrayed by a tax, which it was impossible to raise without oppression. And if Athens, like other states, had only decided her own law-suits, it would not have been necessary to pay the dicasts; the citizens would have remained at their business, active and industrious. But to the great injury of the allied states, Athens, in order to insure her own power, usurped the jurisdiction over them, and the people were well pleased that the custom-duties became by these means more productive, that the judicial fees were multiplied, and that the rent of houses and slaves was increased[328]. Under these circumstances the number of causes was so much augmented that there were more to decide in Athens than in the whole of Greece; and the law-suits, particularly as the festivals produced so large a number of days on which no business was done, were extremely protracted, unless indeed they were accelerated by bribery[329], which was carried on at Athens, as well as at Rome, in an open and systematic manner. Nearly the third part of the citizens sat as judges every day; hence that passion for

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[326] Aristot. Polit. v. 5.
[327] Aristot. Polit. iv. 9 and 14.
[328] Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. 3, Aristoph. Av. 1430, 1465.
[329] Xenoph. ut sup. 3, 2.

judging necessarily arose, which Aristophanes describes in the Wasps, and the citizens were thus not only made averse to every profitable and useful employment, but were rendered sophistical and litigious, and the whole town became full of pettifoggers and chicaners, who were without any real knowledge of law or justice, and on that account only the more rash and thoughtless. According to the expression of the comic poet, they sat like sheep, muffled up in their cloaks, and with their judicial staff, for 3 oboli a day, thinking indeed that they managed the affairs of the state, while they were themselves the tools of the party-leaders.

The wages of the assembly (*μισθὸς ἐκκλησιαστικὸς*) the sovereign people paid to itself. The honour of inventing this salary is contended for between Callistratus and Agyrrhius, and fortunately both claimants can be satisfied. Pericles, as far as we know, had no share in it, and it may be asserted with sufficient probability that this payment had not been introduced in the early part, at least, of his administration. "When the noble Myronides ruled," observes Aristophanes[330], with reference to the wages of the ecclesiasts, "no one administered the affairs of the state for money." Now Myronides was an early contemporary of Pericles[331]; after the time then of this Myronides, and consequently long after the beginning of the influence of Pericles, the payment of the ecclesiasts was introduced, which at first amounted to 1 obolus, and afterwards to 3. Callistratus Parnytes first introduced the obolus as the pay of the ecclesiasts[332], and this was a considerable time before the Ecclesiazusæ of Aristophanes, which was acted in Olymp. 96, 4 (B.C. 393); but at what particular period we are ignorant, since who this Callistratus was is wholly unknown. The most celebrated of the persons of this name is Callistratus, the son of

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[330] Eccles. 302.

[331] Myronides was general in the 80th Olympiad (B.C. 460-57), Thucyd. i. 105, 108, iv. 95; Diod. xi. 97, 81; cf. Plutarch. Pericl. 16. The Myronides in Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 742, 25, is a different person.

[332] Append. Vatic. Proverb. iii. 35, *Ὀβολὸν εὗρε Παρνύτης.* That Petit should suppose (iii. 1, 3,) that the ecclesiasts here mentioned might be the orators, is quite natural, as he always hits upon the most improbable explanation.

Callicrates, of Aphidna, the near relation of Agyrrhius[333], a famous orator and general in the 100th and 101st Olympiads[334] (B.C. 380-73), censured for his private life by Theopompus, but praised for his zeal in the public service[335]; he is said to have excited Demosthenes to the study of eloquence by the famous law-suit concerning Oropus[336], and having been at first acquitted, was afterwards condemned to death in Olymp. 104, 3 (B.C. 362); he lived in Macedonia, chiefly at Methone, and was the founder of Datum[337], and is doubtless the person to whom the improvement in the system of custom-duties in Macedonia is ascribed[338]; finally, after his return from exile he was put to death. This person, however, lived at too late a period to have been the introducer of the obolus; and still less can we suppose it to have been the Callistratus, who was archon in Olymp. 106, 2 (B.C. 355). Not then to mention less noted persons of this name, it is more probable that Callistratus, the son of Empedus, is meant, who in Olymp. 91, 4 (B.C. 413), perished as commander of cavalry in the Sicilian expedition[339]; or perhaps Callistratus of Marathon, who in Olymp. 92, 3 (B.C. 410), was treasurer of the goddess[340], and probably is the same person as the knight of the tribe Leontis (to which Marathon belonged), who was killed during the anarchy by the party in the Piræus[341]. The increase in the wages of the ecclesiasts to 3 oboli evidently took place but a short time before the Ecclesiazusæ of Aristophanes, perhaps in Olymp. 96, 3 (394 B.C.)[342],

[333] Concerning him see Demosth. pro Corona, p. 301, 18, c. Timocrat. p. 742, 23, de Fals. Leg. p. 436, 13, Orat. c. Neær. p. 1353, 19, and p. 1359, 18, c. Timoth. p. 1187, 7, p. 1188, 10, p. 1198, 10. The latter speech, together with that against Neæra, is probably not the work of Demosthenes, according to the suspicion of the ancients ap. Harpocrat. in v. κακοτεχνιῶν.

[334] See book iii. ch. 18. He also occurs in Xenophon's Hellenics.

[335] Ap. Athen. iv. p. 166 E.

[336] Cf. Ruhnken. Hist. Crit. Orat. p. 140, vol. viii. of Reiske's Orators.

[337] Demosth. c. Polycl. p. 1220, 1221; Scylax p. 27, Isocrat. συμμαχ. 9, comp. Niebuhr, Transactions of the Berlin Academy for 1804—1811, p. 93, 94.

[338] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. 2, 22. This he did in his exile, not for Athenians, as Schneider appears to think, but for the Macedonians.

[339] Pausan. vii. 16. In the Lives of the Ten Orators (Demosth. ad init.) this one is strangely confounded with the celebrated Aphidnean.

[340] Inscript. No. 147, at the beginning.

[341] Xenoph. Hell. ii. 4, 18.

[342] Aristoph. Eccl. 302, 380, 392,

when Agyrrhius re-established the theoricon; to him also the Scholiast upon Aristophanes[343] ascribes the first introduction of the wages of ecclesiasts; from which it is evident, as Petit remarked[344], that he was the person who increased them.

The number of the Athenian citizens cannot be taken on an average, as has been before shown, at more than 20,000; it is absurd then to suppose that there were assemblies of 30,000 persons. But of these 20,000 many were absent in the country on military service, or upon mercantile business; or even if they were in the city, they did not attend the assembly; so that, particular cases being excepted, it is impossible to imagine that the assembly ever contained a very large number. But after the introduction of the 3 oboli, there was a more numerous attendance of the poor citizens. "Formerly when the ecclesiasts only received 1 obolus," says Aristophanes in the Ecclesiazusæ, "the people sat talking; now that they receive 3 oboli they crowd in numbers[345]; and jostle against one another for this small sum[346]." But the wealthy usually were

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543. This increased pay also occurs in the Plutus, vs. 329, which passage is therefore from the second edition produced in Olymp. 97, 4 (B.C. 389); the date of the first is Olymp. 92, 4 (B.C. 409). The triobolon in the ecclesia is also mentioned by the Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 171.

[343] Eccl. 102.

[344] Leg. Att. iii. 1, 3. The Scholiast of Aristophanes (Plut. 329, 330,) speaks of the pay being raised to 3 oboli, which was said to have been done by Cleon, but we must avoid understanding this of the wages of the ecclesiasts, which are there confounded with the pay of the dicasts, although the words are ambiguous; it refers to the wages of the dicasts. Both have been frequently confounded with one another by both ancient and modern interpreters; for instance, by Spanheim upon Aristophanes, and by the Scholiast to the same poet. The author of the note to the 861st verse of the Clouds even explains the ὀβολὸς ἡλιαστικὸς as the pay of the ecclesiasts, which passage is not to be be corrected, but the mistake is solely to be attributed to the ignorance of the writer. I may also mention that I have intentionally omitted Pollux viii. 113, as his words are too indefinite to allow us to infer from them with Meursius (Lect. Att. v. 12, vi. 4,) that the wages of the ecclesiasts ever were an obolus; it is even preferable to refer the three words that occur there, τριώβολον, διώβολον, and ὀβολὸς, all to the pay of the dicasts.

[345] Aristoph. Eccl. 302 sqq. Compare with this the opinion of Aristotle, (Polit. iv. 15,) that where the nation is wealthy or the ecclesiasts receive pay, the people being unoccupied frequently assemble and decide everything, without the senate having any great influence.

[346] Aristoph. Plut. 329.

glad to stay away from the public assemblies, so that Aristotle[347] recommended that a fine should be imposed upon them if they did not attend, and to give wages to the poor alone, in order to produce a salutary mixture of both classes; the rich therefore always composed the minority. It is probable that we should not err much if we took an assembly of the people at about 8000[e]; we know that in certain cases, particularly for the ratification of a decree relating to an individual (*privilegium*), such as ostracism or the admission of a fresh citizen, 6000 votes were requisite[348], in order to secure a large majority; in general then not many more than 6000 could have been present. If we suppose 8000, the wages of an assembly taken at 3 oboli amount to about 4000 drachmas. Now there were forty regular assemblies in a year; the extraordinary meetings (which were numerously attended) at very disturbed seasons exceeded the number of the regular[349]; but upon an average not more than ten can be fairly assumed, one being reckoned to each prytaneia. Consequently the wages of the assembly cannot be estimated at more than 30 or 35 talents, and thus it is not true that they fell more heavily on the public than the wages of the dicasts[350]. The money was paid to each person as he entered the assembly by the thesmothetæ[351], which

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[347] Polit. iv. 14; cf. iv. 6.

[e] The author says in the Addenda that "the number of citizens attending the ecclesia is estimated too high. According to the oligarchs in Thucydides viii. 72, there never was an assembly of 5000 to deliberate on the most important questions: *καίτοι οὐ πώποτε Ἀθηναίους διὰ τὰς στρατείας καὶ τὴν ὑπερόριον ἀσχολίαν ἐς οὐδὲν πράγμα οὕτω μέγα ἐλθεῖν βουλεύσοντας, ἐν ᾧ πεντακισχιλίους ξυνελθεῖν.* According to this passage then it must be assumed that the 6000 votes, which was the number prescribed for certain questions, was not the number of those who voted for the particular subject in debate, but only of the citizens who voted both ways on the question, which indeed is expressly stated to have been the case with regard to the Ostracism, although when I wrote the passage in the text it appeared to me improbable. The accurate investigation of this point must however be deferred to some other occasion."

[348] Petit. Leg. Att. ii. 1, 8; ii. 3, 10; Sigon. R. A. ii. 4. The remarks that Petit has made in different places (ii. 1, 8; iii. 1, 3; iii. 3, ad fin.) concerning this majority of the votes, which was not by any means necessary for all decrees, arise from mere misapprehension and delusion.

[349] Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 251.

[350] As Meiners says in his *Geschichte des Ursprungs, Fortgangs, und Verfalls der Wissenschaften*, vol. ii. p. 150.

[351] Aristoph. Eccl. 290.

officers received it from the treasurer of the administration: those who came too late received nothing[352].

Of nearly equal amount were the wages of the Senate of Five Hundred (*μισθὸς βουλευτικός*). These amounted to a drachma for each day on which the senate assembled[353]. Now the senate sat mostly on the same days as the courts of justice; that is to say, every day, with the exception of the festivals, which were the only holidays the senators had; and consequently the number of days on which they sat was about three hundred[354]. The annual expense therefore amounted to 25 talents. In what manner the wages of the senate were paid, we are not informed; probably by prytaneias. When the Four Hundred abolished the democracy, and drove the senate out of the senate-house, they gave the senators the whole pay for the rest of the year in advance[355].

CHAPTER XV.

Pay of the Courts of Justice.

THE largest item among the salaries regularly paid in time of peace was the wages of the dicasts (*μισθὸς δικαστικὸς*). The introduction of these is ascribed to Pericles by Aristotle[356], on

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[352] Aristoph. Eccl. 290 and 381.

[353] Hesych. in v. *βουλῆς λαχεῖν*, Xenoph. Hell. ii. 3, 18, and his commentators.

[354] Cf. Aristoph. Thesmoph. 85. The senate originally sat on some feast-days, and was not released from these duties till later times, as is shown by the document in Athen. iv. p. 171 E.

[355] Thucyd. viii. 69.

[356] Polit. ii. 10. It is therefore unnecessary to refute the Append. Prov. Vatic. iii. 35, which attributes the first institution of this pay to Callistratus. [The passage in the Politics referred to, *τὰ δὲ δικαστήρια μισθοφόρα κατέστησε Περικλῆς*, is from a chapter which appears not to be the production of Aristotle (see Göttling *ad loc.* p. 345; another statement in the same chapter is called in question by the author himself, vol. ii. p. 261); the fact is however confirmed by Plutarch. Pericl. 9, *καὶ ταχὺ θεωρικοῖς καὶ δικαστικοῖς λήμμασι . . . . συνδεκάσας τὸ πλῆθος*, &c. The testimony of the Scholiast to Aristophanes (Vesp. 682), cited in the next note, seems to be unfairly made use of. It is as follows: *τὸν φόρον λέγει ἀφ' ὧν ἐδίδοτο τὸ τριώβολον. Τοῦτο δὲ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἐδίδοτο, τῶν δημαγωγῶν τὰ πλήθη κολακευόντων, ὥς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν Πολιτείαις, i.e. wages were given to the dicasts at different rates at different times, the demagogues flattering the populace, as Aris-*

whose accurate acquaintance with antiquity perfect reliance can be placed. And from the testimony of the same writer we learn that the wages of the dicasts did not remain the same, but underwent some change[357]. What then were these alterations, and when did they take place?

Strepsiades says in the Clouds[358] that he had given the first heliastic obolus to his son, when he was six years old, to buy a little cart; hence we learn that originally the pay of the dicasts amounted to an obolus; and since in Olymp. 89, 1 (B.C. 424), the child is represented in the Clouds as a practised rider, this obolus must have been introduced for at least four Olympiads. The Scholiast tells us that the wages of the dicasts amounted to 2 oboli in the time of the Frogs of Aristophanes; it is also stated that they were a drachma at the same period[359]. With regard to the latter statement, there is evidently a confusion either with the drachma of the diætetæ, or with the pay of the advocates (*μισθὸς συνηγορικὸς*), of which latter Aristophanes speaks in a passage that the Scholiast perhaps referred to the wages of the dicasts. But no traces occur of their wages ever having been 2 oboli, except a vague report in the Scholiast to the Birds, that the dicasts had for a time received 2 oboli;

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totle says in the Politics, viz. iv. 4, *ὁ δημαγωγὸς καὶ ὁ κόλαξ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀνάλογον*, &c.; and v. 11, *διὸ καὶ ὁ κόλαξ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἔντιμος· παρὰ μὲν τοῖς δήμοις ὁ δημαγωγὸς, ἔστι γὰρ ὁ δημαγωγὸς τοῦ δήμου κόλαξ*. No objection can be made from the use of the plural Πολιτείαις; for Aristotle himself says iv. 7, *ὥσπερ Πλάτων ἐν ταῖς Πολιτείαις*. The same expression with regard to the variable rate of the dicasts' wages is used by Hesychius, without any mention of Aristotle: *δικαστικόν· Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ὥραις τριώβολόν φησιν εἶναι· οὐ μέντοι ἔστηκεν, ἀλλ' ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἐδίδοτο*. TRANSL.]

[357] Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 682, from Aristotle's State of Athens; Schol. Nub. 861; Plut. 329; Av. 1540; Hesych. in v. *δικαστικὸν*, Suidas in v. *ἡλιασταί*. Concerning the expression of the grammarians compare Hemsterhuis ad Plut. ut sup. Petit as usual (iii. 1, 3,) founds a false view of the subject upon a false interpretation of the Scholiast of Aristophanes.

[358] Vs. 861.

[359] Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 141, (Cf. Schol. Vesp. 658, concerning the drachma.) Welcker, at the above passage in the Frogs, allows that the triobolon may have been introduced previously, but he prefers adhering to the explanation of the Scholiast, as he thinks that Aristophanes mentions 2 oboli according to the ancient usage, although they received 3 at that time. This is not very probable, and I do not doubt that he will prefer my interpretation.

either the grammarian inferred this from the words of Aristophanes (ὡς μέγα δύνασθον παντα̣χοῦ τὼ δὺ' ὀβολὼ), or he had heard something of the diobelia, and supposed it was the wages of the dicasts. But the words of Aristophanes unquestionably refer to the diobelia. That this was in full force in Olymp. 92, 3 (B.C. 410), we know from the Choiseul Inscription, and why should it not have been equally so in Olymp. 93, 3 (B.C. 406), the year in which the comedy of the Frogs was acted? If the wages of the dicasts had been raised before this time to 3 oboli, no one will suppose that the Athenians would have lowered this rate in opposition to their pecuniary interest; and in fact we find that it had been introduced previously. In the Birds of Aristophanes[360], which was acted in Olymp. 91, 2 (B.C. 415), the triobolon occurs as the wages of the dicasts, as is proved by the connexion with the Colacretæ; and indeed it is mentioned at a much earlier date, viz., in the Knights (Olymp. 88, 4, B.C. 425), and the Wasps (Olymp. 89, 2, B.C. 423)[361]. In both plays Cleon is the chief object of ridicule, and in the Knights he is distinctly mentioned as the favourer of the triobolon[362]; in the latter comedy he boasts that he would always take care that it did not fail; and he flatters the people by telling them that, according to ancient oracles, the pay of the dicasts would be in Arcadia as high as 5 oboli; *i. e.* as the Scholiast adds, when the Peloponnese should be conquered[363]. If we add to this the testimony of the Scholiast to the Plutus[364], it follows with certainty that none other than this noxious demagogue, at the time of his greatest power, about the 88th Olympiad (B.C. 428), raised the wages of the dicasts from 1 to 3 oboli[f]. From this it seems that the rate of payment

[360] Vs. 1540.

[361] Eq. 51, 255; Vesp. 607, 682, 688, 797, 1116.

[362] Eq. 257.

[363] Eq. 797. This passage has been strangely misunderstood by Spanheim (ad Nub. 861,) who has inferred from it that in Arcadia the pay of the dicasts amounted to 5 oboli. The Arcadians probably never thought of the dicasts' wages; but Cleon forcibly represents to the Athenians the extension of their jurisdiction to the middle of the Peloponnese, and its consequence, a plentiful harvest of money.

[364] Vs. 330, which, although adduced in an improper place, should be referred to the pay of the dicasts.

[f] [Zenobius and Photius in v. ὑπὲρ τὰ Καλλικράτους — Ἀριστοτέλης δέ

never was at 2 oboli; yet Pollux[365], as well as the Scholiast to Aristophanes, appears to have believed in its existence. Otherwise the grammarians, in speaking of the wages of the dicasts, generally mention 3 oboli, at the same time recognising their mutability[366]. The hero Lycus, under whose protection the system of judicature was placed, regularly received his 3 oboli, if he had a sanctuary in the court of justice[367].

The payment of the wages of the dicasts, which was the duty of the colacretæ, took place at each sitting of the court[368], in the following manner. Besides the judicial staff, each person received at his entrance into the court a small tablet (called *σύμβολον*); at the close of the sitting he gave this to the prytanes, and received the money for it; whoever came late into court ran the risk of receiving nothing[369]. The prytaneia were first appointed for defraying the expense; if these were not sufficient (and how could they ever have been so), the other branches of the revenue contributed, particularly the fines, and probably in ancient times the tributes[370]. Aristophanes reckons the annual amount at 150 talents, assuming 300 days on which the courts sat, and 6000 dicasts a day who received the triobo-

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φησιν ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων πολιτείᾳ Καλλικράτην τινὰ *πρῶτον τοὺς δικαστικοὺς μισθοὺς* (δικαστῶν *τοὺς μισθοὺς* Zen.) *εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αὐξῆσαι.* From the expression "a certain Callicrates, Καλλικράτην τινά," it seems that the increaser of the dicasts' wages could not have been a well-known person. Callistratus, the son of Callicrates, flourished about the 100th Olympiad (see above p. 229); his father therefore might have carried this measure ten Olympiads before that time; which nearly agrees with the date given in the text for the supposed increase by Cleon.—TRANSL.]

[365] viii. 113. According to the explanation of Spanheim *ut sup.*, which, as I have above mentioned, I prefer to that of Meursius, without however believing the account of Pollux, as Spanheim does.

[366] Pollux viii. 20; Hesych. in v. *δικαστικὸν*; Suid. in v. *ἡλιασταὶ* and *βακτηρία*; Schol. Aristoph. in the passages quoted above and Plut. 277; Suid. and Phot. in v. *σύμβολον*; Schol. Demosth. in Reisk. Demosth. vol. ii. p. 131; Lucian. Bis Accus. 12 and 15. Several other passages, as e. g. Hesychius in v. *ὀβολοί*, I omit, as they contain nothing to make them worth quoting.

[367] See Hudtwalcker von den Diäteten, p. 14.

[368] Lucian. ut sup.

[369] Schol. Aristoph. Plut. 277, whose information is chiefly taken from Aristotle's State of Athens quoted by the Scholiast at v. 278; also Suidas in v. *βακτηρία*; Etymol. in v. *σύμβολον*; Pollux viii. 16; Aristoph. Vesp. 710.

[370] Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 682.

lon[371]; and that the expense was not small we learn from other sources. It is, however, to be remarked, that Aristophanes, in forming his calculation, has taken the dicasts at 6000, their highest number, who did not perform their duties every day. Six thousand were appointed for each year; and from these the dicasts were first selected for each particular cause, and it was not till they were actually assigned to some court that they received pay. The ten regular courts of justice at Athens, consisting each of 500 dicasts, required only the daily attendance of 5000[372]. Now it is true that large tribunals occur of 1000, 1500, 2000, and even 6000 dicasts; but, on the other hand, small ones of 201, 401, &c.[373]. It is therefore possible that the expense was something less than Aristophanes states it; I am willing however to allow his estimate to pass as an approximation to the truth, when applied to the times preceding the anarchy, and to compute the expenses of jurisdiction generally at 150 talents, particularly as many small expenses, in addition to the pay of the dicasts, must necessarily have been incurred in the courts; but after the archonship of Euclid, when the allies had revolted, it is not possible that there could have been so many dicasts, and the cost must therefore have been less. And as in time of war the courts did not always continue sitting[374], these expenses occasionally ceased.

The wages of the diætetæ were not provided out of the public money; these persons were paid for each separate cause by the litigant parties themselves. The diætetæ received a drachma from the plaintiff at the commencement of the suit, and again the same sum from both parties at the Antomosia, and at every Hypomosia[375]. A grammarian of mean authority

[371] Vesp. 660 sqq. and the Scholiast. About sixty holidays, on which the courts did not sit, are not too many for Athens; this leaves 300 sitting-days. But I am not able to find any confirmation of Hudtwalcker's supposition (von den Diäteten, p. 30), that the courts did not sit through the whole of Scirophorion.

[372] See Matthiæ Miscell. Philog. vol. i. p. 251 sqq.; comp. also p. 158.

[373] Besides Matthiæ see Pollux viii. 53 and 48; Lex. Seg. p. 310, 30, and p. 189, 20; Phot. in v. ἡλιαία.

[374] Lys. περὶ δημοσ. ἀδικ. p. 590.

[375] This is the παράστασις or παρακατάστασις, Pollux viii. 39, 127; Harpocrat. in v. παράστασις, and thence Suidas, Photius, and Lex. Seg. p. 290, 298. Παρακατάστασις occurs in Photius, Etymol., and Lex. Seg. See Hudtwalcker von den Diät. p. 14 sqq.

states[376] that the diætetæ arbitrated many law-suits, and that the public authorities employed every possible means to prevent the sitting of the courts, in order that the state might not be compelled to expend so much money upon the wages of the dicasts; but, judging from the disposition of the Athenians, we can at the most believe that such a motive might have influenced them at seasons of the greatest national distress; for in ordinary times it was customary to allow pecuniary largesses for the maintenance of the people.

CHAPTER XVI.

On certain other Persons receiving Salaries from the Public Revenue.

THE wages of the public advocates or orators (*μισθὸς συνηγορικὸς*) occasioned a small expense, which amounted every day, *i. e.* for the 300 days of business, to a drachma, and not for each speech, as the Scholiast of Aristophanes erroneously asserts[377]. As these advocates were ten in number, the whole expense amounted to half a talent a year.

The ambassadors also received a stipend in ancient times; and although resident embassies (a practice first introduced by the French) were unknown, they may nevertheless be reckoned among the regular expenses, since ambassadors were very frequently despatched to foreign states; and when they travelled to a distance, as, for example, to Persia, were necessarily absent for a long time. The ambassadors to Philip of Macedon attended him even on marches and journeys[378]. Ambassadors, during the time that they were able to have a fixed residence, were never compelled to live at their own expense; they were supported by presents which they received both in free states[379] and in countries where the government was monarchical. It

[376] Schol. Demosth. ap. Reisk. ut sup. to which statement Hudtwalcker assents, p. 34.

[377] Aristoph. Vesp. 689, and the Scholiast.

[378] Demosth. Philipp. iii. p. 113, 18.

[379] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 393, 25; Lys. pro Aristoph. bonis, p. 629; Ælian. Var. Hist. i. 22; Decree of the Arcadians in Crete in Chishull's Ant. Asiat. p. 118.

may be seen from the speech of Demosthenes for the Crown, that in the Greek cities they were not only honoured with the first place in the theatres, but were hospitably entertained, and generally resided at the house of the proxenus, although an instance occurs of an embassy to Philip having for particular reasons preferred the public inn[380]. The treasurer, however, usually paid them a sum in advance for thirty days, as travelling money (*ἐφόδιον, πορεῖον*)[381]. In the time of Aristophanes, the ambassadors received 2 or 3 drachmas a day[382]. The highest pay which we meet with, such indeed as never was given in any other state, is 1000 drachmas, which was received by five Athenian ambassadors who were sent to Philip. These ambassadors remained absent three months, although they might have equally well returned at the end of one[383]. In general the Athenians sent ten ambassadors, but occasionally not more than two or three.

The sophronistæ, or inspectors of the youths in the training schools, of whom there were ten annually elected by cheirotonia, one from each tribe, received a daily stipend of 1 drachma[384]; the episcopi also, who were sent to subject states,

[380] Orat. de Halon. p. 81, 19; Xenoph. Hell. v. 4, 22; Dem. de Fals. Leg. p. 390, 26.

[381] Casaub. and Theoph. Char. xi.; Etymol. in v. *πορεῖον*, Chand. Inscript. ii. 12.

[382] Acharn. 65, and from the context 602.

[383] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 390. That there were only five of them is evident from the decree in Demosth. pro Corona, p. 235. Demosthenes was indeed one of the number, but his name is not in the decree, and therefore the 1000 drachmas should only be referred to the five mentioned in it, unless a subsequent decree was framed, and other ambassadors were appointed in addition to the former. My space however does not permit me to treat of this point at full length, particularly as there are great chronological difficulties connected with it.

[384] Lex. Seg. p. 301; Phot. in v. *σωφρονισταὶ*, cf. Etym. in v. in the two latter read *ἑκάστης φυλῆς εἷς*. The words of the Etymologist are both in Phavorinus and Stobæus. See Fischer's Ind. Æschin. in v. *σωφρονισταὶ*, where however, together with Hemsterhuis ad Pol. viii. 138, he falsely assumes that there were 100 sophronistæ, from the incorrect reading in the grammarians above quoted. In the times of the emperors there were only 6, and probably the same number of hyposophronistæ, who entered their office together at the beginning of the month Boedromion, as may be concluded from Corp. Inscript. No. 276, cf. 271, 272. The Gloss refers to Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 433, 3, where however there is only an allusion to this office, which is also mentioned in the Axiochus, p. 367 A.

received a salary, probably at the cost of the cities over which they presided[385].

The nomothetæ, a legislative commission consisting of 501, 1001, or 1501 persons, who were selected from those who had been dicasts, also perhaps received a stipend; for in their former capacity they had been accustomed to the triobolon; and the senate was commanded by law to administer the money for the nomothetæ[386].

The collection of the public revenue did not require any paid officers, as it was let out in farm; even when the senate found it necessary to appoint a collector, in order to enforce payment of the farmers, he could scarcely have been paid.

All the servants of the different authorities received salaries, for example, the prometretæ[387]; it is however probable that these officers were paid by the sellers of the commodities measured. Originally there was an important distinction between *service* (*ὑπηρεσία*) and an *office of government* (*ἀρχή*); the former received a salary, the latter none. The heralds and clerks particularly deserve notice; since certain heralds, as well as the clerk of the senate, the clerk of the senate and people, and the checking-clerk and under-clerk of the senate, were fed at the cost of the state in the tholus or prytaneum[388], where doubtless they also resided.

To the transcribers of the laws a stipend was allowed for a fixed time, within which they were bound to complete their labours[389]; and a particular sum of money was set apart for engraving the decrees[390].

The large amount of the salary of the physicians and the pay of the singers and musicians at Athens and in other places, has been shown in the first book[391]. And how great must have been the number of persons whom the state remunerated for their services (either by its own means or by those of subordinate corporations), such as citharists, gymnasts, and others of the same description.

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[385] Aristoph. Av. 1023 sqq.

[386] Petit Leg. Att. ii. 1, 1. See Wolf Proleg. ad Lept. p. cxlvii.

[387] Harpocrat. in *προμετρηταί*.

[388] See the inscriptions quoted in book ii. ch. 8, and Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 419, 25.

[389] Lysias c. Nicom.

[390] Book ii. ch. 6.

[391] Chap. 21

The poets also received a salary, which was allowed them by the Senate of Five Hundred; and we have reason to suppose that its amount was not inconsiderable; for Agyrrhius having been offended, as it seems, by the ridicule of comic poets, thought it worth while to persuade the people to reduce it[392].

Lastly, several hundred sailors received regular pay in time of peace. In early times the Athenians had two sacred triremes, the Paralos, the crew of which bore the name of Paralitæ (παραλῖται, also πάραλοι), and the Salaminia or Delia (sometimes simply called Theoris), and its crew were named Salaminians[393]: the latter vessel belonged to the Delian theoria; and both these triremes, as being quick sailers, were used for other theorias, as well as for embassies and for the transport of money and persons; in battles also, and then they conveyed the admiral. That the crew of the Paralos, though it was mostly in harbour, always received 4 oboli a day, we know from distinct testimony[394]; and as the Salaminia performed the same services, we may without any hesitation assume that the Salaminians received the same pay. The pay of the trireme-crews having been generally calculated by estimating the wages of 200 common sailors, the pay of two triremes at 4 oboli a man *per* day: for a year reckoned at 365 days (the intercalary month being divided among the several years) will amount to 16 talents 1333 drachmas 2 oboli. In latter times we meet with a trireme named Ammonis, which is undoubtedly different from the two first; and an Antigonis and a Demetrias, so called no doubt from the names of those much honoured kings; and finally, a Ptolemais[395], of which it is

[392] Schol. Eccl. 102; Aristoph. Ran. 370; and the Scholiast. Archinus is mentioned in the last Scholium; but the Scholiast on the Ecclesiazusæ appears better informed; and perhaps Archinus is only an error of the transcriber for Agyrrhius.

[393] Concerning both these vessels see Sigon. R. A. iv. 5. In Photius (in v. πάραλοι) the Salaminia and the Paralos are stated to be the same ship, which is false. But in the word πάραλος, and in the first article of πάραλοι, they are correctly distinguished. Concerning the name of the crew see Pollux viii. 116; Hesych. in v. παραλίτης. Concerning the Delia vid. ad Inscript. 151, § 1.

[394] Harpocrat. and Phot. in v. πάραλος.

[395] Harpocrat. and Suidas in v. Ἀμμωνίς, and there Maussac, Lex. Seg. p. 267; Phot. in v. πάραλοι and πάραλος.

probable, that like the tribe Ptolemais, it only succeeded in the place of the Antigonis or the Demetrias. We are not informed how the pay of these vessels was regulated; but as the Ammonis had a treasurer, it is probable the others had the same, and since the Ammonis served in time of peace, it must occasionally have had sailors who then received pay.

I will presently speak of two other kinds of salaries paid in time of peace, the pay of the cavalry, and the maintenance of the infirm, which was also called μισθὸς or pay[396]; all these taken together caused a considerable expense. In order, however, to produce some diminution in the amount, and to prevent any person from obtaining greater emoluments from the state than was fair, the law ordered that no one should receive pay from more than one source (μὴ διχόθεν μισθοφορεῖν)[397]. Thus the wages of the dicasts, orators, ecclesiasts, senators, soldiers, sailors, cavalry, in short all salaries whatever, precluded any person from receiving pay for other services upon the same day.

The grammarians assert that pay was given out by prytaneias[398], a statement which is incorrect in this general sense. For the dicasts and the assembly were (as well as the theorica) paid by the day, the soldiers and sailors in war by the month; but of all other persons receiving salaries it may have been true. Nothing seems more natural than that the Senate of Five Hundred, the orators, clerks, and other inferior officers, should have been paid by prytaneias; with regard to the maintenance of the infirm, this was certainly the regulation, and for the cavalry and sailors in the time of peace we may suppose that it was adopted for the sake of uniformity. This mode of payment was also the most convenient for passing the accounts, which took place in every prytaneia.

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[396] Æsch. c. Timarch. p. 123.

[397] Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 739, 6. Petit alone (Leg. Att. v. 6, 2,) has believed the absurd idea of Ulpian, that this means a prohibition to follow more than one occupation at the same time.

[398] Ammonius and from him Thomas Mag. in v. πρυτανεῖον. Hesychius in the same word says that ἡ ἐπὶ μηνὶ μισθοφορία is also called πρυτανεῖον, which probably means the pay of the prytanes and the other senators, which was paid by prytaneias, for in later times the prytaneias coincided with the months.

CHAPTER XVII.

Relief of the Destitute.

THE maintenance of those citizens, who on account of bodily defects or infirmities were unable to obtain a livelihood (*ἀδύνατοι*), was a laudable institution. This practice however, as well as the custom of supporting children whose fathers had died in war, until they reached the age of manhood[399], belonged exclusively to the Athenians, as charity was a virtue rarely met with among the Greeks.

With regard to the maintenance of persons who had been mutilated in war, Pisistratus is mentioned as the originator of this custom[400]; an account which has every probability, since Pisistratus was of a mild disposition, and usurpers are generally glad to seize every opportunity of conferring a benefit, with a view to make themselves popular; nor would the Athenians with their hatred of tyranny have attributed this honour to him, if he had not deserved it. According to others[401] this provision derived its origin from a law of Solon, who certainly gave the example to Pisistratus by the proposal being made, as Heraclides in Plutarch informs us, for the benefit of an individual. In early times Athens could boast of having no citizen in want of the necessaries of life, nor did any one ever disgrace the nation by begging[402]; but after the Peloponnesian war, poverty made itself everywhere manifest; and no small number stood in need of this assistance, if they were infirm or maimed. The bounty was restricted by law to persons whose property was under 3 minas[403]; but even in the age of Socrates an income of this amount was very inconsiderable; and, accordingly, all

[399] Aristid. Panath. vol. i. p. 331, ed. Cant. [Aristotle however (Pol. ii. 5,) states that in his time this last institution existed in other states except Athens: *ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις οὗτος ὁ νόμος νῦν καὶ ἐν ἑτέραις τῶν πόλεων.*—TRANSL.]

[400] Plutarch. Solon. 31.

[401] Schol. Æschin. ap. Taylor. ad Lys. vol. v. p. 739, ed. Reisk. et ap. Reisk. vol. iii. p. 738.

[402] Isocrat. Areop. 38.

[403] Harpocrat. Suid. Hesych. and the above-quoted passages of the Lexica in Taylor, ut sup. and the commentators upon Hesychius.

those who received this bounty were in fact nearly destitute. The Athenians however do not seem to have been very sparing of this donative; the individual for whom Lysias[404] wrote his speech in order to prove that he was deserving of this support, carried on certainly some trade, although he asserts it was not sufficient to maintain him, and it appears that he rode occasionally, although indeed not upon his own horse, and also because he was unable to walk without the help of crutches. This bounty was awarded by a decree of the people[405]; but the examination of the individuals belonged to the Senate of Five Hundred[406]; the payments were made by prytaneias; consequently, if any one deferred his examination in one prytaneia he was obliged to wait till the next[407].

The unpublished Scholiast to Æschines, who is quoted by Taylor in his notes, states that this bounty amounted to 3 oboli a day; here then we again meet with the triobolon of the dicasts, which is always crossing the path of the grammarians. The money paid to the infirm was never more than 2 oboli or less than 1: between these two rates ancient writers are divided; the obvious supposition is that some received more than others, according as their necessities were more or less urgent; but a closer consideration teaches us that the difference refers only to the times. In the time of Lysias 1 obolus was given[408]; afterwards, when the difficulty of procuring subsistence had increased, this rate was doubled. The time at which this increase took place may be nearly ascertained from the grammarians. Harpocration[409] states "that the infirm or impotent (*ἀδύνατοι*) received 2 oboli a day, as some say, or 1 obolus, as Aristotle in the Constitution of Athens states; but, as Philo-

[404] Περὶ τοῦ ἀδυνάτου. This speech is written in such a jesting tone, that I consider it to be a mere rhetorical exercise, which was never delivered: at least the Athenians must have been very much astonished at the jocularity of this poor man when petitioning for a pecuniary allowance.

[405] Herald. Anim. in Salm. Observ. ad I. A. et R. iii. 8, 4.

[406] Æschin. c. Timarch. p. 123; Harpocrat. Suid. Hesych.; and a Lexicon in the Bibl. Coislin. p. 603, p. 238.

[407] Æschin. ut sup.

[408] Lys. ut sup. p. 749, p. 758.

[409] In v. *ἀδύνατοι*, where the right reading is preserved in the Paris MS. in Bast's Epist. Crit. p. 176, δύο ὀβολοὺς τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μέν φασιν ἑκάστης.

chorus says, 9 drachmas every month." Suidas gives the same account from Philochorus[410]; Hesychius mentions 2 oboli without any further limitation. In Suidas and other lexicons[411], it is stated that some received 1, and others 2 oboli; but Bast has proved that the reading in Suidas is erroneous; and according to the true reading the grammarian says that some writers mention that they received 1, and others 2; it is evident, therefore, that the error should be corrected in the same manner in the other Lexicons. We see from these passages that Aristotle, as well as Lysias, spoke only of 1 obolus[412]; and we may thence infer that up to the time of the latter this bounty was not greater; it must therefore have been subsequently raised, perhaps, between the times of Aristotle and Philochorus, who was a youth when Eratosthenes was an old man. For the statement of Philochorus is the same in substance with the other account, that they received 2 oboli a day; which for the month of twenty-nine days gives 9 drachmas 4 oboli; the latter the grammarians omit. Philochorus's computation by months proves of itself that he is speaking of later times, when the prytaneias coincided with the months; it does not however follow from this that the increase did not take place before the introduction of the twelve tribes.

If we could now ascertain how many upon an average were in need of this bounty, an estimate of the expense might be made; but the assumption of Meursius that they amounted to 500, is founded upon a false reading in Suidas[413]. Considering, however, the necessitous condition of most of the Athenian

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[410] In v. *ἀδύνατοι*, comp. Zonaras in v. *ἀδύνατοι*. The Lexicon in the Bibl. Coisl. p. 603, falsely charges Philochorus with saying that they received 5 oboli a day; but there is an error of the copyist, viz. *ε'* instead of *ἐννέα δραχμὰς*, as Alberti has shown by the comparison and correction of Bibl. Coisl. p. 238.

[411] Suid. in v. *ἀδύνατοι*, Zonaras, and the Lexicon in Bibl. Coisl. p. 238. In Suidas it should be written *οἱ μέν φασιν ἑκάστης ἡμέρας ὀβολοὺς δύο, οἱ δὲ ὀβολόν*. See Bast's Epist. Crit. p. 176.

[412] For although the Lexicon in Bibl. Coisl. p. 603, represents Aristotle to have said that they received 2 oboli, without making any mention of one, this is an evident error, which is not worth the trouble of refutation.

[413] Meurs. Lect. Att. vi. 5. The passage in Suidas which others thought that they had corrected, was first ingeniously emended by Bast. Epist. Crit. p. 176.

citizens, and the frequency of wars, 500 may be assumed as he lowest number of the old, blind, lame, sick, and maimed, who were to be maintained; and the expense of their maintenance, according as we reckon it at 1 or 2 oboli a head, may be at the lowest estimated at 5 or 10 talents. To this must be added the support of the orphan children, whose fathers had perished in war; for whose instruction also the state provided until their eighteenth year, in order that their education might be completed before they were sent forth, provided with a complete suit of armour[414]. That the number of orphans, after so many wars, was considerable, might have been assumed without the authority of Isocrates[415].

The support which private individuals procured by means of a particular agreement which they made by entering into a society (ἔρανος) differed from public maintenance[416]. The society itself and the money subscribed were each called Eranos, the members Eranistæ, their whole number, the community of the Eranistæ (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐρανιστῶν), and their president an Eranarch. Their objects were of the most various description; if some friends wanted to provide a dinner, or a corporation to celebrate a solemnity, to give a banquet, or forward any particular purpose by bribery[417], the expense was defrayed by an eranos. Associations of this kind were very common in the democratic states of Greece, and to this class the numberless political and religious societies, corporations, unions for commerce and shipping, belonged: many of them, more particularly the religious associations (θίασοι), were possessed of land[418], and like states and subordinate corporations they had power to make decrees, which they recorded upon stone[419]; and lastly, there were laws concerning these societies (ἐρανικοὶ νόμοι), and law-

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[414] Comp. Petit Leg. Att. viii. 3, 6.

[415] Συμμαχ. 29.

[416] I only mention this subject in a few words: several early writers have treated on it at full length, who mutually correct one another, of which the chief are, Petit Leg. Att. v. 7, 1; Salmasius de Usuris chap. 3; Defens. Misc. chap. 1 sqq.; Herald. Observ. chap. 43; Animadv. in Salmas. Observ. ad I. A. et Rom. vi. 1—8.

[417] Demosth. pro Corona, p. 329, 15.

[418] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. ii. 2, 3.

[419] See for example Corp. Inscript. Nos. 109, 110.

suits called after their name (ἐρανικαὶ δίκαι), in which, as well as in the commercial causes, a more rapid course of justice was prescribed[420]. A peculiar kind of eranos is that which was made for the support of the destitute citizens; it was founded upon the principle of mutual assistance, and it was expected that the members who had been relieved should pay the money back again when they had raised themselves to better circumstances[421].

CHAPTER XVIII.

Public Rewards.

A SMALL expense was occasioned by one part of the public rewards and marks of honour. Under this head may be mentioned the public entertainments (σίτησις ἐν πρυτανείῳ), which many others, besides the fifty prytanes and certain inferior officers, received as a mark of distinction, and which must have cost 2 or 3 talents a year. The donation of the golden crown (στέφανος) was by no means a rare occurrence; the Senate of Five Hundred, if it performed its duties honestly, was presented with a crown every year[422]; nations gave crowns to one another, and private individuals were frequently crowned by the state: how great was the weight of these golden crowns has been already shewn[423]. In ancient times however they were not frequently given; those who after the anarchy brought back the people from Phyle to Athens, only received chaplets of leaves; the value of which at that time was greater than of golden crowns in the age of Demosthenes[424]. The erection of a metal statue (εἰκὼν) to a person who had deserved well of the state, was in early times still more unfrequent; after Solon, Harmodius, and Aristogiton, this honour was first conferred upon Conon, as having liberated his country from the intolerable yoke of the Spartans[425]. But in later times, this reward ceased to confer

[420] See book i. ch. 9, Pollux viii. 144.

[421] Isæus de Hagn. Hered. p. 294; Theophrast. Char. 17.

[422] Dem. c. Androt. cf. Æschin. c. Timarch. p. 130.

[423] Book i. ch. 5.

[424] Æsch. c. Ctesiph. p. 570 sqq. and particularly p. 577.

[425] Demosth. c. Lept. p. 478.

any distinction; Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus received crowns in honour of their services, as well as others, although it was offensive to the people to ascribe their actions to them[426]. But in that age, trifling or even negative services were highly celebrated, and in the time of Demetrius Phalereus this practice was carried to such a pitch, that in one year they erected to him 360 statues, in chariots, on horseback, and on foot[427].

This frivolous expenditure partly owed its origin to the theoricon, by which the demagogues had made the people indolent, and had induced them to flatter their corruptors[428] and partly resulted from the general decline of the state and of morals, and the loss of that simplicity and honesty, which disdaining outward splendour, finds a sufficient reward in the exercise of virtues. Athens, from her republican constitution, which would always have prevented this corruption from attaining its utmost height, only displays a feeble shadow of what in monarchies or despotisms, in which the moral state of the people and the government is at a low ebb, appears on a larger scale. Then are the citizens, both for the state and for themselves, covetous of titles and rank, as may be seen remarkably in the eastern and western Roman empire: titles of every description were created and lavishly distributed; regulations concerning rank, and the splendour of the Oriental courts, were introduced into the West; outward show and pageantry, which render the mind vain and slavish, became the substitutes for intrinsic excellence; and as no claims could be advanced on the ground of personal merit, all consideration was derived from the favour of the ruling power.

On particular occasions, pecuniary rewards were bestowed at Athens. After the return of the people from the Piræus,

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[426] Æsch. c. Ctesiph. p. 635. See the oration περὶ συντάξεως, p. 172.

[427] Diog. Laert. v. 75, and the passages there quoted by Menage.

[428] Comp. Nepos. Miltiad. Of these and of other marks of honour the learned K. E. Köhler has treated at full length in his excellent dissertation, of which the title is *Etwas zur Beantwortung der Frage, gab es bei den Alten Belohnungen des Verdienstes um den Staat, welche den Ritterorden neuerer Zeit ähnlich waren*, third book, in the Dörptische Beiträge for 1814, first and second half; which dissertation I have not been able to make use of, as I did not meet with it till after the completion of this work.

those who at Phyle had undertaken the restoration of the democracy, received 1000 drachmas for sacrifices and sacred offerings, which however did not amount to 10 drachmas apiece[429]. According to Isocrates 10,000 drachmas were given to Pindar for his splendid praise of the Athenians, for which the Thebans had subjected him to a fine; according to others the reward given was the double of the fine which he had been condemned to pay[430]. Lysimachus, the son of Aristides, received in honour of his father, upon the proposal of Alcibiades, 100 minas of silver, 100 plethra of wooded land, and as much unplanted land in the island of Eubœa, and in addition 4 drachmas a day[431], a most absurd expense for an insignificant and worthless individual. With better reason they gave 3000 drachmas to the two daughters of this distinguished man, and to the daughter of Lysimachus the privilege of being maintained in the Prytaneum, like the victors at the Olympic contest; and other donations in money were granted to the successors of Aristides down to the time of Demetrius Phalereus[432]. These examples, to which many others might have been added, prove that the Athenian people were not illiberal in bestowing pensions. Lastly, rewards for the discovery of offenders (*μήνυτρα*) deserve to be mentioned; thus in Andocides[433], two rewards of this kind occur, one of 10,000 and another of 1000 drachmas, which were both actually paid.

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[429] Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 576.

[430] Isocrat. de Antidosi p. 87, ed. Orell. The other account is given by the author of the fourth epistle of Æschines, p. 669. Tzetzes and others state that the fine itself was only 1000 drachmas. See the Fragments of Pindar, p. 74; Heyn. Schneider's Life of Pindar, p. 39, and the Life of Pindar which he has published before the Theriaca of Nicander.

[431] Dem. c. Lept. 95, and Wolf's note.

[432] Plutarch. Aristid. 27, an obscure passage, the interpretation of it however would lead me too far.

[433] De Myst. p. 14. Of the nature of rewards were the prices which were set upon the heads of offenders. Cf. Aristoph. Av. 1072 sqq.

CHAPTER XIX.

Arms, Ships, and Cavalry, provided by the State.

ALTHOUGH the most opulent citizens equipped themselves at their own expense, there is no doubt that the Athenian state was under the necessity of providing a store of arms, as well in time of war as during peace, that in case of need it might be possible to arm not only such citizens as from poverty could not provide for themselves, but the resident aliens, and even the slaves. That such was the practice is rendered highly probable, by the circumstance that large sums were expended upon naval preparations in time of peace. In the Piræus was the marine storehouse, which contained sails, ropes, leather-bags for provisions, oars, and other articles for the equipment of vessels; and the building of ships of war was carried on unceasingly both in peace and war. Themistocles passed a law that twenty new triremes should be built every year: Diodorus[434] indeed relates this event under Olymp. 75, 4 (B. C. 477), but it is probable that he, like many other historians, has on this occasion put together institutions of different periods, in order to introduce the circumstances which in the narration immediately follow; and that Themistocles had in fact carried the law at a much earlier period, viz. when he obtained the decree which directed the money derived from the mines to be applied to the building of ships for the Æginetan war[435]. We are not informed whether subsequently the same number of ships was built every year; but we cannot well suppose that they provided a less number; for the triremes would be falling into decay, and there were generally three or four hundred in existence. The Senate of Five Hundred had to superintend the building of the triremes[436]; if this was not done, the customary crown was denied them; the personal superintendence was delegated to commissioners called

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[434] Diod. xi. 43.

[435] See my dissertation upon the silver-mines of Laurion.

[436] Demosth. c. Androt. p. 598, 20, sqq. where there is also the account of the paymaster who ran away. The following story of Demetrius is given by Diod. xx. 46; Plutarch. Demetr. 10.

the builders of the triremes. In the time of Demosthenes the building was stopped for a year, the treasurer of the trireme-builders having eloped with $2\frac{1}{2}$ talents: from the smallness of this sum it would be natural to conclude that not many triremes were building at the time; but as it is probable that the timber and other necessaries had been previously laid up in store, the stolen money may have been applicable only to the payment of the labourers: even this sum too may have been destined only to some particular portion of the labour: and therefore it would not be safe to infer from this fact that less than twenty triremes were built every year. After the time of Alexander the building nearly ceased, as the supply of timber from Macedonia then failed. Demetrius Poliorcetes in Olymp. 118, 2 (B.C. 307), promised the Athenians timber for 100 triremes, a proof that there was a scarcity of it at Athens.

Another part of the military force for which Athens incurred some expense in time of peace, was the cavalry. This was maintained partly on account of the sumptuous appearance which from the beauty of the riders and horses and the magnificence of their trappings it produced at processions; and partly because the Athenians were well aware that if both men and horses had not gone through previous training, they were unserviceable in war. The particular superintendence of this body belonged to the Senate of Five Hundred, who also examined the horses and riders[437]; the rich were bound by law to serve in it. The pay of the cavalry in time of peace was called catastasis[438], by which name the examination of the horsemen made by the senate is also stated to have been called; probably because the distribution of the pay and the examinations were connected with one another; it was however a regular pay, and not an extraordinary donative, as Reiske supposed. In the speech of Lysias for Mantitheus it is mentioned, that the horsemen who had served during the anarchy, were compelled

[437] Xenoph. de Re Equestri, 1, 8; Œcon. 9, 15, and in the Hipparchus. Also Lycurgus ap. Harpocrat. in v. δοκιμασθεὶς.

[438] Lys. pro Mantith. p. 574; Harpoc. Suid. Phot. in v. κατάστασις, Lex. Seg. p. 270. Reiske's error in his note upon Lysias had been already corrected by Larcher Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. xlviii. p. 92.

after the restoration of the democracy to refund the money which they had received during that time: hence the grammarians by a false generalization of a particular case have inferred, that if the state dismissed the cavalry and appointed others, it required them to refund their pay to the phylarchs[439]. But the state would probably have preferred giving none at all. The truth is, that this measure was effected by a special decree, and only on that single occasion, as the knights had been the chief attendants of the thirty tyrants, and had incurred the public hatred to such a degree, that to have been a knight under the thirty tyrants was reckoned a disgrace. The expense of the cavalry in time of peace amounted, according to Xenophon[440], to 40 talents; which agrees with the Choiseul Inscription, in which it is stated that there were paid out of the public treasure in four prytaneias, 16 talents 2148 drachmas 3½ oboli, viz. in the first 3 talents 3328 drachmas 3½ oboli, in the third 5 talents 4820 drachmas, in the fourth 3 talents, in the seventh 4 talents; the rest of the pay appears to have been defrayed out of the current revenue. The object of these payments was to supply the provender of the horses; Ulpian expressly says that pay was given for the keep of the horses[441], and in the above-mentioned inscription this money is accounted for under the name of provender for the horses (*σῖτος ἵπποις*). The amount which each person received out of this grant has been differently determined by modern writers, according as they assumed 1000 or 1200 as the number of knights at Athens[442]. In the latter case it has been calculated that they received 16 drachmas a month or about 3 oboli a day, in the former, 20 drachmas a month or about 4 oboli a day. Both estimates appear to be too low; for even the sailors who were paid in time of peace received 4 oboli a day, while the knights were not only obliged to keep a servant, but also two horses. The provision of a horseman in war cost the Athenians a drachma a day[443].

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[439] Properly it was collected by the demarchs; vid. ad Inscript. 80, ed. Boeckh.

[440] Hipparch. i. 19.

[441] Ad Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 460.

[442] Petit Leg. Att. viii. 1, 2; Barthél. Anachars. T. II. p. 184; Larcher ut sup. p. 92. See Inscript. No. 147.

[443] See book ii. c. 22.

Doubtless the same sum was allowed in peace, and the only difference was, that in war they received provision-money in addition to their pay. This view is confirmed by the fact that the catastasis (which was in truth nothing more than the knights' allowance for provision in time of peace, and which they were forced after the anarchy to refund) amounted to a drachma. I state this solely upon the authority of an inscription, with respect to which however I entertain no doubt that it refers to and establishes this fact. It thus appears to me probable, that the whole cavalry did not receive pay in time of peace, but only about 600; and for a time Athens had not more than this number. Now the pay of these, reckoning the year at 360 days, as Xenophon does in another place, would exactly amount to 36 talents for that time. Xenophon too only says that the state paid annually to the cavalry nearly 40 talents; nor can the payments made out of the public treasure, according to the above-quoted inscription (which are moreover unequal in different prytaneias) be adduced against my hypothesis, for they were contributions which might in part have been paid for arrears of preceding prytaneias. Lastly, Barthélemy[444] asserts that the knights frequently kept their own horses, an error into which he is led by referring to the public cavalry a passage which relates only to those citizens, who expended money upon horses either from fondness of the animal, or in order to contend for the prize at the public games.

CHAPTER XX.

Approximate Estimate of the Ordinary Expenditure. Of the Extraordinary Expenses in general.

THESE expenses when taken together, if the lowest estimate be made of each item, did not amount annually to less than 400 talents; to these however, if great works of building, extraordinary distributions of money, and large sums for festivals were added, the state might have easily consumed 1000 talents in a

[444] Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xlviii. p. 351, referring to Lycurg. in Leocrat.

year, even without carrying on war, the expenses of which are unlimited. 400 talents, which are equal to about 97,500*l.*, were in ancient times at least worth three times as much as at the present day, if the value of the precious metals is compared with that of the common necessaries of life; with this view then we may consider that the former sum is equal to triple its amount, or in the currency of modern times to about 290,000*l.*; which is in fair proportion to a population of 500,000 souls, or indeed if we consider the high rate of interest, low in comparison with the incomes of the inhabitants.

If, however, in consequence of war or some particular extravagance, the amount was increased (an event which was unquestionably of no unfrequent occurrence) to 1000 talents or more, and as the citizens were at such a period (as indeed at all others) forced to serve the liturgies required by law, the expense was evidently incommensurate with the means of the state, and could not be well defrayed without oppressing the more wealthy classes by property-taxes, and without the help of tributary allies. Now war, it is certain, produced unusually large and inevitable expenses. At the present day indeed the equipment of armies costs the state immense sums of money; an expense from which the Greeks were very nearly exempt; for every citizen carried with him clothes and arms into the field, which indeed may be considered as a tax levied in another form; the mercenaries also came completely armed; sometimes perhaps it happened that poor citizens, foreign settlers, or slaves, were sent into the field, and assistance on the part of the state was necessary; a point however on which we have no accurate information. Another considerable expense in modern warfare is caused by artillery and ammunition; but as in ancient days the heavier engines of war were on account of their cumbrousness seldom brought into the field, they in general only had to provide them upon the occasion of a siege or of the defence of fortified places: the expense for light darts or javelins was inconsiderable. The equipment of fleets, which was necessary for maritime warfare, created a separate branch of expenditure; for which it was altogether impossible that such effectual provision could have been made during peace as to leave nothing to

be provided at the breaking out of war. Lastly, the infantry and cavalry, together with the persons attending upon them, and the crews of the different ships, were to be supplied with pay and provisions: and if the total expense of providing for these services should appear to be less than would be necessary in the times in which we live, it must be remembered that though the Greeks maintained no standing army, and the funds for the pay and provision of their troops were required only for a short time, yet on the other hand the soldiers were not only better paid, but also that during the most flourishing periods of Athens war was almost incessant.

In order to enable the reader to take a general survey of these subjects, I will treat of them separately, after having in the first instance acquired some general knowledge of the magnitude of the military force of Athens.

CHAPTER XXI.

Military Force of Athens.

ALTHOUGH the numbers of which the armies consisted were in ancient Greece very different, according to circumstances and the necessities of the occasion, and although to state any one precise number of men is less possible than in the case of European nations, yet it can be safely asserted that no modern state, even up to the latest times in which the greatest armies have been sent into the field, maintained so large a regular force in proportion to its population, as was supported by Athens. And it is equally true that her military force was not only on a par with that of all the other states of Greece, but with the exception of Sparta, it was superior to them. What Demosthenes[445] says of Athens at the period at which he is speaking, that of all the Grecian states it had the most numerous naval force, heavy-armed infantry and cavalry, and the greatest quantity of money, must have held good in a higher degree when the strength of Athens had not been broken, except that Sparta

[445] Philipp. i. p. 51, 20.

could send into the field a more numerous land force. Upon the irruptions into Attica at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the Peloponnesian and Bœotian forces, which were then assembled there, amounted in heavy-armed soldiers alone to 60,000 men[446], and consequently the whole army was more than double this number. We meet indeed with far more numerous armies in the Grecian states of Sicily and Italy. According to Diodorus, 300,000 Sybarites contended with 100,000 inhabitants of Crotona; Philistus stated the military force of Dionysius at 100,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 400 ships of war, which required an equipment of 80,000 men. The first of these accounts is an evident exaggeration; but whether the latter is possible, I leave to others to decide. Hume[447] has already exposed the exaggerations in numbers committed by the ancients, and on the whole, not without success, though he may have erred in particular points.

It is not enough to know that Athens had about 20,000 citizens who were bound to serve in war: were we to estimate its military strength merely from this datum, we should form a very incorrect judgment. The safest way to arrive at a satisfactory result is, without pretending to a complete enumeration, to collect the principal accounts of the land and sea forces at the different periods.

First, it is needless to speak of the Trojan war, at which the Athenians appeared with 50, or according to another report, with 60 ships[448]: a somewhat more certain account may, however, be given of the times of Solon. Before the constitution of Cleisthenes, Athens had 12 phratrias, and in each of them 4 naucrarias or naucarias, which, as public corporations, were originally the same that the demi were afterwards; they must indeed have been in existence before the time of Solon, as the presidents of the naucrari (*πρυτάνεις τῶν ναυκράρων*) are mentioned before the period of his legislation[449], and probably all

[446] Plutarch. Pericl. 33.

[447] Essay upon the Populousness of Ancient Nations, vol. ii. p. 230, Lond. 1760.

[448] Il. B. 566, Eurip. Iphig. Aul. 247. See Græc. Tragœd. Princip. p. 238.

[449] Herod. v. 71. Instead of these Thucydides (1. 126) mentions the nine archons, who probably were at the head of the prytaneias.

that Aristotle[450] means when he ascribes their institution to Solon is, that the existence of their office was confirmed by that lawgiver. Now each naucraria furnished 2 horsemen, amounting altogether to 96, and 1 vessel, making therefore in all 48, and the whole military system, in respect to defraying the expenses, was doubtless regulated according to naucrarias[451]. When Cleisthenes afterwards introduced the demi, the naucrarias were still retained, probably for financial and military purposes; but he so far altered their constitution, that he created 50 naucrarias, 5 in each tribe[452], and consequently they now furnished 100 horsemen and 50 ships. This is perfectly consonant with the fact mentioned by Herodotus[453], that the Athenians in the war against the Æginetans, anterior to the Persian war, could only send out 50 ships of their own, and received 20 ships from the Corinthians in order to increase their force; and we may observe that in this case triremes and not smaller vessels are meant, as is proved by their connexion with the Corinthian ships, the Corinthians being the first who had triremes.

Miltiades after the battle of Marathon undertook the expedition against Paros with 70 ships[454]. But it was precisely at this time that Themistocles increased the naval force, and brought it to the height at which we find it in the Persian war, after the battles of Artemisium and Salamis. In the former action 271 triremes were engaged, among which there were 127 belonging to Athens, which were in part manned with Platæans, they having no ships of their own: besides these, the Athenians gave 20 to the Chalcideans[455]. To these were added 53 other Athenian vessels, so that Athens numbered 200 vessels among those engaged at Salamis, although the whole Grecian fleet present at that battle only amounted to 378 triremes[456]. Demos-

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[450] Ap. Phot. in v. *ναυκραρία*.

[451] Pollux viii. 108, from which passage Zeune ad Xenoph. Hipparch. 9, 3, has drawn some erroneous conclusions; Hesych. in v. *ναύκλαρος*; Phot. ut sup.; Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 37; Ammon. in v. *ναύκληροι*; Harpocrat. and Suidas in v. *ναυκραρία*.

[452] Cleidemus ap. Phot. ut sup.

[453] vi. 89.

[454] Herod. vi. 132.

[455] Herod. viii. 1. Herodotus in this and in nearly every place where he speaks of ships of war, means triremes, as is shown by their being opposed to penteconters. Comp. also viii. 42—48.

[456] Herod. viii. 14, 42—48. If,

thenes in the oration for the crown[457] agrees exactly with these statements of Herodotus, as far as the Athenians are concerned; for out of 300 Grecian he reckons 200 Athenian triremes: how it came to pass that in the speech upon the Symmoriæ[458] only 100 Athenian vessels are mentioned among 300 Grecian, I am unable to explain: this circumstance might indeed lead one to suspect that this oration is spurious, if there was not such strong internal evidence in favour of its authenticity. We may observe further, that the manning of 180 triremes required 36,000 men, of whom only a few were Platæans; but as the Athenians had at that time wholly deserted their country, it would not have been difficult to man that number of triremes solely with citizens, and aliens, taking both young and old, even without slaves; land-forces, as such, were for the moment not in existence. And how numerous these were, we learn from the battles of Marathon and Platææ. In the first of these 10,000 Athenians were engaged, including of course none but hoplitæ; we cannot suppose that in those times there were any slaves among the regular forces; and although Pausanias[459] asserts that slaves fought for the first time in the former battle, it may be inferred from his words that they were in the ranks of the Platæans; so that as far as Athens is concerned, his testimony does not apply. Athens could not then have raised a larger number of troops, otherwise it would have done so at a time of the greatest necessity: for probably only the three superior classes were hoplitæ, and the thetes were light-armed: subsequently the thetes were employed as hoplitæ, although this is pointed out as an uncommon event in the times of the Peloponnesian war[460]. The Athenians had not any bowmen or

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however, all the separate numbers are added together, the sum is only 366; something therefore must have been lost in the text, as others have already remarked. Concerning the 200 triremes, or 180 without the Chalcidean, compare also Herod. vii. 144, viii. 61, Plutarch. Themistocl. II. 14. The more vague passages of Isocrates (Paneg. p. 79, 82, ed. Hall.) I pass over. [See Thuc. i. 74. TRANSL.]

[457] P. 306, 21.

[458] P. 186, 5.

[459] i. 32, 3. They appear to have been runaway Bœotian slaves, who lived at Platææ. [See also x. 20, 2. TRANSL.]

[460] Harpocrat. in v. θῆτες. Thucyd. vi. 43.

cavalry in this battle[461]; even the small number of horsemen which should have been there according to the former regulations, were not in a condition to appear, and the whole order of knights was at that time no more than a name. Attica, from the nature of the country, was little suited for cavalry[462]; and as this species of military is powerful among undisciplined masses of infantry, the aristocracy or oligarchy in ancient days was generally composed of horsemen, a form of government which the Athenians of all the Grecian States were most averse to. Bœotia, Phocis, Locris[463], and Thessaly, were the chief countries in which the cavalry was numerous: even the Pisistratidæ had 1000 Thessalian horsemen, which a Thessalian prince had sent to support them against the Spartans[464]; and according to an ancient alliance, the Thessalian cavalry came to the assistance of the Athenians before and during the Peloponnesian war[465]. At Platææ the heavy-armed infantry of the Greeks amounted to 38,700 men, together with 69,500 light-armed troops, besides 1800 light-armed Thespians: among them there were 5000 Spartans, with 35,000 light-armed Helots and 5000 Lacedæmonian hoplitæ, with 5000 light-armed troops; the Athenians had only 8000 hoplitæ, together with the same number of light-armed troops, for Herodotus expressly reckons upon an average one light-armed man to each hoplite, with the exception only of the Spartans, of whom each one had 7 with him[466]. The allied Grecian army appears not to have had any cavalry, as the equestrian nations were on the side of the Persians; but the Athenians at this battle had bowmen for the first time on land[467], who were doubtless citizens belonging to the light-armed troops, and of the class of thetes; by sea more than 700 bowmen had already been employed at the battle of Sala-

[461] Herod. vi. 112.

[462] Herod. ix. 13.

[463] Thuc. ii. 9.

[464] Herod. v. 63.

[465] Thuc. i. 102, 107, ii. 22.

[466] Herod. ix. 28 sqq. cf. 61. In the number of the light-armed troops Herodotus reckons 800 more than results from his own data: this difficulty cannot be solved. I pass over the accounts of Diodorus and Pausanias, which cannot have much weight. Plutarch (Aristid. 11) agrees in the number of the Athenian hoplitæ.

[467] Herod. ix. 60, cf. 22. Concerning the bowmen in the battle of Salamis see Plutarch. Themistocl. 14.

mis. The Athenians would without doubt have had more troops for the battle of Platææ, if they had not at the same time been compelled to furnish crews for the fleet which was engaged at Mycale, and consisted, according to Herodotus, of 110, according to Diodorus, of 250 triremes, under the command of Leotychides, and on the side of the Athenians, Xanthippus[468].

In the next age the Athenian force remained nearly the same: Cimon commanded 200 Athenian and 100 allied triremes, according to one account; but according to the more credible statement of Thucydides, both taken together amounted to 200 triremes: by land they were not stronger than before. In the battle of Tanagra (Olymp. 80, 3, B.C. 458), the whole Athenian land forces were present, excepting what were at that time in Egypt; 1000 Argives were on their side, together with other allies, and yet altogether they made up only 14,000 men[469], that is, exclusively of the light-armed troops, which were usually not taken into the account. At the same time there was a fleet of 50 ships cruising against the Spartans at sea, which likewise required 10,000 men.

The Athenians endeavoured at all times to improve and to increase both the land and sea forces. It is stated by Andocides, and also Æschines in a most obscure passage[470] (from which, however, after the errors have been corrrected, some truth may be extracted), that in thirteen years preceding the Æginetan war (from the 77th to the 80th Olympiad, B.C. 472—60), 100 new ships were added to the 200 which before existed; besides which they had formed a regiment of 300 horsemen, and had purchased the first Scythian bowmen, to the number of 300. During the armistice, which was shortly afterwards concluded with Sparta, in Olymp. 83, 3 (B.C. 436), and which was observed up to the time of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians again made great exertions in the building of ships, so that in Olymp. 87, 2 (B.C. 431), they were enabled to decree that 100 new triremes should be reserved for particular purposes[471]; the cavalry was also raised to 1200, and the same

[468] Herod. viii. 131, Diod. xi. 34.

[469] Thuc. i. 107; Diod. xi. 80.

[470] Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 334—337, taken from the beginning of Andocides de Pace.

[471] See below, chap. 23. It was this that floated in the mind of the orator.

number of bowmen appointed[472] Also after the peace of Nicias (Olymp. 89, 3, B.C. 422), Æschines states that they procured 300, or, according to Andocides, 400 triremes. The estimate of Pericles at the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war agrees sufficiently well with the principal statements which have been here quoted[473]. According to his account, Athens had not at that time more than 13,000 heavy-armed men fit for active service; besides these, 16,000 of the oldest and youngest of the citizens, and as many of the resident aliens as were heavy-armed, were appointed to defend the fortifications of the city; to which must be added 1200 cavalry, including the mounted bowmen, 1600 bowmen who served on foot, and 300 triremes ready to put to sea; and, according to Xenophon[474], there were in harbour and on service altogether 400. Isocrates, with the amplification of an orator, gives the numbers at double the amount stated by all the other writers.

If we reckon that 300 triremes were manned with 60,000 men, the sum total of the crews does not amount to less than 91,800 men,—a number incredibly great for a population of 500,000 souls, nearly four-fifths of which were slaves. It might indeed be said that Athens was not able to man 300 triremes, if all the hoplitæ were deducted; but even if about 10,000 hoplitæ are reckoned as included in the ships' companies, the number which remains is still very considerable. This fact may however be accounted for by the following considerations.

The number of hoplitæ is larger than we find in the accounts of earlier times, as persons of greater or less age were included, who only served on garrison duty and not in the field; and it was farther increased by the addition of some resident aliens. All indeed were regularly armed; but the whole together was not

[472] See above, chap. 11.

[473] Thuc. ii. 13. The inaccurate Diodorus (xii. 40.) disagrees in some points, and is not so explicit as Thucydides.

[474] Cyr. Exped. vii. 1, 27. Isocrat. Panegyr. p. 85. With regard to the number 300 compare Aristoph. Acharn. 544. The places for the ships in the Piræus were calculated for 400, as Strabo mentions in the ninth book, adding at the same time that the Athenians had sent out that number. Whether the 400 trierarchs who were formerly appointed every year refer to this circumstance may be questioned. See book iv. ch. 12.

essentially unlike the rising in mass of a population on the alarm of invasion: and it comprised every individual capable of bearing arms, from eighteen to sixty years of age. The resident aliens were originally, when armed as hoplitæ, only used as garrison soldiers; in later times they also served in campaigns, to which even aliens not domiciliated were occasionally summoned[475], but they were prohibited from serving in the cavalry[476]; nor could there have been many among the hoplitæ; for several Athenian demi supplied a large number of these. Acharnæ (by which we are not to understand the little village of the charcoal-burners, as is generally supposed, but a more considerable town which was celebrated for the heroism of its sturdy inhabitants)[477] alone supplied 3000[478]; consequently a greater number of aliens could be spared for the fleet; for this class of persons was probably more numerous in Attica at the time of Pericles than in that of Demetrius Phalereus; and it is well known that they chiefly served in the fleet[479]. In addition to these, the state also took into its service the *out-dwellers* (*οἱ χωρὶς οἰκοῦντες*) as they were called, by whom we must either understand with the grammarians, freedmen, or else persons, who, though still slaves, lived apart from their masters, and supported themselves by their own labour[480]. If it is borne in mind that the Spartans brought their Helots with them into the field, that the Thessalian mounted penestæ were bondsmen, that a considerable number of slaves was always employed in war as attendants on their masters, who were sometimes even manumitted[481], that slaves are said to have fought as early as at the battle of Marathon, and afterwards at

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[475] Thuc. iv. 90.

[476] Xenoph. de Vectig. 2, 2, 5; cf. Hipparch. 9, 6. That the resident aliens frequently went into the field is also observed by Ammonius in v. *ἰσοτελὴς*, and I have remarked various passages in different authors to the same purpose.

[477] Pindar Nem. ii. 16.

[478] Thuc. ii. 20.

[479] Thuc. i. 143, iii. 16; Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. i. 12; Demosth. Philipp. i. p. 50, 22, and others.

[480] Demosth. ut sup. and Hier. Wolf's note, but more particularly Harpocrat. Suid. and Photius in v. *τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας*, Lex. Seg. p. 316. The author of the speech against Euergus and Mnesibulus, p. 1161, 15, says of a freedman, *χωρὶς ᾤκει*.

[481] See book i. ch. 13.

Chæronea when the Athenians granted them their liberty[482], it cannot excite any surprise that a large proportion of the rowers were slaves. It is remarked as an unusual circumstance, that the seamen of the Paralos were all freemen[483]. At the successful sea-fight of Arginusæ there were many slaves in the Athenian fleet[484]; and it equally redounds to the honour of both parties, on the one hand that victory was chiefly owing to the slaves, and on the other that the Athenians immediately emancipated them, and made them Platæan citizens[485]. This must have taken place at an earlier period of the Peloponnesian war; for according to Hellanicus, who could not have been alive at the time of this action, slaves that had been engaged in sea-fights were made Platæans[486]. A large number of slaves was considered not as useful only, but as necessary to a state which possessed a naval force[487]. The Athenians also employed many foreign seamen who served for hire, and who remained as long as they pleased, so that if the enemy offered better pay they immediately changed sides. Thus the Athenians were able to man far more ships than appears to have been possible if we merely judge from the numbers of the free population. It was only on some pressing emergency that citizens were employed as rowers; except indeed in the sacred triremes, in which the rowers were generally thetes; knights were however so employed on rare occasions, and at times even pentacosiomedimni. Lastly, they sometimes pressed sailors in the countries of the

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[482] Dio Chrysost. xv.

[483] Thuc. viii. 73.

[484] Xenoph. Hell. i. 6, 17.

[485] Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 33, cf. 193. A clearer reference to it is made by Aristophanes himself, ibid. 706. This play was produced in the year (Olymp. 93, 3, B.C. 406) in which the battle was fought, but later in the year, in the month Gamelion. Concerning the fact comp. also Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 6. Diodorus expresses himself inaccurately xiii. 97.

[486] Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 706. *τοὺς συνναυμαχήσαντας δούλους Ἑλλάνικός φησιν ἐλευθερωθῆναι καὶ ἐγγραφέντας ὡς Πλαταιεῖς συμπολιτεύεσθαι.* Sturz (Fragment. Hellan. p. 119) has wholly misunderstood this passage, as he was not aware that Platæans were a kind of Athenian citizens. The Platæan rights of citizenship were first introduced at Athens in Olymp. 88. 1 (B.C. 427), consequently this occurrence cannot be placed earlier, nor can it by any means be referred with Sturz to the battle of Salamis.

[487] Xenoph. de Vectig. 4, 42; de Rep. Athen. i. 11.

allies, and made compulsory levies of troops, as for instance before the battle of Arginusæ, and for the Sicilian expedition[488]; and this even in the subject states, although they had long redeemed their obligation to serve in war[489]. Upon the whole, then, it would be assuming too much, if we reckoned, according to the usual computation, a servant for each hoplite over and above the ship's company; there can be no doubt that we must consider those who served at sea in the capacity of rowers, as analogous to the servants who attended the heavy-armed soldiers by land.

The cavalry was composed of the order of knights, but as a military force it at first increased slowly; the numbers of 100 and 300 I have already quoted: afterwards, according to the Scholiast on Aristophanes and Suidas[490], the number amounted to 600, and last of all there were 1200 knights at Athens, according to the statements of Thucydides and Æschines. The ratio of the cavalry to the infantry was among the Greeks as 1 to 10, and 1200 horsemen are consequently nearly in this ratio to 13,000 hoplitæ; but were all the 1200 composed of Athenians, and of the order of knights? That this order might have contained 1200 persons no one will deny; and even if it contained fewer, there might have been that number of horsemen, for probably there were many pentacosiomedimni among them. But Aristophanes reckons only 1000 knights[491], and this too in the comedy called by their name, which was produced in Olymp. 88, 4 (B.C. 424); the same number was given by Philochorus in the fourth book of the Atthis[492], who did not however omit to mention that their number occasionally varied; Demosthenes states the very same number[493]; and Xenophon proposes, in order to bring the cavalry more rapidly and easily

[488] Xenoph. Hell. i. 6, 18; Thuc. vi. 43.

[489] Thuc. i. 99; Plutarch. Cim. 11. This had been brought about by the management of Cimon himself.

[490] Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 624, and thence Suidas in v. ἱππεῖς. Diod. xiii. 72, cannot be referred to this with safety, as there may be auxiliary troops among his 1200 Athenian cavalry, for instance Thessalians. The passage of Harpocration quoted by Zeune ad Xenoph. Hipparch. 9, 3, has nothing to do with this point.

[491] Eq. 225.

[492] Ap. Hesych. in v. ἱππῆς.

[493] De Symmor. p. 181, 17.

to 1000 men, which he evidently considers as the usual number, that 200 foreign horse soldiers should be maintained[494]. Larcher[495] very properly rejects the supposition of Petit[496], that the ancient writers had made use of 1000 as a round number, upon the ground that 1200 would have equally suited their purpose; and he supposes that the origin of the difference in the statements was, that from the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, until the date of the Knights of Aristophanes, they had been diminished about 200; which supposition appears to be untenable. My opinion coincides rather with Schneider's[497], that in the 1200 the mounted bowmen are included, as Thucydides expressly states; it is possible that besides these bowmen there were 1000, viz., 100 from each tribe, who were Athenians, and armed in the Greek mannner; while the 200 mounted bowmen were doubtless Scythians, like those who served in the infantry, and with reference to the cavalry must be regarded as light-armed. In this capacity they rode in front, even before the hipparch[498]; and in an oration attributed to Lysias, it is considered degrading to an Athenian to serve in the cavalry among the bowmen[499]. It is no objection to the above hypothesis, that Xenophon not only makes no mention of the existence of the foreign cavalry at Athens, but himself first proposes that such a body should be formed; for these bowmen, being light-armed soldiers, did not come into consideration when he was treating of the maintenance or improvement of the cavalry, which was composed of citizens.

Thucydides mentions 1600 bowmen who served on foot, the orators only 1200; this difference also may probably be accounted for by the fact that the mercenary Scythian bowmen were at most 1200[500], but that the others were either citizens of the poorer classes, or resident aliens, who were light-armed, and

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[494] Hipparch. ut sup.

[495] In his otherwise superficial Memoir on the Class of Knights in Greece, Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. xlviii. p. 92.

[496] Leg. Att. viii. 1, 2.

[497] Ad Xenoph. Hipparch, ut sup.

[498] Xenoph. Socrat. Mem. iii. 3, 1.

[499] Lys. c. Alcib. Λειποταξ, ii. p. 565. This passage is decisive, although the speech is probably not the work of Lysias, but of some other contemporary.

[500] See book ii. ch. 11.

chiefly trained in shooting. Bowmen were present in the battles of Salamis and Platææ, before any Scythians had been procured; and it may be distinctly seen from an inscription still extant, that a difference was made between foreign bowmen and those who were citizens (ξενικοὶ and ἀστικοί)[1]: finally, the bowmen, who occur in two Athenian military lists[501], appear to have been citizens, especially as in one immediately after the bowmen a new division begins with the superscription "foreigners" (ξένοι). The Athenians also had sometimes Cretan bowmen in pay, as Thucydides and Pausanias mention.

The accounts of the military force which was in action during the Peloponnesian war appear to coincide with the numbers here ascertained; and of this I will now adduce some examples. At the very beginning of the war, Pericles sent 100 ships to the Peloponnese, to which 50 Corcyræan and other allied ships were added; at the same time 30 vessels were sent to Locris, and some must without doubt have been reserved for the defence of Attica itself[502]. So again, in the second year of the war, while the enemy's troops were in the country, Pericles went to Epidaurus with 100 Athenian and 50 Lesbian and Chian triremes, having on board 4000 hoplitæ and 300 horsemen. In the fourth year of the same war, the Lesbians having revolted, 40 triremes were sent against them; at the same time 30 were sent to the Peloponnese, and 100 others were equipped in order to protect Attica from invasion; these were manned with Athenians, who were however neither knights nor pentecosiomedimni, and with resident aliens[503]. At the end of the summer 1000 hoplitæ were sent to Lesbos, who themselves rowed the ships thither[504]. Thucydides remarks, that at that time the number of ships in use was very large, but that it was still greater at the beginning of the war, when Attica, Salamis,

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[1] Corp. Inscript. No. 80.

[501] Corp. Inscript. Nos. 165 and 171. [In his remarks on the latter inscription, vol. i. p. 305—6, the author retracts the opinion expressed in the text, that the bowmen mentioned in these two inscriptions were Athenian citizens, and states his reasons for considering them to be foreigners.—TRANSL.] The passage of Pausanias i. 29, 5, refers to the Cretan bowmen.

[502] Thuc. ii. 24—26.

[503] Thuc. ii. 56, iii. 3, 7, 16.

[504] Thuc. iii. 18.

and Eubœa, were guarded by 100 ships, 100 had been despatched to the Peloponnese, and 50 more to Potidæa and to other places, amounting altogether to 250; besides these there were 4600 hoplitæ before the walls of Potidæa (only 1600 however for some time), and an equal number of attendants[505]. Thus we find in this instance, in addition to the land forces that remained in Attica, a body of 60,000 men in service. In the expedition to Sicily the numbers were not inferior[506]. Although the war was continued in Greece, the Athenians decreed that 60 ships should be sent to Sicily, under the command of Nicias and Alcibiades; but Nicias, rightly estimating the magnitude of the enterprise, saw that it would be necessary to have land troops in addition to a powerful naval armament, and counselled them to send a large number of hoplitæ, bowmen, and slingers, both of their own and of the allies, together with provision ships and apparatus for baking. He disapproved however of the war altogether; but in consequence of his advice the people sent 60 swift-sailing triremes with 40 military transports, to which were also added 34 allied triremes and the provision ships: the hoplitæ were 5100 in number, of whom 700 were thetes created for the occasion, and 1500 Athenians from the list of citizens; the others were mostly subject allies and a few mercenaries; also 480 bowmen, of whom 80 were Cretans, 700 Rhodian slingers, 120 light-armed Megarian exiles, and 30 horsemen. If we reckon the crews of 134 triremes, each at 200 men, and the attendants of the hoplitæ and cavalry, we find that they amounted to 38,560 men: 250 dismounted horse soldiers followed at a later period, who were to have been mounted in Sicily, and also 30 mounted bowmen[507]. And yet they were able at the same time to send 30 ships to the Peloponnese[508], and other small fleets were dispersed about in various places. Nor was this all; for 10 ships were sent as a reinforcement under Eurymedon to Sicily, and 20 for the blockade of the Peloponnese; where soon afterwards 30 more

[505] Thuc. iii. 17.
[506] Thuc. vi. 8, 21, 22, 31 sqq. 43.
[507] Thuc. vi. 94; cf. Plutarch. Alcib. 20.
[508] Thuc. vi. 105.

were sent under the joint command of Charicles and Demosthenes, with 60 Athenian and 5 Chian vessels, together with 1200 hoplitæ from the list of the citizens, and others from the islands; the Thracian peltasts, who arrived too late, were sent home again on account of the scarcity of pay; fresh troops however were received in different places; other ships were also provided, but some of them were again dismissed. When Demosthenes and Eurymedon arrived in Sicily they had 73 triremes, 5000 hoplitæ, together with a number of Grecian and Barbarian javelineers, slingers, and bowmen[509]. Now if we add together the whole number of men of all descriptions who went, after the departure of the first fleet, to Sicily, viz., cavalry, hoplitæ, light-armed soldiers, and ships' crews, together with the servants of the cavalry and hoplitæ, it gives about 26,000 men; so that the whole military force which was sent to Sicily amounted to about 64,000 men. In this, moreover, the Sicilian auxiliaries are not included, but only the Grecian and Italian. But in the decisive sea-fight at Syracuse only 110 ships were engaged, and some of these were in very bad condition[510]; 40,000 men survived the battle, as Thucydides informs us[511]; of whom many were destroyed by land, 18,000 were put to death, 7000 made prisoners in a body; of the rest some were kept as slaves by the soldiers, and others sold[512]. Diodorus therefore makes Nicolaus underrate the number, when he states the Athenian forces in Sicily at more than 200 ships, and above 40,000 men[513]; he might have said above 60,000 men.

This loss was the greatest that the Athenians had ever experienced; although nearly equal reverses had been sustained in earlier times. "In Egypt," says Isocrates[514], whose account

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[509] Thuc. vii. 16, 17, 20, 27, 42. Diodorus is less precise in his statements than Thucydides; but he agrees with him in the main. See xii. 84, xiii. 2, 7, 8, 9, 11.

[510] Thuc. vii. 60.

[511] Thuc. vii. 75.

[512] Diod. xiii. 20.

[513] Diod. xiii. 21. Manso misrepresents Diodorus, and then censures him for exaggerating: see his Sparta, vol. ii. p. 455.

[514] Συμμαχ, 29. To what the loss of 10,000 hoplitæ in the Pontus refers I am wholly ignorant; but hardly to the auxiliary troops of Cyrus, which had nothing to do with the Athenians. Ælian V. H. v. 11, transcribes this passage of Isocrates, but purposely omits these 10,000 soldiers. The manner in

of the defeats of Athens, although inaccurate, is very remarkable: "200 triremes were lost, with all their crew, 150 off Cyprus; and in the Pontus 10,000 hoplitæ of the Athenians and the allies; in Sicily 40,000 men, and 240 triremes; and afterwards in the Hellespont 200 more: but as to the triremes which had been lost by tens and fives, and the men who had been destroyed by thousands and two thousands, who could enumerate them?" In consequence of these calamities, the phratrias and the register of the Lexiarchs were filled with aliens, in order to replenish the number of the citizens; and the races of the most celebrated men and the noblest families, which had hitherto preserved an unbroken descent through internal troubles and disturbances, and through the vicissitudes of the Persian war, were at length sacrificed to their struggles for dominion, and became extinct. Perhaps no country ever adopted so many strangers as Athens: hence that mixture of languages soon arose, which Xenophon complains of in his Essay upon the Athenian state; but whatever may have been the inconveniences resulting from this practice, no other means would have sufficed, after such great and repeated losses, to keep up the numbers of the citizens: with regard indeed to the defeat in Sicily, many strangers were involved in it; the greater part of the citizens were at home: for as at that precise period, after Alcibiades had been recalled from Sicily, the Spartans occupied Decelea, and kept it constantly garrisoned, it was impossible to leave the city in a defenceless state. The fact of there having been only 5000 hoplitæ admitted into a share of the government which was introduced in Olymp. 92, 1 (B.C. 412), immediately after the Sicilian expedition[515], may indeed in part have been occasioned by the misfortunes of war, but is chiefly to be accounted for from the circumstance that the thetes are not comprised in this number; for by law they were prohibited from serving as hoplitæ; and in this instance they would have

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which Isocrates counted the 240 ships has been shown by Perizonius upon Ælian. Cneius Piso justly observed that the population of Athens in later times was a conflux of vagabonds and rabble, Tacit. Annal. ii. 55.

[515] Thuc. viii. 97.

been still more strictly excluded, as the registration was made in reference to an aristocratical constitution, in which the hoplitæ were to compose the public assembly; for which reason many citizens, even who were not thetes, were unquestionably debarred from a participation. The same holds good of the 3000 in the anarchy[516], who were hoplitæ; but it is impossible that these were the only persons of this description, and we must suppose that they were selected arbitrarily from among the citizens who remained at home.

By these means Athens sustained herself in the years immediately following the Sicilian expedition; and notwithstanding her unfavourable condition, defeated the Lacedæmonians off Abydos (Olymp. 92, 2, B.C. 411), with 86 ships[517]; and soon afterwards for the second time, off Cyzicus[518]. Then Alcibiades appeared with 100, and afterwards Conon with 70 ships[519]; and this fleet being unsuccessful, the Athenians, in Olymp. 93, 3 (B.C. 406), equipped 110 ships within 30 days, the crews of which were composed of all persons who were able to serve in war, both slaves and citizens; and there were even some knights who went with them. To these were added 10 Samian and more than 30 other allied vessels, and several which had been detached to different places were recalled, making altogether more than 150; while Conon retained 70 under his immediate command, of which 30 were lost[520]. The crews of the ships that fought at Arginusæ alone amounted to more than 30,000 men; those of Conon's fleet to 14,000, and many persons capable of bearing arms must necessarily have remained at home. Lastly, in the battle of Ægospotamos the Athenian force amounted to 180 triremes, which would require alone 36,000 men[521].

Even after the unfortunate termination of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians soon recovered themselves, and in Olymp.

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[516] Xenoph. Hell. ii. 3, 12, 13, 4, 2.

[517] Thuc. viii. 104, and Diod. xiii. under Olymp. 92, 3.

[518] Xenoph. Hell. i. 1, Diod. xiii. under Olymp. 92, 2.

[519] Xenoph. Hell. i. 5, Diod. under Olymp. 93, 1, 2.

[520] Xenoph. Hell. 1. 6, Diod. under Olymp. 93, 3.

[521] Xenoph. Hell. ii. 1, 13, Diod. under Olymp. 93, 4.

100, ¾ (B.C. 377), were enabled to think of equipping, according to Polybius, 100 ships and 10,000 hoplitæ; or according to Diodorus, 200 ships, 20,000 hoplitæ, and 500 cavalry[522]. The forces of Chares, Timotheus, Chabrias, and Iphicrates, were not inconsiderable, as we learn from the historians; according to Isocrates, the state possessed 200 triremes even at a later period than this; Demosthenes in the 106th Olympiad (B.C. 354), reckons the naval force at 300 vessels, which could be sent to sea on an emergency, together with 1000 horse-soldiers, and as large a number of hoplitæ as might be wished[523]; Lycurgus provided the state with 400 triremes[524], and so completely filled the docks that they could not contain any more; the Athenians sent to the assistance of the Byzantines not less than 120 ships, together with hoplitæ and a supply of missiles[525]; and before the battle of Chæronea, they decreed to send 200 ships to sea[526]. At this time, however, the military force was in a continually declining state, as the citizens were unwilling to serve, and preferred carrying on war with mercenaries, while they were squandering away the public revenue at home in shows and banquets. It is true that mercenaries had been frequently employed in the Peloponnesian war, both in the fleet as rowers, and by land as heavy and light-armed troops; but it had not then become a principle, that the whole war should depend on the services of mercenaries. Isocrates[527] at the time of the Social war, complains that his countrymen no longer exerted themselves; so far from it, that they employed refugees, deserters, and other criminals, who would immediately turn their arms against Athens if any body offered them higher pay; and this the Athenians did at a time when they were hardly able to defray the expenses of the administration; whereas formerly, when there was abundance of treasure in the Acropolis,

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[522] Diod. xv. 29, Polyb. ii. 62, Comp. book iv. ch. 4.

[523] Isocrat. Areop. 1, Demosth. de Symmor. p. 181, 17, p. 183, 15, p. 186, 8.

[524] See Meurs. Fort. Att. vii. and more particularly the third decree after the Lives of the Ten Orators.

[525] Decree of the Byzantines in Demosth. pro Corona, p. 256.

[526] Decree in Demosth. pro Corona, p. 290.

[527] Συμμαχ. 16.

the citizens themselves served in war. It was a common practice to write down 10,000, 20,000 mercenaries; but it was a force which existed only on paper, and nothing more than a decree to that effect went out with the general: they chose 10 generals, 10 taxiarchs, 10 phylarchs, and 2 hipparchs; but with the exception of 1, they all remained at home, and together with the sacrificers, superintended the processions. Every general was two or three times put on his trial for life or death, and when defeated with his mercenaries, was made the object of party accusations. In order to diminish this evil, Demosthenes counselled the Athenians that the fourth part of the standing army which he advised them to form, should be composed of citizens. In addition to this it often happened that the foreign leader of the mercenaries was a general, the equipments of the army were never ready at the right time, and that the war was carried on upon unsound military principles[528]. The greatest number of mercenaries which Athens collected at this time against Philip was, according to the statement of Demosthenes, 15,000, together with 2000 cavalry, which were furnished by the Eubœans, Achæans, Corinthians, Thebans, Megarians, Leucadians, and Corcyræans, in addition to the other force composed of the citizens of these nations[529]: others than these Athens was forced to maintain at her own expense.

The total numerical amount of the land army must always be estimated at twice the number of men which is stated by ancient authors, when they merely mention hoplitæ and cavalry. For each hoplite had an attendant (*ὑπηρέτης*, *σκευοφόρος*) who carried his baggage and provisions, and also his shield; the horseman, too, had a servant who attended to his horse (*ἱπποκόμος*)[530]. This regulation diminished the labour of the soldiers; but it must necessarily have produced a regular and

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[528] Demosth. Philip. i. p. 45, 47, 53.

[529] Demosth. pro Corona, p. 306. And thence Plutarch, in his Life of Demosthenes, 17. The statement in the first decree at the end of the Lives of the Ten Orators and in Æsch. c. Ctesiph. p. 488, is lower, Cf. ibid. p. 536. Æschines states a less number, as he does not include the Theban mercenaries.

[530] Thuc. iii. 17, vii. 75, 78, Xenoph. Hell. ii. 4, comp. Barthel. Anachar. vol. ii. p. 145.

continual system of depredation. That the armies were also attended by a large train of carriages and asses[531] and of suttlers does not require to be stated.

CHAPTER XXII.

Pay and Provisioning of the Army and Navy.

IN ancient times the troops received no pay, excepting such foreign soldiers as engaged themselves in the service of a state; a practice which the Carians were the first to introduce, and which among the Greeks the Arcadians, who resembled the Swiss in their mercenary habits, were particularly prone to. Pericles first introduced the pay of the citizens who served as soldiers[532].

The payment was made under two different names; one being the wages (*μισθὸς*) paid for actual service, which the soldiers, when the cost of their arms and clothes had been deducted, were able to lay by; and secondly, the allowance for provisions (*σιτηρέσιον*, *σιτάρκεια*, *σῖτος*), which were seldom furnished in kind. The soldiers being free citizens, it was thought that the state was bound to pay them highly, and that if freemen undertook this hazardous service and discharged their duties at the risk of their lives, they were entitled at least to a maintenance: the generals and commanders were, however, proportionally ill paid, as their distance from the common soldiers was not so great as at the present day; the honour of their situation was also considered as sufficient indemnification, and they had the chance of being remunerated by booty and contributions. The pay was generally given out in gold; by the Athenians probably for the most part in their own silver; the provision-money was also given at the same time, which for that reason has not always been properly distinguished by ancient writers from the pay, and consequently it will be

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[531] Xenoph. Œcon. 84, and frequently in the Historians.

[532] Ulpian ad Demosth. *περὶ συντάξ.* p. 50 A.

impossible for us always to ascertain the difference. The pay of an hoplite never amounted to less than 2 oboli a day, and the provision money to the same sum: which was still the common rate in the age of Demosthenes; since this orator reckons 10 drachmas a month for the provision money of the hoplitæ, and 30 drachmas for that of the cavalry, together consequently they amounted to 4 oboli a day for each hoplite; the attendants were not always paid separately. The life of a soldier was proverbially called, on account of this rate of pay, the life of a tetrobolon (τετρωβόλου βίος)[533]. At the same time higher pay was frequently given. In the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, the hoplitæ who besieged Potidæa received daily 2 drachmas a head, one for themselves, the other for their servants[534]; in which instance the pay was doubtless rated at 3 oboli, and the provision at the same sum. In the Acharneans of Aristophanes[535] some Thracian soldiers are introduced demanding 2 drachmas for pay, including of course the provision money: the Thracians who were sent back in the Sicilian war on account of a scarcity of money, were to have received a drachma each day[536]; this was the rate of pay for every description of force in the Sicilian expedition. If here again we reckon one half for the pay, and the other for provision, each amounted to 3 oboli; and this was the sum which the bowmen at Athens, who composed the city-guard, received, and as they were bondsmen it was probably paid not as wages, but provision money[537]. Cyrus the younger at first gave a daric a month to the Grecians in his service, and afterwards 1½[538]; the former pay would amount to 20, the latter to 30, drachmas of silver, reckoning the ratio of gold to silver as 1 to 10, which is probably far too low for that age. Seuthes gave a Cyzicenic stater a month to the common soldiers, twice that sum to the lochagi,

[533] Eustath. ad Odyss. p. 1405, ad Il. p. 951, ed. Rom. A passage of the comic poet Theopompus, where he speaks of a payment of 2 oboli, can only be understood of the pay, without the provision. See book i. ch. 22.

[534] Thuc. iii. 17, to which Pollux iv. 165, refers.

[535] Vs. 158. The date of this play is Olymp. 88, 3 (B.C. 426).

[536] Thuc. vii. 27.

[537] Comp. above b. ii. ch. 11.

[538] Xenoph. Cyr. Exped. i. 3, 21.

and four times that sum to the generals[539]: this same gold coin is also mentioned in other places as monthly pay[540]; the double and four-fold scale for the commanders was probably the established rate of payment; thus Thimbron offered the common soldiers a daric a month, and the commanders in the same proportion as Seuthes[541]; sometimes indeed common mercenaries, if they particularly distinguished themselves, received from those who understood how to purchase their favour, two-fold, three-fold, and four-fold pay (*διμοιρία, τριμοιρία, τετραμοιρία*)[542]. In these cases the provision money is included, without its being particularly specified. After the destruction of Mantinea, the Spartans and their allies having decreed to raise an army, the allies were permitted to contribute money instead of troops, at the rate of 3 Æginetan oboli a day for each foot soldier, and four times this sum for the cavalry[543]; now 3 Æginetan are 5 Athenian oboli, which were in this case evidently to be given for pay and provision together. In the time of the Peloponnesian war, the same sum was stipulated for provision alone. For in the alliance of the Athenians, Argives, Mantineans, and Eleans, it was fixed that the state affording assistance should provide the troops which they sent with necessaries for thirty days; and that if the troops remained longer, the state to whose assistance they came should give the infantry 3 Æginetan oboli a day, and the cavalry twice this sum, for provision (*σῖτος*)[544]. It follows at the same time from these facts, that the cavalry were treated very differently from the infantry, as their pay and provision money sometimes amounted to twice and even three or four times the pay received by the latter; at Athens the three-fold scale was adopted; if the hoplitæ received 2 oboli for provision money, the horsemen received a drachma[545]. This latter proportion also existed among the Romans[546].

These examples show that during the Peloponnesian war,

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[539] Xenoph. Cyr. Exped. vii. 3, 19, cf. vii. 6, 1.

[540] Xenoph. ibid. v. 6, 12.

[541] Xenoph. ibid. vii. 6, 1.

[542] Xenoph. Hell. vi. 1, 4. *Διμοιρίται* is interpreted incorrectly in Lex. Seg. p. 242.

[543] Xenoph. Hell. v. 2, 14.

[544] Thucyd. v. 47.

[545] Demosth. Philipp. i. p. 47.

[546] Lipsius Milit. Rom. v. 16.

the soldiers who served on land were the best paid; afterwards, and particularly in the time of Philip, less was given, as the multitude of adventurers and mercenaries had increased, and the wealthy citizens seldom served, who would have required a higher pay to have enabled them to live in a manner suitable to their habits. The pay of the naval forces was in like manner variable; although it does not appear to have fallen off in a degree at all corresponding to that of the land service; but it was first higher, then it became lower, and then something higher again. As the statements given are generally of the sum total of the pay of the whole ship's company, it will be necessary first to ascertain the numbers of the crew of a trireme. In the sea as well as in the land service a distinction was made between pay and provision (*σιτηρέσιον*)[547]; in the sea service the latter was frequently given in money[548]; and was supplied at the public expense; although if it happened that the generals had no money, the trierarch perhaps would either contribute some part, or voluntarily engage the whole number of seamen at his own cost[549]. Demosthenes reckons 20 minas a month as the provision money of a trireme[550]; which, upon the supposition that the 200 men in a trireme were paid according to the same rate, or rather that 200 times the pay of a common sailor was required for the payment of the whole crew, would come to 2 oboli a head, the same sum that a common land soldier was to receive according to the plan of Demosthenes. Now since the pay and provision money used to be equal, the common soldier received at that time 4 oboli for both, the sum paid to the paralitæ as wages in time of peace[551]. On the other hand, the Athenians in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war gave the seamen as much as a drachma a day[552]; which was the case afterwards in the expedition against Sicily; when the trierarchs also made additional allowances to the thranitæ, and to certain

[547] Demosth. c. Polycl. p. 1209, 12.

[548] Orat. c. Timoth. p. 1187, 21; Demosth. c. Polycl. p. 1223, 19, p. 1224, 1.

[549] The latter for example in the case in Demosth. c. Polycl. p. 1208, 15.

[550] Philip. i. p. 47, 46.

[551] Book ii. ch. 16.

[552] Thuc. iii. 17.

other persons employed in the ship, such as the steersman, &c.[553] If at this rate of payment we again reckon the crew at 200 men, the monthly pay amounted to a talent; according to which the Egestæans, for the purpose of promoting the war against Syracuse, sent 60 talents to Athens as monthly pay for 60 vessels[554]. In general however the Athenians at that time only gave 3 oboli, which, it clearly appears, were both for the daily pay and provision of a sailor; if they gave a drachma, it was for the purpose of stimulating the exertions and augmenting the numbers of the men. Thus Tissaphernes promised to the seamen at Sparta an Attic drachma a day, and at first he kept his word (Olymp. 92, 1, B.C. 412), although afterwards at the instigation of Alcibiades he refused to give more than 3 oboli, until the king had allowed the whole drachma, as even Athens only gave 3 oboli. In withholding this he was not influenced by want of money; but, in addition to other reasons, he feared lest the possession of so much more money than they wanted should produce insubordination amongst the seamen, and lead them into dissolute habits, by which their bodies would be enfeebled. At the same time he consented, instead of 3 oboli a day for each man, to give 3 talents a month for 5 ships, *i. e.* for every ship 36 minas; if therefore we reckon 200 men to a trireme, 18 drachmas a month or $3\frac{3}{5}$ oboli a day would be the pay of each man[555]. In the agreement between Sparta and Persia the rate fixed had been only 3 oboli[556], and Tissaphernes gave the rest merely as a voluntary addition, and without the approval of the king. Again, at a subsequent period, the Spartans demanded a drachma of Cyrus the younger, and main-

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[553] Thuc. vi. 31, with the Scholiast.

[554] Thuc. vi. 8.

[555] Thuc. viii. 45, 29. The latter passage Palmerius and Duker have alone rightly understood: the note of the latter is the best worth consulting. It should evidently be written, *ἐς γὰρ πέντε ναῦς τρία τάλαντα ἐδίδου τοῦ μηνὸς*, and the words *καὶ πεντήκοντα* are an unintelligible addition from viii. 26. The preceding sentence *ὅμως δὲ παρὰ πέντε ναῦς πλέον ἀνδρὶ ἑκάστῳ ἢ τρεῖς ὀβολοὶ ὡμολογήθησαν* contains the same sense, since *παρὰ πέντε* means, *by every five ships*, and the following sentence from *καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις* down to *ἐδίδοτο*, shows the justness of this correction.

[556] Concerning the agreement see Thuc. viii. 5. That only 3 oboli was the sum fixed in it is evident from Xenoph. Hellen. i. 5, 3.

tained their unreasonable claim by saying that the Athenian sailors would desert to their side, as they only received half as much; in answer to which Cyrus appealed to the agreement, by which each ship was to receive only 30 minas a month, or 3 oboli for each man; however, Cyrus allowed himself to be prevailed on by their entreaties to give to each sailor an additional obolus, after which they received 4 oboli a day[557]. In this instance also 200 men are reckoned to the trireme. It may be farther observed that the seamen, when they were first engaged, received bounties and advances of money, that they generally made considerable demands, and after all were with difficulty retained in the service. The travelling expenses of those who went away either by land or water were frequently paid, and particularly by private individuals[558].

The foregoing statements relative to the pay of the sailors, concur throughout in the fact that there were 200 men to be paid in each trireme: and in these accounts the marines or soldiers, as well as the sailors, must have been included, since otherwise a separate payment for them would have been somewhere mentioned; and they are evidently comprised among the ship's company, when the ancients speak of the pay of the seamen. But as a doubt has been raised whether a trireme did in fact contain so large a crew, it appears necessary to produce additional testimony in order to confirm our supposition.

According to Herodotus, Cleinias, the son of Alcibiades, served in the battle of Salamis with a trireme of his own and 200 men[559]. The same author[560] estimates the whole force of Xerxes, which consisted of 1207 ships, at 241,400 men, taking 200 for each as the regular number, inclusive of the marines that belonged to them; the 30 epibatæ who were also on board, did not belong to the regular complement, but were added to the full crew from the Persians, Medes, and Sacæ. Plato in the

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[557] Xenoph. Hell. i. 5, 3, 4; Plut. Lysander, 4; Alcib. 35.

[558] Demosth. c. Polycl. p. 1208, 16, p. 1212, 9, 19, de Trierarch. Corona, p. 1231, 10; Thuc. vi. 31; Lysias pro Mantith. p. 579.

[559] Herod. viii. 17.

[560] vii. 184, cf. 96. Duker ad Thucyd. viii. 29, unjustly blames Meibomius (de Fabrica Triremium) for not including these 30 epibatæ in the calculation.

Critias[561] gives a sketch of a military force for the inhabitants of Atlantica according to the custom prevalent in his own time, excepting that he speaks of military chariots, which were but seldom used even in the interval between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. Of the 60,000 lots into which he divides the country, each is to supply, besides the chariots and their drivers, 2 hoplitæ, 2 bowmen, 2 slingers, 3 light armed soldiers for throwing stones, and the same number for throwing javelins, and lastly, 4 seamen for the manning (πλήρωμα) of 200 ships, which gives 200 a-piece. There is however one statement which does not agree with this number. In the Lexicon Rhetoricum[562] the complement of a penteconter is stated at 50 men, or 1 lochus, and the trireme at 300 men, or 6 lochi. It is possible that the rowers of the triremes were distributed into 6 lochi, each row upon either side being separately considered a lochus; but that each lochus amounted to 50 men is unquestionably false; it is more probable that the number was 25 men or thereabouts, if the lochus was numerous, and that the marines made up the rest of the crew. But it may be said, if there were 200 men to each trireme, how could the pay of the whole crew have been exactly 200 times that received by the common sailor; a talent a month, when the common sailor received a drachma, and a half talent when he received 3 oboli? must not the commanders and the experienced seamen have received more than the common rowers? To this I answer as follows; that in the payment of a ship's crew it was settled once for all, that the pay of a trireme should be 200 times the wages of a common seaman: it must at the same time be considered as probable, that the rowers received less than the average rate of pay, and that the able seamen received somewhat more, so that what was deducted from the former was added to the latter. The Scholiast of Aristophanes[563] distinctly asserts that the thalamitæ received lower wages, because they had the shortest oars, and consequently the lightest labour: the thranitæ on the other hand from having the largest oars had the greatest fatigue, and for this reason in the Sicilian expedi-

[561] P. 119 A sqq. [562] Lex. Seg. p. 298. [563] Acharn. 1106.

tion the trierarchs made them an additional allowance, together with some other inferior persons in the vessel, probably the steersman, the proreus, &c.; but that their regular pay was higher we are neither told by Thucydides nor his interpreter[564], who have been adduced as authorities for the assertion. But even if the pay was graduated according to rank, we could not apportion the different rates for each description of seamen; especially as we are not able to ascertain with accuracy the respective numbers of each class. It is indeed scarcely possible even with the aid of conjecture to determine the proportion which the sailors in a ship bore to the soldiers; I will therefore make some addition to what has been already observed on this point with a view to render more intelligible our assumption respecting the numbers of the crew of a trireme.

Triremes were of different kinds, either swift (*ταχεῖαι*), or military transports (*στρατιώτιδες, ὁπλιταγωγοί*): the latter were completely filled with land forces, who, as they were put on board solely for the purpose of being carried from one place to another, were for this reason ineffective in battle, and therefore never called on to fight except on emergencies[565]; the former kind however took on board no more than the full complement of men (*πλήρωμα*) which was necessary for working and defending the ship. The troops on board the military transports in addition to the proper crews were, like all persons who travelled by sea, called epibatæ; 5100 men were transported in 40 such vessels, according to the account of Thucydides, making altogether with their respective attendants more than 200 men to a trireme; the Thebans sent 300 men to Pagasæ in 2 triremes[566], whose motion was consequently much retarded. The hoplitæ upon a few occasions transported themselves, performing the labour of rowing with their own hands (*αὐτερέται*)[567]. The crews of the swift triremes however consisted of two descriptions of men, of the soldiers or marines appointed to

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564 vi. 31.

565 Thucyd. i. 116, affords an instance of this.

566 Thucyd. viii. 43; Xenoph. Hell. v. 4, 56. There were 300 citizens who were on board the triremes as epibatæ and no rowers.

567 Thuc. iii. 18, cf. vi. 91.

defend the vessels, who were also called epibatæ; and of the sailors. These epibatæ were entirely distinct from the land soldiers, such as hoplitæ, peltasts, and cavalry[568]; and belonged to the vessel: but if it was an object to increase the usual number, it was easy to give an additional quota of land soldiers, as for instance the 30 to each trireme in Xerxes' fleet. The seamen, under whom I include the whole crew with the exception of the soldiers, are called sometimes servants (*ὑπηρέται*), sometimes sailors (*ναῦται*): in a more limited sense however the rowers (*ἐρέται, κωπηλάται*) are distinct from the servants and sailors, and only comprise those who were employed at the steerage, sails, cordage, pumps, &c. Finally, the rowers were of three kinds, thranitæ, zygitæ, and thalamitæ.

If now the regular crew of the swift triremes amounted to 200 men, how was this number divided? Meibomius reckons 180 rowers in three rows, so that there were 30 upon each bank, on either side. This is a most singular hypothesis. For if there were 180 rowers, there would only remain 20 for all the rest of the crew, whereas the navigation of the ship alone would have required this number, if we consider only the steersman, the proreus, the celeustes, the trieraules, the nauphylax, the toicharchs, the diopes, the eschareus, and the many others that were unquestionably employed; and what room do we then leave for the marines? The supposition of Meibomius is borrowed from the quinquireme, to which Polybius assigns 300 rowers, and 120 fighting men; the former in five rows of 60 men, 30 on each side; but his reason for crowding as many rowers into the long side of the trireme, which he reckons at 105 feet, as into that of the quinquireme which measured 150 feet, is arbitrary. Not to go into farther details, the rowers could not have amounted to more than 130 or 140 men, if we leave a sufficient number for that part of the crew which worked the ship, and for the epibatæ. In the quinquireme the rowers were to the marines in the ratio of 5 to 2; in a penteconter there were 30 men besides the 50 rowers[569], most of whom were undoubtedly soldiers, as the number required for

[568] Xenoph. Hell. i. 2, 4.

[569] Herod. vii. 184.

the working of the vessel must in this case have been smaller; probably only about 10 men, so that the ratio of the rowers to the fighters was again as 5 to 2. If therefore we reckon that there were in a trireme 130 or 140 rowers, and 40 or 50 epibatæ, in addition to 20 other seamen, the number of rowers assumed is proportionally large.

I know only of two definite accounts of the number of the epibatæ which refer to particular occasions. Herodotus[570] tells us that the Chians having revolted from Persia, and equipped a hundred ships, distributed 40 opulent citizens as epibatæ in each trireme, which agrees perfectly with my computation. Plutarch[571] informs us that only 18 men fought upon deck on board the Athenian triremes at the battle of Salamis; that of these, 4 were bowmen and the others heavy-armed; this estimate is however singularly low.

With regard to the mode of fighting it may be observed, that the rowers struck their opponents with oars, the epibatæ used arrows and darts at a distance, spears and swords in close combat[572]. It must not however be supposed that the rowers were so nearly defenceless. Isocrates[573] indeed in the passage in which he complains that foreigners were then serving as fighting men, and citizens as rowers, remarks, that in descents upon the enemies' territory, the former fought as hoplitæ, while the latter landed with the cushions on which they sat; from which it might be inferred that the rowers were unprovided with any weapons of defence; there can however be no doubt that they were armed, only not in any regular manner, every one providing for himself as he could, or as accident determined for him, some as peltasts, bowmen, &c., that is, the thranitæ and zygitæ[574], and probably the thalamitæ also. They were therefore able to serve on land, which was necessarily the case with the hoplitæ who rowed themselves[575]. Since then the arming of the rowers was irregular, some preparations were frequently

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570 Herod. vi. 15.
571 Themist. 14.
572 Compare for example Diod. xiii. 46.
573 Συμμαχ. 16.
574 Thuc. iv. 3, 2.
575 See the passages referred to in note 567.

required in order to make them serviceable on land. Thus Thrasyllus armed 5000 seamen belonging to his 50 triremes as peltasts[576]; and on an occasion mentioned by Thucydides[577] the sailors were obliged to be provided with shields before they could serve upon land. This irregularity in the equipment of the seamen is the less surprising, as we find that even the hoplitæ and the epibatæ were not armed with perfect uniformity; for, had this been the case, there would have been no foundation for the story which Herodotus relates of an hoplite in the battle of Platææ, who brought an anchor with him, in order to fasten himself to the ground[578]; or an epibates, who made use of a spear sickle (*δορυδρέπανον*) instead of a spear, as Plato[579] mentions.

The land and sea forces generally received their pay and provision at the same time; if any portion of it remained in arrear, it was commonly the pay; and the provision money, as being necessary, was usually supplied first. In the expedition of Timotheus against Corcyra, the mercenaries had received three months' provisions in advance, but no pay had been supplied; so that there would have been considerable danger of their going over to the enemy, if Timotheus had not inspired them with confidence in his pecuniary resources by making them a present of the provision money which they had received in advance[580]. Demosthenes[581] mentions another instance, in which the trierarch had received the whole of the provision money for his crew, though he obtained no more than two months' pay for the whole time of his trierarchy.

Here too should be mentioned a suggestion of the same statesman in the first Philippic, which however was never put into execution. He proposed to maintain a standing army, in order to carry on war against Macedon without intermission; 10 ships and 2000 infantry, at an expense for each of 40 talents; and 200 cavalry, at 12 talents a year: these sums however were only to be given them as provision money; he would not allow any pay, but they were to have unlimited permission

[576] Xenoph. Hell. i. 2, 1, cf. i. 1, 24.
[577] iv. 9.
[578] Herod. ix. 74.
[579] Laches, p. 183 D.
[580] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. ii. 23.
[581] C. Polycl. p. 1209, 12.

to plunder. This proposal is worthy of remark, as having no parallel in any Grecian author; it is the outline of a plan for embodying a military force to maintain itself at free quarters, and at the same time to form a permanent standing army; though its continuance was indeed limited to the duration of war. A standing army in time of peace would not only have utterly ruined the finances, had it received pay, but, if it had consisted of citizens, would have led to a military government; as the Thousand at Argos, who were required to devote themselves exclusively to the exercise of arms, and received pay for their services, took forcible possession of the supreme power, and changed the democracy into an oligarchy[582]. The Greeks were well aware that a standing army obtained a greater degree of skill in the art of war; but they were prevented from introducing it by the nature of their constitutions: for neither were they able to realize the ideal state of Plato, in which the standing army, formed according to philosophical and moral principles, is at the head of the government; nor could they return to the oriental form of castes, an institution of universal adoption in remote antiquity, and under which Attica had in early times had her military caste; nor, lastly, could they have endured the oppression of a military government. The Romans were of the same opinion: even after their government had declined into a barbarous military despotism, it was nevertheless considered indecorous that an armed force should reside in the capital, for the purpose, as it were, of overawing the people; and in order to preserve the decorum to which they owed the continuance of all ancient forms, and even of the senate itself, the imperial guards at Rome were compelled to wear the civil toga, and their helmets and shields were kept in the armoury[583].

With regard to the scheme of Demosthenes mentioned above, it seems strange, according to our notions, that the soldiers were to have first received money merely for provision, and to have had no pay whatever; as it appears more natural to

[582] Diod. xii. 75, 80; Thuc. v. 81; Pausan. ii. 20; Aristot. Polit. v. 4.
[583] See Lipsius ad Tacit. Hist. i. 38.

have given them pay, and have supplied provisions by means of requisition and quartering: but the former method was too tedious and difficult in an enemy's country, if it was to be exacted regularly; and the latter was very rarely practised in the Greek states. In the first place, it was unnecessary, war being generally carried on in the favourable time of year, and the life of a camp in so mild a climate was healthy and pleasant; in the second place, it was inadmissible upon military in a foreign, and on political principles in a friendly, country. The ancients, on account of the freedom of their governments, would not, any more than England, have submitted to an institution from which every sort of oppression and injustice is inseparable, and which endangers the very existence of liberty; considering too the greater dissoluteness of their morals (particularly with regard to the intercourse of the sexes and their proneness to unnatural vices), the susceptibility of their passions, the want of discipline in the armies, and the great claims and pretensions of the soldiers, the necessary consequences of such an institution would have been murders, insurrections, and revolutions. In the case of friendly states it was first necessary to ask whether an army in march or a naval force could be received into the city alone, and even this was frequently denied: if permission was granted, everything was paid for on the spot. When Athens sent an army to the assistance of the Thebans, they received it in so friendly a manner, that the hoplitæ and cavalry being encamped without the city, the Thebans admitted them into their houses: but in how marked a manner does Demosthenes boast that no disturbance ensued. "The three most splendid encomia of your virtues," he says[534], "the Thebans showed on that day to all the Greeks; the first of your courage, the second of your justice, the third of your moderation: for by giving into your power what with them and all people is guarded with the greatest sanctity, their wives and children, they showed that they had a firm assurance of your continence: and in that they judged rightly, for after the army had entered the city, no inhabitant made any complaint against you, no, not even an

[534] Pro Corona, p. 299, extr.

unjust one." The Persians however managed their army in a different manner: in their expedition to Greece they encamped indeed in the open fields, but were supported by the inhabitants: the reception and maintenance of Xerxes' army cost the Thasians alone, for their towns situated upon the main-land, 400 talents, which were paid out of the public money, so that individuals did not directly bear the burden; and the Abderite said with justice that the whole state would have been destroyed if Xerxes had breakfasted as well as dined there[585]. Datames the Persian provisioned his troops in the same manner in a foreign country[586]. The Romans oppressed the provinces most grievously with their armies, especially for winter quarters; the prætors, when bought off by one city, were not ashamed to burden another: these bribes were called the *Vectigal Prætorium*, whence in subsequent times the *Epidemeticum* arose[587].

Whether the allowance for provision was given out in money or in kind, it was the imperative duty of the generals to attend to the provisioning of the troops, especially for voyages, when food could not be purchased day by day. It usually happened that a large market established itself in any place where the armies either remained for a time, or were expected. Here the soldiers supplied their wants, and upon a march their servants and beasts of burden carried provisions in the rear; suttlers and handicraftsmen followed for the sake of their own gain: Datames the Persian even supported a number of these traffickers, in order to have a share in their profits, and prohibited all others from entering into competition with them[588]. With great armies the supply of provisions was necessarily on a large scale: the Grecian army at Platææ was followed by large stores from the Peloponnese, the care of which belonged to the attendants[589]; in like manner the Persian army was followed by whole fleets of store-ships. The provident Nicias stated it as an indispensable requisite to the undertaking of the Sicilian expedition, that wheat and roasted barley should be

[585] Herod. vii. 118 sqq.
[586] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. ii. 24.
[587] Burmann de Vect. Pop. Rom. xii. An action of similar oppression is mentioned by Tacitus, Hist. i. 66.
[588] Pseud-Aristot. ut sup.
[589] Herod. ix. 39, cf. 50.

sent from Attica to Sicily, and that they should take with them hired bakers, who were procured from the mills by a compulsory levy[590]; the provision fleet collected at Corcyra, consisting of 30 corn vessels, with the bakers and other handicraftsmen, such as stone-masons and carpenters, and the implements required for a siege; also 100 smaller vessels were constrained to attend the store ships, and many others, both smaller and larger, followed the army for the sake of traffic[591]. When such was the case, however, the soldiers doubtless purchased their provision either from individuals or from the state, which had only the care of procuring supplies, without anything being given freely to the soldiers, unless perchance no provision money had been paid them. When Timotheus besieged Samos, a scarcity of provisions was produced by the concourse of so many strangers; he therefore prohibited the selling of ground corn, and did not allow it to be sold plain in less quantities than a medimnus, or any liquids in less quantities than a metretes; by these means the strangers were obliged to bring their provisions with them, and they sold whatever remained unconsumed; while the taxiarchs and lochagi bought food by wholesale, and retailed it among the soldiers[592]. The same must be considered to have been the case in the Sicilian expedition, and other similar occasions. If the provision was supplied in kind, which was necessarily more general with the sea than with the land service, the commanders received the siteresion, and with that money they purchased a store of provisions. The trierarchs supplied their inferiors with barley-meal (*ἄλφιτα*), cheese, and onions[593], or garlic, which were carried in nets[594]; the maza was baked from the barley-meal[595], with water and oil[596]; and if it

[590] Thuc. vi. 22, where the bakers are called *ἠναγκασμένοι ἔμμισθοι*, as, although they received pay, they had been pressed into this expedition. *Πρὸς μέρος* Duker rightly interprets *pro rata portione*: it is not however in reference to the corn, but means that a proportional number should be taken from each mill, *ἐκ τῶν μυλώνων πρὸς μέρος*, for example, two out of each.

[591] Thuc. vi. 30, 44.

[592] Pseud-Aristot. ii. 23; Polyæn. iii. 10, 10.

[593] Plutarch. de Glor. Ath. 6.

[594] Thence the saying, *σκόροδον ἐν δικτύοις*, see Suidas in v. *σκοροδίοις*.

[595] Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 1105.

[596] Hesychius and Zonaras in v. *μάζα*.

was wished particularly to stimulate the rowers, wine also was added[597]. Probably each man received a chœnix of barley-meal a day: a comic poet indeed says of a man, who boasted of eating 2½ medimni in a day, that he would consume the provisions of a long trireme[598], although what he ate was in fact only 120 chœnices; but who will require of a jester accuracy on such a subject as this? Ptolemy gave the Rhodians, for the provision of 10 triremes, 20,000 artabæ of corn[599], probably of wheat, making 10 artabæ a year for each man, if we reckon 200 to a trireme; which amounts to almost 1½ chœnix a day, if large artabæ are meant, and if small, only three-quarters of a chœnix.

To estimate the amount of the pay and provision money required for a war, another datum is necessary besides the numerical force of the army and the rate of the pay, viz., the length of the campaign. As soon as the campaign was over, the payment of the troops ceased; even mercenaries did not constantly receive wages, but were paid for a portion only of the time[600]. In early times war was carried on with the Lacedæmonians for four or five months; but Philip made no difference between summer and winter[601]. Yet as early as in the Peloponnesian war, armies were paid in winter, as in Sicily and elsewhere; and Pericles used regularly to keep 60 ships eight months at sea, and to pay them for the whole time[602]: these alone must have cost 480 talents a year, if each man received a drachma a day. But how could Athens have raised pay and provision money for more than 60,000 men in the Sicilian expedition, the cost being 3600 talents in a year? We must not therefore wonder that, notwithstanding the high tributes and the oppression of the allies (though the independent confederate states in great measure paid their own troops), a scarcity of supplies quickly arose; nor need we be surprised

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[597] Thuc. iii. 49; comp. Scheffer Mil. Nav. iv. 1. This μάζα is the οἰνοῦντα, Athen. iii. p. 114 F.

[598] Athen. x. p. 415 C.

[599] Polyb. v. 89.

[600] For an instance of this see Thucyd. viii. 45.

[601] Demosth. Philipp. iii. p. 123.

[602] Plutarch. Pericl. 11.

that Pericles, who, in the beginning of the war, kept an equally large force on foot, although not throughout the whole year, was compelled to have recourse to the public treasure.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Equipment of the Fleet. Implements for Sieges.

THE expenses of war were also considerably increased by the equipment of fleets, and the preparation of machines used in war, and of instruments for sieges.

Besides the ships which were built in time of peace, they were accustomed, as soon as any severe struggle was apprehended, to apply themselves with extraordinary zeal to the construction of vessels; yet, before the ships could be ready to sail, there remained always much to be done in order to complete their equipment; part of which was furnished by the state, and part by the trierarch at his own cost. Besides the swift triremes, it was also necessary to provide many transports (ὅλκαδες), auxiliary vessels (ὑπηρετικὰ πλοῖα), and cavalry transports (ἱππαγωγὰ πλοῖα); which latter, although the Greeks had taken horses with them to the siege of Troy, and the Persians had employed many ships of this description in the war against Greece, were yet for the first time regularly introduced at Athens in the second year of the Peloponnesian war, and were afterwards frequently used[603]. On rare occasions only it happened that the Athenians had a fleet equipped and ready for battle, such as that appointed in Olymp. 87, 2 (B.C. 431), when it was decreed that every year the 100 best triremes should be selected, to which trierarchs were immediately assigned, in order that Attica might be defended in the event of an attack from the sea; and at the same time 1000 talents were ordered to be laid by for the same object[604].

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[603] Thuc. ii. 56, iv. 42, vi. 43, and elsewhere; Demosth. Philipp. i. p. 46, 5; Plutarch. Pericl. 35. Concerning the Persians see Diod. xi. 3; Herod. vii. 97.

[604] Thuc. ii. 24, viii. 15; Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 336; Andoc. de Pace, p. 92; Suid. in v. ἄβυσσος. The money was laid by only once, and not annually, as some writers have erroneously supposed.

The preparations for sieges were particularly expensive, since much carpenters' work and masonry, and many handicraftsmen, were required for these purposes: machines for attack and defence were used in early times, not only in the Peloponnesian war, but even at an earlier period, as, for example, by Miltiades at Paros, and by Pericles at the siege of Samos; although the art of besieging did not attain its greatest perfection among the Greeks until the time of Demetrius Poliorcetes. That considerable outlays were made for missile weapons is evident from several passages in ancient writers. With regard to Athens, it will be sufficient to mention the two decrees[605] by which honours were conferred on Democharès and Lycurgus; the former, for having procured arms, darts, and machines; the latter, for having brought arms and 50,000 darts into the Acropolis.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Estimate of the War Expenditure of Athens.

IF these several heads are added together, it will be at once evident how vast must have been the whole expenses of a war after the time that Pericles had introduced the pay of the forces; whereas in earlier times the building and equipment of the fleets alone caused any expense to the state. The fine of 50 talents, to which Miltiades was condemned on account of the failure of his expedition with 70 ships against Paros, might therefore have been taken as equivalent to the whole expense, as Nepos[606] thinks it was, did we not know that this sum was a common fine, without any regard to a particular compensation. The siege of Samos in Olymp. 84, 4 (B. C. 441), appears, according to Diodorus, to have cost 200 talents; for Pericles required a contribution to this amount, as an indemnification for the expenses which had been incurred[607]. Pericles must however have reckoned very leniently in this case; for a nine

[605] At the end of the Lives of the Ten Orators, ii. iii.

[606] Miltiad. 7.

[607] Diod. xii. 28; cf. Thuc. i. 117.

months' siege by land and sea, in which, according to the account of Thucydides, not less than 199 triremes were employed, or at any rate a large part of this number for a considerable time, must evidently have caused a greater expense; and the statement therefore of Isocrates and Nepos[608], that 1200 talents were expended upon it, appears to be by no means exaggerated.

But the expenses of the Peloponnesian war are the most extraordinary in the financial history of Athens. If we assume that the ships employed at the beginning of the war received only six months' pay, they must have cost 1500 talents; and in this number the forces employed at the siege of Potidæa are not included. This siege was extremely expensive, having been continued uninterruptedly during both summer and winter for two years; Thucydides reckons the expense at 2000[609], Isocrates at 2400 talents, a part of which Pericles took from the public treasure[610]. A separate war tax of 200 talents was levied for the siege of Mytilene, and 12 ships were dispatched for the purpose of collecting money from the allies[611]. No enterprise went so far beyond the resources of the Athenian state as the Sicilian expedition. The annual pay alone amounted, as we have already seen, to 3600 talents, nearly the double of the whole annual revenue of Athens, if we take it at the highest estimate; and at how great an amount must we reckon the other expenses of this war? By these means both money and provisions soon almost wholly failed; nor were the subsidies furnished by the Egestæans at all considerable, viz. 60 talents

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[608] Thuc. i. 116, 117; Isocrat. de Antidosi, p. 69; Nepos Timoth. 1.

[609] Thuc. ii. 70, where the reading χίλια is undoubtedly false, Isocrat. de Antid. p. 70. Diodorus (xii. 46) reckons the expenses some months before the surrender at more than 1000 talents.

[610] Thuc. iii. 17, ii. 13. According to the latter passage 3700 talents were taken out of the treasury, which Diodorus (xii. 40) less accurately calls 4000. Barthélemy reckons 3000 for the public works of Pericles, and 700 for the first part of the siege (Anach. tom. i. note 8). This assumption is however quite arbitrary; Potidæa and the works of building and art might have cost more than 5000 talents, and those 3700 have been only an advance from the public treasure, in addition to what was paid for out of the current revennes.

[611] Thuc. iii. 19.

given at the very commencement, as monthly pay for 60 ships, and 30 talents sent at a subsequent period[612]. There was little plunder taken, although 100 talents were once obtained from that source[613]: the remittances from Athens were by no means large, 20, 120, or 300 talents, and these, as it appears, even came, in part at least, from the public treasure[614], to which, both then and afterwards, they were compelled to have recourse, in order to support the expenses of the war, for which purpose indeed it had been originally collected. Nothing but a fortunate issue could have put Athens in a condition to defray the immense sums required for pay; without which however it would have been impossible to adopt so vast a plan. If Pericles had not introduced the pay of the soldiers, Athens could not have carried on the Peloponnesian war for so long a time; nor again, could the youthful imagination of Alcibiades have conceived the lofty notion of obtaining a footing in Sicily, as a new centre from which they might subdue Carthage and Libya, Italy, and, finally, the Peloponnese[615]; the people and the soldiers were moreover favourably inclined to this expedition, because they hoped to receive money immediately, and to make conquests, by which they would be enabled to receive their pay without intermission[616].

In the age of Demosthenes, also, much treasure, levied chiefly by property taxes, was applied to the uses of war; but with a large expenditure little was effected. A fruitless expedition to Pylæ cost, together with the expenses incurred by private individuals, above 200 talents[617]; Isocrates complains of the loss of more than 1000 talents, which had been given to foreigners[618]; Demosthenes of the squandering of more than

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[612] Diod. xiii. 6.

[613] Diod. ibid.

[614] See Corp. Inscript. No. 144, with the remarks, p. 208.

[615] Thuc. vi. 15, 90; Isocrat. Συμμαχ. 29; Plutarch. Alcib. 17. The idea was new; for although in the Knights of Aristophanes (vs. 174, 1300) a plan is hinted at for attacking Carthage, it only owes its existence to a false reading. In both places Καλχηδὼν should evidently be read for Καρχηδὼν, as the Scholiast at vs. 1300 writes, and as the sense requires in vs. 174.

[616] Thuc. vi. 24.

[617] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 367, 21

[618] Isocrat. Areopag. 4.

1500, which, as Æschines remarks, were expended not upon the soldiers, but upon the ostentatious splendour of the generals[619], at the very time they lost the allied cities and their ships. The state had been impoverished by the theorica, while individuals had enriched themselves; there was not in the military chest money enough for a single day's march[620]; and if any funds were collected for war, the mismanagement and maladministration would surpass all belief, did we not know that the same mischief has recurred in all times. Commanders or demagogues, who received pay for the troops, drew it for *empty places*[621], as was the expression; in the same manner that in modern times generals have received pay for what were termed *men of straw*, or soldiers that existed only on the roll. To ascertain the extent of these practices, commissioners were sent out to discover whether there were as many mercenaries as the generals reported; these inquirers, however, frequently allowed themselves to be bribed[622]. The trierarchs, as early even as in the time of the poet Aristophanes, were accused of embezzling the pay of part of the crew, and stopping the unoccupied apertures for the oars in their ships, in order that it might not be seen that there was a deficiency of rowers[623].

In the mean time the public money was squandered away by generals such as Chares and many resembling him, who were distinguished by every kind of profligacy. If in an age of simplicity and decorum, Themistocles was not ashamed to drive through the Ceramicus in the morning with a carriage full of courtesans[624], it is easy to understand how Alcibiades, who,

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[619] Demosth. Olynth. iii. p. 36, 8, (and thence *περὶ συντάξ.* p. 174, 11,) Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 249.

[620] Demosth. c. Aristocrat. p. 690.

[621] This is the meaning of *μισθοφορεῖν ἐν τῷ ξενικῷ κεναῖς χώραις*, Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 536. Others cheated the soldiers, as e. g. Memnon of Rhodes and Cleomenes. See Aristot. Œcon. ii. 29, 39.

[622] These are the *ἐξεταστὰι*, Æsch. c. Timarch. p. 131, *περὶ παραπρεσβ.* p. 339, Lex. Seg. p. 252. The passage in the oration *περὶ συντάξεως* p. 167, 17, seems also to refer to the exetastæ; those, however, mentioned in the decree published by Chishull Ant. As. p. 164, from Ainsworth, which probably belongs to Athens, are of a different description.

[623] Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 1233.

[624] Heraclides ap. Athen. xii. p. 533 D.

notwithstanding his extraordinary talents, was a man of the most immoral and irreligious character, did not scruple (as at least his enemies said of him[625]) to carry women about with him in his campaigns, and to embezzle 200 talents; how Chabrias, according to Theopompus, was not able to remain in Athens on account of his debauched habits; and how, according to the same authority, Chares had with him in the field women even of the lowest description, and applied the public money to uses wholly at variance with its proper destination. But the Athenians could not censure such a course of habits, for they themselves lived in an equally depraved manner, the young men with female flute-players and courtesans, the old in gambling; while they consumed more money in public banquetings and distributions of food than for the real service of the state, and allowed themselves to be entertained in the market place at a triumphal festival for a battle won over the mercenaries of Philip with an expense of 60 talents, which Chares had received from Delphi[626]. Theopompus is described as censorious for having painted from nature the dissolute manners of a corrupt age: for most people are inclined to look at everything on its fairest side, especially if they view it from a distance, when all the passions are silent, and the benevolent feeling which is implanted in the heart of man is not contradicted by immediate and personal experience; but honour is due to the historian who knows how to distinguish the covering from the substance, and, like the judge of the infernal regions, drags the souls before his judgment seat, naked and stripped of all pomp and pageantry.

Timotheus, the son of Conon, deserves to be honourably mentioned as a warrior equal to his father, and among all the Athenian generals of being that one who knew how to carry his enterprises into execution with the least outlay of money, and therefore without burdening the allies, and making himself and his country odious through extortion. I pass over his

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[625] Lysias c. Alcib. λειποταξ. i. p. 548.

[626] Theopompus ap. Athen. xii. p. 532 B, sqq.

other merits, which will be mentioned hereafter; but his skill in maintaining his soldiers ought not to be left unnoticed. Timotheus generally received little or nothing in the beginning of the campaign; though there arose the greatest scarcity in the army, he was still successful in the war, and paid his soldiers to the last obolus[627]. He subdued four and twenty states with less expense than the siege of Melos had occasioned in the Peloponnesian war[628]; the siege of Potidæa, which had cost such vast sums in the time of Pericles, he carried on with money which he had raised himself, together with the contributions of the Thracian cities[629]; according to Nepos he gained in the war against Cotys 1200 talents of prize-money[630]. In the expedition against Olynthus, having no silver money, he issued a coinage of copper tokens, which he induced the merchants to take by promising them that they might use it in paying for whatever property either in land or plunder they might purchase, and he pledged himself to redeem whatever should remain over[631]. In the expedition round the Peloponnese to Corcyra, there was likewise great scarcity; for Timotheus had received only 13 talents[632]. He accordingly compelled each of the trierarchs to give pay to the sailors to the amount of 7 minas, for which he pledged his own property[633]; afterwards being unable to furnish any more pay to the troops, he gave them provision-money for three months in advance, in order that they might believe he was in the expectation of large sums which were only detained by the unfavourable state of the weather[634]; and in the mean time he sent for a fresh supply of money from Athens for his numerous fleet[635]. But he and Iphicrates also paid away some of the prize-money on this occasion[636]. Lastly, Timotheus kept 30 triremes and 8000 pel-

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[627] Isocrat. de Antidosi, p. 72, ed. Orell.

[628] Ibid. p. 70.

[629] Ibid. p. 70.

[630] Nepos Timoth. i.

[631] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. ii. 2, 23; Polyæn. iii. 10, 1.

[632] Isocrat. ut sup. p. 68.

[633] Orat. c. Timoth. (in Demosthenes) p. 1187, 1188.

[634] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. ut sup.

[635] Xenoph. Hell. v. 4, 66.

[636] Diod. xv. 47, cf. xvi. 57. Xenophon indeed (Hell. vi. 2, 23) relates the accounts, which Diodorus ascribes to both, of Iphicrates alone, and undoubt-

tasts in pay (with which he besieged Samos for eleven months), sustaining them wholly from the enemy's country, whereas Pericles had not been able to take the same island without incurring a vast expense[637].

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edly with more correctness; but it can be safely asserted of Timotheus that he assisted himself at that time with plunder.

[637] Isocrat. ut sup. p. 69; Aristot. Œcon. ut sup. Polyæn. i. 10, 5, 9.

BOOK III.

ON THE ORDINARY REVENUES OF THE ATHENIAN STATE.

CHAPTER I.

The different branches of the Public Revenue in Athens and other Greek Republics.

THE revenues of the Athenian state may, in like manner with its expenditure, be classed under two divisions; the one comprising the ordinary income, from which were defrayed the current expenses in time of peace; the other including all extraordinary resources for military preparations and the carrying on of war.

The present being the first attempt which has been made to investigate this subject[1], it will be necessary at the outset to ascertain what species of revenues were thought by the Greeks

[1] In the following inquiries I have been nearly unassisted by the labours of any predecessor, with the exception of what had been written on the subject of the liturgies, and what Manso (Sparta, vol. ii. p. 493—505), had adduced in reference to the period of the Peloponnesian war. The errors of this last dissertation I have sometimes mentioned, and others I have passed over in silence, as they are not of great importance in a writer who is treating of a totally different subject. After the completion of my labours, the second volume of Becker's "Demosthenes as Statesman and Orator" appeared, which contains something on the subject of finance, as well as on the judicial and military systems: without annoying the intelligent and unassuming author with unseasonable censure, or wishing to raise myself unjustly above others, I may assert with truth, that I derived no information from it, nor did I feel myself inclined to refute any of his statements, as I am convinced that the author will himself perceive the incompleteness of his investigations. The following singular production may also be mentioned: "De l'économie des anciens gouvernemens comparée à celle des gouvernemens modernes, par Mr. Prevost, Mémoire lû dans l'assemblée publique de l'académie royale des sciences et belles-lettres de Prusse, du 5 Juin, 1783. Berlin, 1783, 8vo." The author of this Memoir, who has distinguished himself in other departments of literature, here, from want of knowledge, wanders into vague generalities, and loses himself in idle disquisitions

to be the best, and what taxes to be most easily borne by the people.

Of all taxes, none are more repugnant to notions of liberty (not in a general sense only, but also according to the principles entertained by the ancients), than taxes upon persons. At Athens it was a recognised principle, that taxes were to be imposed upon property, and not upon persons[2]; and even the property of the citizens was only taxed on occasions of emergency, or under an honourable form. In the state of Athens, and doubtless in all the other Grecian republics, no direct tax was laid upon property, except perhaps a duty on slaves, and the extraordinary war taxes, together with the liturgies, which latter were considered a mark of distinction. In republics there was no regular land tax or tithe (δεκάτη), and, with the exception of the sacred and national property, no land in Attica was, after the early times of this state, ever subject to a ground rent; and even at that remote period, this tax was not paid into the public treasury, but to the nobles, in their right of proprietors of the soil. The Greeks, moreover, were equally unacquainted with a house tax, of which the existence has been supposed from the misconception of a passage in an ancient author[3]. The best and most popular revenues were necessarily

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without value or foundation. In this Memoir, publicly read before an academy of sciences, I do not remember to have met with anything of importance, but the truly anti-Xenophontean and philanthropic proposal, to change a number of Sundays into working days, in order to promote the prosperity of the people!

[2] Demosth. c. Androt. p. 609, 23.

[3] See below, chap. 3. A single passage, from which it might be supposed that there existed a land tax, I will examine in this note. In an inscription in Corp. Inscript. No. 101, according to which, by a decree of the demus Piræus, certain honours and privileges are granted to Callidamas of Cholliдæ, an Athenian, the following words occur: τελεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ αὐτὰ τελη ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ἅπερ ἂν καὶ Πειραιεῖς, καὶ μὴ ἐκλέγειν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν δήμαρχον τὸ ἐγκτητικόν. From this it is evident, that whoever possessed landed property in a demus to which he did not belong, paid something for the ἔγκτησις or ἔγκτημα: this, however, was a tax paid to the demus, and not to the state; and the reason of its being paid was, that the proprietor was not a member of the particular demus. With regard to the τέλη, they refer undoubtedly to the liturgies and the extraordinary taxes, together with certain duties raised by the corporations. Taxes on houses and land only existed in states under the government of a tyrant. Of the word τελος more is said in book iv. ch. 5.

those which arose from the public lands or domains: in addition to these rents there were indirect taxes which fell upon all the inhabitants, and direct taxes which fell upon the aliens; there were also the justice fees and fines. But over and above these domestic imposts, Athens contrived in the tributes of the confederates a peculiar source of regular revenue, which at its first establishment was the chief means of her power, though afterwards it became an accessory cause of her destruction.

All the ordinary revenues of Athens may thus be brought into the following four classes: duties (*τέλη*), arising partly from public domains, including the mines, partly from customs and excise, and some taxes upon industry and persons, which only extended to the aliens and slaves: fines (*τιμήματα*), together with justice fees and the proceeds of confiscated property (*δημιόπρατα*): tributes of the allied or subject states (*φόροι*): and ordinary liturgies (*λειτουργίαι ἐγκύκλιοι*). These comprehend nearly all the different kinds of revenues which Aristophanes[4] ascribes to the state of Athens, when he mentions duties (*τέλη*), the other hundredths (*τὰς ἄλλας ἑκατοστάς*), tributes, prytaneia (in which, with the inaccuracy of a poet, he includes the fines), markets, harbours, and confiscations: besides these he specifies one other head of revenue, respecting which no certain information can be given.

With the single exception of the tributes, this enumeration would apply with equal truth to the other states of Greece. Even the liturgies, which for a time were considered as an institution peculiar to the Athenians, and the extraordinary property taxes, were common at least to all democracies, and were even established in certain aristocracies or oligarchies. Aristotle[5] states in general terms, that under a democracy the

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[4] Vesp. 657, sqq., where *μισθοὺς* creates a difficulty. Perhaps it might mean pay for the soldiers, which Athens received from foreign nations in addition to the tributes, as e. g. in the Sicilian war from the Egestæans: it might, however, signify the rents of lands, as *μισθοὶ* for *μισθώσεις* is correct Greek. The *μισθοὶ τριηραρχίας* (Xenoph. Œcon. 2, 6), cannot be meant, since it would not have suited the purpose of Aristophanes to mention these any more than the *εἰσφορά*. [Compare the author's dissertation on the silver mines of Laurion, note 114. TRANSL.]

[5] Polit. v. 5.

chief persons will be oppressed either by dividing their property, or consuming their incomes by liturgies. That the Athenian colonies, as Potidæa for example, collected property taxes[5b]; that we meet with liturgies at Byzantium, the population of which was in part Athenian[6]; with property taxes, choregia, and other liturgies, in Siphnos[7]; is nothing more than might naturally have been expected; but at Ægina the choregia was in existence even before the Persian war[8]; at Mytilene during the Peloponnesian war[9]; at Thebes in the time of Pelopidas and Epaminondas[10]; and at Orchomenus at a very early period[11]. At Rhodes the wealthy citizens performed the trierarchy in the same manner as at Athens, their expenses being partly compensated by those who were less rich than themselves, by which means the latter became their debtors, as at Athens in the case of the advance of the property tax (*προεισφορά*)[12]; and, lastly, we find the institution of liturgies widely extended through the Greek cities of Asia Minor.

What I have here said upon the different sorts of revenues in the Grecian republics, is confirmed by the introduction to the Treatise on Political Economy attributed to Aristotle. The author distinguishes economy into four kinds; the royal economy, the economy of satraps, the political, and the private. The first of these he calls the greatest and most simple; the third the most various and easy; and the last the most various and least considerable. To the royal he assigns four departments, coinage, exportation, importation, and expenditure. With regard to money, he tells us, the king must consider what description of coin is to be issued, and when it is to be made current at a higher or lower rate. With regard to exports and imports, what quantity it is profitable to take from the satraps as a tax in kind[13], and at what time, and how the goods so

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[5b] See book iv., note 220.

[6] Decree of the Byzantines in Demosth. de Corona, p. 265, 10.

[7] Isocrat. Æginet. 17.

[8] Herod. v. 83.

[9] Antiphon de Herod. cæde, p. 744. Concerning this passage, see book iv. c. 5.

[10] Plutarch. Aristid. I.

[11] Corp. Inscript. Nos. 1579, 1580.

[12] Aristot. Polit. v. 5.

[13] *Τυγὴ* is the tax appointed to be paid to the king. See the passage of

obtained should be disposed of. With regard to expenditure, what branches should be retrenched, and at what time, and whether the king should pay in money or in kind. The economy of satraps comprehends six descriptions of revenues, arising from land; from the peculiar products of the soil; from places of trade[14]; from duties (*ἀπὸ τελῶν*); from cattle; and from sundries. The first and best is the land tax, or tithe (*ἐκφόριον*[15], *δεκάτη*); the second is from gold, silver, brass, &c.; the third relates to harbour dues and other port duties; the fourth comprehends tolls taken by land and at markets (*ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ ἀγοραίων τελῶν*); the fifth the tax upon cattle, or the tithe (*ἐπικαρπία, δεκάτη*), by which we are not to understand the money paid for the right of feeding cattle upon the public pastures, but a duty upon the animals themselves; of which nature was a tax collected by Dionysius the elder, tyrant of Syracuse, with almost incredible harshness and effrontery[16]; the sixth item comprises a poll tax (*ἐπικεφάλαιον*) and a tax upon industry (*χειρωνάξιον*). On the subject of the political economy, which has particular reference to the question now under consideration, the inaccurate author is very brief. He thinks the best kind of revenue is in this case that derived from the peculiar products of the country, mines therefore in particular; also tolls levied in harbours, and duties of a similar description[17]; and lastly, the receipts arising from the common things (*ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων*); which expression, on account of its many meanings, some have understood as referring to the census, some to the ordinary liturgies, or have wished to remove the difficulty by conjecture[18]; but it evidently means the common

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Hesychius in Schneider's preface, p. ix. The explanation there given by the editor is in my opinion incorrect.

[14] I read *ἀπὸ ἐμπορίων*.

[15] Cf. Lex. Seg. p. 247.

[16] The transaction is related at full length in Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. 2, 20.

[17] *Ἀπὸ ἐμπορίων καὶ δι' ἀγώνων.* The last words are evidently corrupt: for to understand the public games, because they were usually connected with markets, is manifestly out of the question. Heeren (Ideen. vol. iii. p. 333) proposes *ἀγορῶν*; Schneider *ἀγοραίων*; but then *διὰ* must be omitted. I conjecture *διαγωγῶν*, and understand transit duties (*διαγώγιον*, Polyb. iv. 52), which, from their not falling upon the inhabitants, might occupy a very high station in the Political Economy.

[18] See particularly Schneider's preface, whose conjecture, *ἐγκτημάτων*, is

inland traffic of commodities, upon which indirect taxes were imposed. In the same manner, in speaking subsequently of the private economy, after having stated that the best revenue is that which arises from the land, he mentions first the income from the other common things (*ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγκυκλημάτων*), that is, from the profits of trade, and afterwards the income accruing from money placed out at interest.

It is upon the whole manifest from these observations, brief and unconnected as they are, that revenues derived from public property and indirect taxes, were considered as best adapted for the political economy, to which the economy of the Greek republics belongs. In how great a degree indirect taxes were detrimental to morality, a subject which has been often dwelt upon in modern times, the ancients were not aware; and if these duties are moderate, as was the case in ancient times, the amount of injury cannot be considerable. Man always finds an opportunity for doing evil, and if one is removed he will seek for another: the cause of virtue is ill promoted by making vice impossible. On the other hand, direct taxes imposed upon the soil, upon industry, or upon persons, excepting only in cases of emergency, were looked upon in Greece as despotic and arbitrary, it being considered as a necessary element of freedom, that the property of the citizen, as well as his occupation and person, should be exempt from all taxation, excepting only when a free community taxed itself, which power is obviously an essential part of liberty. The most ignominious of all impositions was the poll tax, a tax paid only by slaves to their tyrants*, or by the deputy of the slaves to the satrap; or required from subjugated nations by their conquerors: of this description were the taxes levied by the

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extremely improbable. The *Political Economy* is the public economy of cities, which as such, and without reference to satraps or kings, to whom they might be subject, were free corporations: in these therefore the land tax could not have been considered as one of the best sources of revenue. In addition to which he must also write *ἐγκτημάτων* in the following part, where it does not make any sense.

* [In Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. ii. 2, 5, it is stated that on one occasion the Athenians at Potidæa, who had no land, paid a poll tax of 2 minas a head. —TRANSL.]

Romans upon the inhabitants of the provinces[19]. "As the land," says Tertullian[20], "has less value if it is subject to an impost, so are men more degraded if they pay a poll tax; for it is a token of captivity." All persons who were not citizens of a free state, were compelled either to pay a capitation tax, or to forfeit their lives. When Condalus, appointed by Mausolus as governor over the Lycians, a people who delighted in wearing long hair, ordered them to pay a poll tax, in case they failed to supply the king with sufficient materials for the false hair which he pretended to want[21], the demand was in reality most lenient. With equal right he could have required their lives or money as a substitute: for the Great King was sole possessor of the persons of all his subjects.

CHAPTER II.

Rents accruing from Lands, Houses, and other immoveable Property of the State and of Public Bodies.

THE term *duty* (τέλος) has sometimes a wider and sometimes a more limited signification: almost every tax, with the exception of the justice fees and fines, is denoted by this name. In this place, where the liturgies and property taxes do not come into consideration, we include under it all revenues arising from the property of the state, from the custom duties levied in the harbours and markets, and the taxes upon persons and industry.

All property was either in the hands of individuals, or belonged to corporations, companies, temples, or to the state itself. We also find that the property of certain temples belonged to the demi; as, for example, the demus of Piræus was possessed of the theseum and other sacred lands; and the state itself must also be considered as the owner of much sacred property; so that sacred property and the property of the state

[19] Cic. ad Attic. v. 16.

[20] Tertull. Apolog. 13. The indiction by *capita*, which from the time of Diocletian, as it appears, and more particularly after Constantine the First, caused great oppression in the Roman empire, was not a poll tax, but a tax upon landed property, cattle, and slaves.

[21] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. 2, 14.

frequently coincide. But whatever may have been the right by which sacred property of this description was held, the original object for which the sacred demesnes (*τεμένη*) had been set apart was retained, viz. that the sacrifices and the other expenses should be defrayed out of the proceeds; for which purpose, unless the cultivation of it was prohibited by some malediction, it was always leased out[22]. The property of the state and of the corporations or temples consisted either in pastures for cattle, or in forests, over which particular inspectors (*ὑλωροὶ*) were set[23], or in tillage-land, houses, salt-works, water[24], mines, &c.: what number of possessions of this kind belonged to the state of Athens, besides the property of the temples and the several corporations, it is impossible now to ascertain. The demesnes which once belonged to the kings, cannot be supposed to have come into the possession of the state after the abolition of the kingly office; it is more probable that they remained the private property of the royal family; much land indeed became the property of the state by confiscation, conquest, and ancient possession; but they frequently sold the confiscated, and lost the conquered territory.

All property, both of corporations and of the state, as well such as was sacred as such as was not (*ἱερὰ καὶ ὅσια* and *δημόσια*), was leased out either permanently or for a term of years; and the rent accruing to the state was made over to a farmer-general. The latter fact is most distinctly seen from the instance of Cephisius, mentioned by Andocides[25]: this

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[22] Harpocrat. in v. *ἀπὸ μισθωμάτων*, referring to Isocrat. Areopag. 11. Examples of this occur in many inscriptions.

[23] Aristot. Polit. vi. 8.

[24] An instance of sacred institutions possessing property in water occurs in Strabo xiii. p. 442, which refers to Asia. At Byzantium the salt and fisheries belonged to the state; at Athens, in part at least, to the demi. [The latter assertion appears to rest upon an erroneous reading in an inscription; see Note A at the end of the book.—TRANSL.]

[25] De Myst. p. 45. *Κηφίσιος μὲν οὑτοσὶ πριάμενος ὠνὴν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου τὰς ἐκ ταύτης ἐπικαρπίας τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ* (scil. *δημοσίᾳ*) *γεωργούντων ἐνενήκοντα μνᾶς ἐκλέξας, οὐ κατέβαλε τῇ πόλει καὶ ἔφυγεν· εἰ γὰρ ἦλθεν, ἐδέδετ' ἂν ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ· ὁ γὰρ νόμος οὕτως εἶχε κυρίαν εἶναι τὴν [τε] βουλὴν, ὃς ἂν πριάμενος τέλος μὴ καταβάλῃ, δεῖν εἰς τὸ ξύλον.* The words *ἐν τῇ γῇ* have been suspected, but they appear to be genuine; Sluiter's conjectures are wholly inadmissible.

person had taken a lease from the state, by virtue of which he collected a tax of 90 minas from the cultivators of the public lands, and was to pay over this money to the state. In like manner a farmer of the pasturage money (*νομώνης, scripturarius*) existed in Orchomenus[26], as well as in the Roman empire, who collected the duty from individuals: the state, for the sake of avoiding trouble, and of obviating the necessity of any paid officers, collected none of its own revenues directly, with the exception of the fines and the extraordinary war taxes; whereas in the case of the property of temples and corporations, the duty was never leased to a farmer-general.

At Athens the rent appears to have been usually fixed in money; exceptions, however, occur in leases which were held by the tenants on condition of paying a tithe, or of furnishing certain sacrifices for a particular temple, and also in the case of certain kinds of property which were burdened with an obligation to pay a tax of a tenth to the state, probably because they had originally been public property, and been transferred to private individuals as usufructuary possessors; these tithes of the produce were sold by the state to a farmer-general[27]. We find that in other countries besides Attica, payments of rent in kind were of very frequent occurrence in ancient days. Thus, for example, they occur in the Heraclean tables, which contain a lease of the property of the temple of Bacchus and Minerva Polias granted by the state.

The duration of leases was probably very unequal in different cases; the Orchomenians, in an instance which has been preserved to our days, granted the usufructuary right to the public pastures for a term of four years; the demus of Piræus let its property for ten years. Upon the whole, however, we have not a sufficient number of individual cases to enable us to draw any general inference; for the number of accounts upon this question which we now possess, is extremely scanty; and we have

[26] Corp. Inscript. No. 1569. Thucydides (v. 53) mentions that the Epidaurians paid a duty of this kind to the Pythian Apollo.

[27] The only mention that I have as yet met with of a similar tax of a tenth belonging to the state, occurs in Corp. Inscript. No. 76.

scarcely any information on the subject of lettings, except those which regard the sacred property of the state. An example, in addition to that quoted from Andocides, is given by Ælian[28], who relates, that Athens had let the public domains of the Eubœan Chalcis, with the exception of the land dedicated to Minerva, and necessarily of that which had been granted to the cleruchi: the public documents of this transaction were preserved at Athens in inscriptions set up in front of the royal porch.

Over many possessions of this kind separate officers were placed, as, for instance, the managers chosen from among the Areopagites (ἐπιμεληταὶ, ἐπιγνώμονες), who were appointed to the care of the sacred olive-trees (μορίαι), the produce of which was paid as a rent[29]. According to Demosthenes[30], it was the duty of the demarch to enforce payment of the rent for the property of the temples; this statement however doubtless refers only to the property of the demi. Other rents were received by officers employed by the state or the temples, according as they arose either from public or sacred property. As prior to the introduction of the demarchs, the naucrari performed the duties of this office, we find that the exaction of the public monies, as well as the letting of the public property, are enumerated among their duties[31].

Xenophon expressly mentions houses among the tenements which were rented from the state[32]; the same description of

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[28] V. H. vi. 1. It may be also thought that the revenue from public lands in Attica is signified in Thucyd. vi. 91, by the words ἀπὸ γῆς; but the incomes received by private individuals from their estates may be understood there with equal reason.

[29] Lys. Apolog. ὑπὲρ τοῦ σηκοῦ p. 260. Comp. Markland's notes, p. 269, 282. The decree of the Emperor Hadrian, with regard to the payment of the third or eighth part of the produce of the olive-trees (Corp. Inscript. No. 355) refers not to public but to private property, of which that part was to be allotted to the public use, and was of course to be paid for. It is therefore a forced sale to the state of Athens, as was the case in the Roman empire with wine and corn in the time of the emperors. Cf. Burmann. de Vectig. P. R. 3.

[30] Cont. Eubulid. p. 1318, 20.

[31] Ammon. in v. ναύκληροι, Phot. in v. ναύκραροι.

[32] De Vectig. τεμένη, ἱερὰ, οἰκίας. The middle word is obscure. Might not the revenue derived from the sacrifices have been let in farm, and been signified by the word ἱερὰ (*sacra*, tem-

property was also sometimes held by sacred corporations, and let by them to tenants, having been in many cases derived from free-gift or confiscation. Thus the temple of Apollo at Delos let property of this kind together with its other domains[33]; and other bodies probably did the same. The Mendæans, says the author of the Œconomics[34], applied the harbour duties and other taxes to the uses of government; the taxes on land and houses they did not collect, but kept an account of those who possessed such property; and when there was a want of supplies, they raised it from these debtors, who profited by this indulgence, having had the use of the money in the mean time, without paying any interest. From this it has been inferred that both a land and a house tax existed; but it is evident that the writer only means the public lands which were held in lease from the state, and that the rent was left unpaid without interest, in order that a fund might accumulate which could be used on occasion of need, and at the same time a greater profit be allowed to the tenants. It may be moreover observed that the houses at Athens were let to contractors (*ναύκληροι*); which name also signifies landlords (*σταθμοῦχοι*); for they afterwards sublet the houses to lodgers, in the same manner as private proprietors[35]. This is probably the meaning of the singular expression of the grammarians[36], who state, that persons were called by the same appellation (*ναύκληροι*), who were hired to attend to the collection of the house-rent. The truth is, that the subletting was transferred to them as contractors, from which they obtained their profit, and so far they might be considered as hired servants of the proprietor. It has been already remarked that the tenants of houses paid their rent to the state by prytaneas, and not by the month[37]; whether however in every prytanea, or only in some prytaneas, as the other farmers of duties, I will not attempt to decide.

All these lands were let by auction to the highest bidder; and

ples or sacrifices)? At least the theatre was let out in this manner, which to a certain point was sacred property.

[33] Corp. Inscript. No. 158, § 4.

[34] 2, 21, ed. Schneid.

[35] Comp. above book i. ch. 24.

[36] Harpocrat. Suid. Ammon. Lex. Seg. p. 282, &c.

[37] i. 24.

for this purpose the conditions of lease were previously engraved upon stone, and fixed up in public. The names of the lessees could be subsequently added; so that the document which had been originally exhibited then became a lease, or, if not, a fresh agreement was afterwards set up.

A notice or advertisement, the date of which is either Olymp. 114, 4, or 115, 3 (B.C. 321 or 318), mutilated at the end, by which the demus Piræus offers some property to be let, may, as far as it is intelligible, be translated nearly word for word as follows[38].

"In the Archonship of Archippus, Phrynion being Demarch.

"The Piræans let Paralia and Halmyris and the Theseum and all the other sacred lands, upon the following conditions. That the tenants for more than 10 drachmas are to give sufficient security for the payment of the rent, and those for less than 10 drachmas are to provide a surety, whose property shall be liable for the same. Upon these conditions they let the lands tax and duty free. And if any property-tax be imposed upon the farms according to their valuation, the burghers will pay it. The tenants shall not be allowed to remove wood or earth from the Theseum and the other sacred lands, nor [damage] whatever wood there is in the farm. The tenants of the Thesmophorium and the Schœnus and the other pasture lands, shall pay half the rent in Hecatombæon (the first month), and the other half in Posideon (the sixth month). The tenants occupying Paralia and Halmyris and the Theseum, and any other grounds that there may be, shall cultivate them for the first nine years in whatever manner they please, and is according to custom; but in the tenth year they shall plough the half of the land, and no more, so that the succeeding tenant will be able to begin preparing the soil from the 16th of Anthesterion. And if he shall plough more than half, the excess of the produce shall be the property of the burghers." After this there follows a stipulation that the tenant shall receive a house connected with one of the farms in good repair.

In another fragment containing conditions of lease, in one

[38] See Note A at the end of the book.

of which a tribe proposes to let some lands, probably sacred lands[39], the payment of the rent is divided into three instalments, at the beginning of the year, in the seventh and in the eleventh month. The theatres were let in the same manner as landed property, a proof of which is given in another Piræan inscription[40]. According to this document, the lessee of the theatre is bound to keep the building in proper repair, for which reason he is called the chief architect[41]; his receipts were doubtless derived from the entrance-money of such citizens as were furnished with it by the state, and of all aliens, who had not, like the ambassadors, free admission. The rent paid by the tenant of the theatre of Piræus, was, in the instance which has come down to us, 3300 drachmas: the demus of Piræus, as owner of the theatre, presents with crowns the lessees and a person named Theiæus, who had succeeded in increasing the rent by 300 drachmas[42].

Another item deserving of mention is the money bearing interest, which not the state only, but temples, and perhaps also corporations, were possessed of. Thus from the funds belonging to the Delian Apollo, large sums of money had been lent to states, and bankers, or other private individuals[43]; some Corcyræan nobles consecrated a considerable sum for sacred uses, that the interest which it produced might be expended in the celebration of games to Bacchus[44]; and the temple of Delphi also appears, according to Demosthenes, to have lent out some of the sacred money[45].

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[39] Corp. Inscript. No. 104.

[40] Corp. Inscript. No. 102.

[41] Comp. above book ii. chr. 13.

[42] At the end of the inscription the names of the farmers, and how much each gave, are mentioned: the ὠνηταὶ are, Aristophanes with 600 drachmas, Melesias with 1100, Arethusius with 500, and Œnophon with 1100 drachmas.

[43] Corp. Inscript. No. 158.

[44] Corp. Inscript. No. 1845.

[45] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 561, in the account of the Alcmæonidæ. Of this fact, however, Herodotus (v. 62 sqq.) knew nothing.

CHAPTER III.

Revenue arising from the Mines of the State.

THE mines (μέταλλα) belonging to the state of Athens were partly native and partly foreign.

The former were the silver mines of Laurium[46], from which the nation derived very considerable advantages, as by their means Themistocles first raised the naval force of Athens to a state of importance. They extended from coast to coast, in a line of seven English miles, from Anaphlystus to Thoricus. The working of them had been commenced at an early period, and it appears to have been very profitable in the time of Themistocles; they had however become less productive in the age of Socrates and Xenophon, and before the age of Strabo had been so entirely exhausted, that in his time they only used the earth which had been previously extracted, together with the old scoriæ, and all farther mining was discontinued. The ores contained silver and lead, with zinc, and possibly copper; but no gold, at least not enough to allow the ancients, with their imperfect processes of separation, to have extracted it with profit. At Thoricus spurious emeralds occurred in combination with the ore; also the cinnabar, which was found there, and the Athenian sil, a substance much prized for dyeing, were equally valuable. The mines were worked with shafts and adits, and by the removal of whole masses, so that supports alone (μεσοκρινεῖς) were left standing. The processes of fusion carried on in the furnaces appear, upon the whole, to have been the same as those employed in the other mines which were worked in ancient times. The people or the state was sole proprietor of the mines; but they were never worked at the public expense, nor did the state ever let them for a term of years, like other landed property; portions of them were sold or demised to individuals with the reservation of a perpetual rent, and these leases were

[46] See the Dissertation on the Silver Mines of Laurion, [at the end of the volume.]

transferred from one person to another by inheritance, sale, and every kind of legal conveyance. The sale of the mines (that is, of the right of working them) was managed by the poletæ; this right was purchased at an appointed price, in addition to which the possessor paid the twenty-fourth part of the net produce as a perpetual tax. The purchase-money was paid directly to the state; the metal rents were in all probability let to a farmer-general. The amount of the money obtained from both sources (to which must also be added a small income accruing to the state from the market and the public buildings,) necessarily depended on a variety of circumstances; such for example as the number of mines let in the course of the year, the comparative richness or poverty of the veins discovered, or the degree of activity with which the mining was carried on. In the time of Socrates, these mines produced less than at an earlier period: when Themistocles proposed to the Athenians to apply the money accruing from the mines to the building of ships, instead of dividing it, as before, among the people, the annual receipts appear to have amounted to 30 or 40 talents; although the accounts relating to this point are extremely obscure and uncertain. Citizens and isoteles were alone entitled to the possession of mines. The number of the possessors was evidently considerable; and, like the agriculturists, they were considered as a separate class of producers; sometimes they possessed several shares, sometimes only one. The common price of a single share was a talent, or rather more; occasionally several partners occur as the joint possessors of a mine. The manual labour was performed by slaves, either belonging to the possessors of the mines or hired; the slaves thus employed by the mine-proprietors were extremely numerous, and although the cheapness of their labour diminished the expenses of mining, the improvements of art in facilitating and abridging the processes of labour were retarded. The security of this possession was firmly guaranteed by severe laws; and the rights of the state were strictly maintained. There was a mining law (*μεταλλικὸς νόμος*), and a peculiar course of legal proceedings in cases relating to mines (*δίκαι μεταλλικαὶ*), which, for the greater encouragement of the mine-proprietors, were in the time of Demos-

thenes annexed to the monthly suits. The mines were also free from property taxes, and did not subject the possessor to the performance of liturgies, nor were they transferred in the ἀντίδοσις, or exchange of property; immunities, which did not arise from any wish to encourage the working of mines, but were founded upon the nature of their tenure from the state; for they were considered as public property let to usufructuary possessors in consideration of a fixed rate of payment, like the duties paid by the farmers; and no property which was not freehold, and exempt from rent or duty, subjected the possessor to liturgies and property taxes.

In what manner the stone quarries were regulated, in which the finest varieties of marble were found[47], and which by the ancients[48] were also considered as mines, I have been unable to ascertain.

That Athens usurped possession of the mines of her subject allies, cannot be assumed in conformity with the whole system of her foreign policy: we must suppose that they everywhere remained the property of the persons to whom they had belonged previously to the dominion of Athens.

The mines in Thrace appear however to form an exception, and to have been immediately dependent upon Athens; it is probable that they were let in the same manner as the Athenian mines, although we have no certain information as to this point. The Thracian gold mines had been first worked by the Phœnicians, together with the mines of Thasos, and afterwards by the Thasians of Paros. The gold mines of Scapte Hyle upon the main-land brought to the state of Thasos an annual revenue of 80 talents. Those of Thasos were less productive; but they yielded so large a sum, that the Thasians, with a complete freedom from all land-taxes, derived from the mines of the island and of the continent, together with the custom duties collected in the harbours, and perhaps the rents of some lands in Thrace, an annual income of 200 or 300 talents[49]. When the Athenians

[47] Caryophilus de Marmoribus p. 4 sqq.

[48] E. g. Strab. ix. p. 275; Pollux vii. 100.

[49] So Herodotus vi. 46, must be understood.

had established themselves in Thrace, they entered into a contest with the Thasians for the possession of the mines and harbours of the main-land. Cimon captured 33 of their ships in a naval engagement, besieged and reduced the city, and gained for his country the coast, together with the gold mines[50]. Thus the Athenians obtained possession not only of Scapte Hyle, but also of other cities on the main-land, for which, as belonging to the Thasians, these islanders had, in the expedition of Xerxes, borne the expense of provisioning his army[51]: Stryme also, a Thasian commercial town[52], may be referred to this number, for which, when the power of Athens in those regions was broken, Thasos contended with Maronea[53]; doubtless also Galepsus and Œsyme, colonies of the Thasians[54]; likewise Datum, which was also a Thasian town, situated between Neapolis and Nestos, where the Athenians, at the same time that the battle against Thasos took place (Olymp. 79, 1, B. C. 463), fought with the Edoni for the possession of the gold mines[55]. Crenides however does not appear to have belonged to the Thasians in early times, although this town was under their dominion in the 105th Olympiad (B.C. 360). It is highly probable that the Athenians at this time, as Thasos had before them, received the revenues of all these towns, as well as of the gold mines: the latter were perhaps partly granted to Athenian tenants, while some of the ancient possessors remained in undisturbed occupation. If as many names of proprietors of the Thracian, as of the Laurian mines, had been preserved, we should be able to speak with more certainty on this point; but the extent of our knowledge is, that Thucydides was possessed of gold mines in Thrace[56]. Even, however, with regard to Thucydides, it remains doubtful in what manner he became possessed of them. If they were situated at Scapte Hyle (at which place Thucydides lived, wrote, and died in exile[57], after it had passed from

[50] Plutarch. Cim. 14; Thucyd. i. 100, 101; Diod. xi. 70.

[51] Herod. vii. 18.

[52] Herod. vii. 118; Suid. in. v. Στρύμη.

[53] The Epistle of Philip in the Oration attributed to Demosthenes.

[54] Thuc. iv. 107. Concerning Galepsus comp. also v. 6.

[55] Herod. ix. 75; cf. Thuc. i. 100, iv. 102; Diod. xi. 70; xii. 68; Pausan. i. 29, 4.

[56] Thuc. iv. 105.

[57] Plutarch. Cim. 4, and in the

under the dominion of Athens), they could not have made part of the inheritance of Hegesipyle, the daughter of the king of Thrace[58], from whom Thucydides was descended; for Scapte Hyle belonged not to Thrace, but to Thasos: it is more probable that they were derived from Athens, after Cimon, Thucydides' near relation, had conquered the Thasian territory: but the account most deserving of credit, is, that Thucydides obtained them by marriage with an inhabitant of Scapte Hyle, whose predecessors had been perhaps long in possession of them[59].

CHAPTER IV.

The Custom Duties, and particularly the Duty of the Fiftieth, or Two per Cent.

THE custom duties were partly raised from the harbours, partly from the markets (*ἀπ' ἐμπορίου καὶ ἀγορᾶς*). The former word signified the places for wholesale trade in commodities carried by sea, and the taxes there raised were custom duties upon exports and imports together with certain fees paid for foreign ships lying in the harbour. The markets were attended by the countrymen and retail-dealers (*ἀγοραῖοι, καπηλοι*), and the revenues derived from these are the taxes upon the sale of goods consumed in the country, and the fees paid for the right of selling in the market[60]. The latter were probably paid by aliens only, the citizens having liberty to sell

Essay de Exilio, Marcellinus' Life of Thucydides, p. 724, 729, in the great Leipsig edition of Thucydides.

[58] This is the opinion of Plutarch and Marcellinus, p. 722, although the contrary statement occurs in the latter writer, the life which bears his name being a mixture of different accounts. Hegesipyle was the wife of Miltiades the younger.

[59] Marcellin. p. 723. *Ἠγάγετο δὲ γυναῖκα ἀπὸ Σκαπτῆς ὕλης τῆς Θρᾴκης πλοῦσίαν σφόδρα καὶ μέταλλα κεκτημένην ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ.*

[60] Upon the difference between merchants (*ἔμποροι*) and retail dealers Salmasius treats at full length in his Book de Usuris. I only mention one important passage, Plat. de Repub. ii. p. 370 E, sqq. Whether there were really two kinds of emporia, for foreigners and natives (*ξενικὸν* and *ἀστικὸν*), as is stated in Lex. Seg. p. 208, seems to me doubtful. In the same Lexicon, p. 255, in v. *ἐπιμεληταὶ*, *Ἀττικὸν* should be restored from Harpocration. *Ἐμπόριον Ἀττικὸν* frequently occurs in Demosthenes.

their goods there without being subject to any tax. An exemption from the custom duties was also granted in some instances to private individuals, probably however only for their own consumption; and the persons who possessed it must have been very few in number, for Demosthenes asserts in general of the immunity from duties (*ἀτέλεια*) that it detracted nothing from the public revenue, whereas if it had been given to many persons, it must have considerably diminished the rent derived from this source[61]. In addition to these taxes, all imports and exports were subject to a small duty of 2 per cent., or the fiftieth (*πεντηκοστή*); the grammarians[62] state expressly that all commodities imported into the Piræus from foreign countries were subject to this duty: that this was the case with imported corn, and manufactured commodities, such as woollen garments, drinking-cups, and other vessels, we know for certain from ancient writers[63]; that it was paid upon exported cattle, and even on such as belonged to an Athenian theoria, we learn from the Sandwich inscription[64]: and if the fiftieth had not been laid upon all exports, how could Demosthenes have referred to the books of the pentecostologi, to prove that the cargo of a ship which had cleared out from Athens, was only worth 5500 drachmas[65]? Ulpian[66] affirms that arms were imported duty free; an assertion which is doubtless correct, if we understand it to refer only to arms which the soldiers used for purposes of war, but can hardly be true of those which were imported as saleable commodities; Ulpian's testimonies generally prove nothing, for they are merely inferences from passages of Demosthenes which he misunderstood. Concerning the import and export by land, I have met with nothing except a passage which will be mentioned presently; they cannot

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[61] Demosth. in Lept. § 21, ed. Wolf. Concerning the exemption from custom duties see also book i. ch. 15.

[62] Etymol. in v. *πεντηκοστολογούμενον*, Lex. Seg. p. 297; Lex. Seg. p. 192, 30. Neither Harpocration, Pollux, nor Photius, have anything of importance on the fiftieth.

[63] Orat. c. Neær. p. 1353, 23; Demosth. c. Mid. p. 558, 16.

[64] Corp. Inscript. No. 158.

[65] Demosth. c. Phorm. p. 909. The export duty is called *παραγώγιον* in Philippides the comic poet, Pollux ix. 90. [Mein. Fr. Com. Gr. vol. iv. p. 472.]

[66] Ad Demosth. c. Mid. ut sup.

indeed have been considerable; for in Greece, and Athens in particular, the intercourse with other states was chiefly carried on by sea. The duty was paid upon imported commodities at the unlading[67]: and upon exported commodities probably at the shipping; it was collected by the pentecostologi, who have been mentioned already[68], in money and not in kind, as is proved by the Sandwich inscription, and by the circumstance that the value of the commodities was entered in the books of the custom duties. As the duty upon corn (*πεντηκοστὴ τοῦ σίτου*), which was only imposed at the importation, was leased out to individuals,[69] the fiftieth must have been sold in separate lots to several farmers, according to some very general distinction of the commodities.

To ascertain what sum the state annually received from the fiftieth, is a problem of difficult solution. If the imported corn amounted annually to about a million medimni, as has been assumed in a former part of this work*; and if the price of a medimnus is taken upon an average at 3 drachmas (although it is not known upon what principles the custom-house valuation was made), the farmer of the corn duty received 10 talents a year, of which a part must be deducted for his trouble, the expense of collection, and profit.

With regard to other commodities little information can be afforded. The only passage on the amount of the fiftieth occurs in the speech of Andocides concerning the mysteries[70], but it

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[67] Demosth. Paragr. c. Lacrit. p. 932, 25 sqq. Plaut. Trinumm. iv. 4, 15, where however the Roman custom may be meant.

[68] Besides other passages already quoted with a different view, compare upon this point Athen. ii. p. 49 C.

[69] Orat. c. Neær. ut sup.

* Book i. ch. 15.

[70] P. 65 sqq. This passage has for the most part been rightly corrected by Reiske. Cf. Valck. Diat. Eurip. p. 293, and Sluiter's Lect. Andocid. p. 158 sqq. Agyrrhius must evidently be read instead of Argyrius; *ἄρχων εἷς* should be altered to *ἀρχώνης*, and then write *μετέσχον δ' αὐτῷ* and *λεύκην*. *Τόπος* is manifestly a gloss, and should be omitted, and read *οὗς*, and then *ὀλίγου* for *ὀλίγον* from the Breslau MS. The words *ὡς πολλοῦ ἄξιον* are an interpretation of *οἷον*, and they appear to me to be a gloss. Concerning *γνῶναι* I will not decide. I believe however that it might be understood if taken for *ὥστε γνῶναι*; if not, *ὥστε* must be added, or the word be altered to *γνόντες*. *Ἀπελάσας καὶ* I would alter with Reiske into *ἀπελάσας δὲ*, a various reading, which Sluiter quotes from a

admits of so much doubt in the interpretation, that it will be better to let him speak in his own words. "For this Agyrrhius, this model of excellence, was two years ago chief farmer of the fiftieth, which he purchased for 30 talents; and all those persons who were collected round him under the white poplar, had a share in the concern. Upon their characters it is unnecessary for me to make any comment. Their object in assembling there was, as far as I can judge, both to receive money for not bidding higher, and to have a share in the profits, when the duty was sold under its proper price. Afterwards when they had gained 2 talents, and discovered that the concern was of considerable value, they all combined together, and, giving the others a share, they purchased the same duty for 30 talents; then, as no one offered a higher sum, I myself went to the senate, and bid against them, until I obtained it for 36 talents. Then having driven away these persons, and provided sureties for myself, I collected the required sum, and paid it to the state: nor was I a loser by the speculation, for the sharers in it even made a small profit. Thus I was the means of preventing these persons from dividing among themselves 6 talents of the public money." According to this account the lease was taken by companies: Agyrrhius, and afterwards Andocides, had an association of this kind: at the head of each company there was a chief farmer (*ἀρχώνης*), by whose name it was called. It was sold to the highest bidder by the poletæ, with the proviso of the approbation of the senate, near the white poplar tree: in

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manuscript, and is also the reading of the Breslau MS. Lastly, *μὲν* should be added after *βραχέα* from the Breslau MS., and the colon after *μεταστάντες* changed into a comma. *Ἀρχώνης* has passed into the grammarians from this passage. Etymol. and Lex. Seg. p. 262. *Ἀρχώνης, ὁ ἄρχων ὠνῆς οὑτινοσοῦν* scil. *πράγματος*, for example *τέλους*. Hesychius *Ἀρχώνης· ὁ προηγούμενος ἐργολάβων*, as has been rightly corrected. To this also the *πεντηκόσταρχος* belongs (as a friend has corrected for *πεντηκόνταρχος*) in Lex. Seg. p. 297, *ὁ ἄρχων τῆς πεντηκοστῆς τοῦ τέλους καὶ τῶν πεντηκοστῶν* (l. *πεντηκοστωνῶν*). Cf. Phot. p. 301. With regard to the emendation afterwards proposed in the text of *ἓξ* for *δύο*, which was first edited by Reiske, it may be observed that it is confirmed by Sluiter's and the Breslau MS., which read *τρία* for *δύο*: it was no doubt originally written ΓΙ, from which II and III could easily be derived [*Τρία* is also the reading of four manuscripts collated by Bekker, Orat. Att. vol. i. p. 142.]

this instance however it was not the tax on any particular commodity, but the fiftieth in general, which therefore these persons had on this occasion farmed in one lot, and not divided into separate portions. Agyrrhius held the lease in the third year before the delivery of the speech; Andocides received it in the following year, for he took it from Agyrrhius, and in the next succeeding year was involved by the party of this person in the law suit concerning the mysteries. It has been incorrectly supposed, that a three years' lease is intended, a meaning of which the expression of the writer does not admit[71]. Andocides indeed says, according to the present reading, that Agyrrhius and his company had made a profit of 2 talents: he himself offered 6 talents more than the former company; but unless he wished to expose himself to evident loss, the highest offer he could make, was what the company of Agyrrhius had paid and gained at the former letting. From this it might be supposed, that these 2 talents were an annual profit; and that the company of Agyrrhius had gained 6 talents in three years, with a rent of 30 talents, which in that case must have been a three years' rent; for Andocides states that the three years' profit upon this rent, was as much as 36 talents. But, not to mention that the idiom of the language compels us to understand a letting which was taken for the third year before the delivery of the speech, and not a three years' lease, it is not possible that an orator should have made use of such inaccurate language, as to state the rent for three years, and the profit of the lessee only for one, without marking the difference. It is better to correct the number, which is for other reasons uncertain, and to suppose that the profit of the company of Agyrrhius was 6 talents instead of 2. Moreover, if this profit and the rent were for three years, the fiftieth would be extraordinarily low, particularly when we consider the export of corn, although even this did not compose the largest part of the whole receipts; the other exports and imports, of cattle and other necessaries, salt

[71] De Pauw (Recherches Philos. vol. i. p. 356) understood it to mean a rent for three years; Manso (Sparta, vol. ii. p. 504) for one year. Τρίτον ἔτος means *the third year before*, or *two* years ago.

fish and flesh, oil, wine, honey, hides, leather, wood, metals, vessels, ointment, rigging, and other kinds of raw and manufactured commodities, would have far exceeded the amount of the duty upon corn: the slaves also must have produced a considerable sum, upon whom, as was the case in the Roman customs, an import duty was also levied[72]. And if the fiftieth, inclusive of the cost of collection, only produced about 14 talents a year, the value of the commodities imported and exported could not have amounted to more than 700 talents, which is evidently too small a sum. In addition to this, the only duty of which we know with certainty the duration of the lease, viz. the tax upon prostitutes, was only let for a term of one year. We must therefore suppose, that the same was the case with the general letting of the other duties, and assume, according to the words of Andocides himself, that the fiftieth produced to the state from 30 to 36 talents a year; so that the imports and exports, allowing for the profit of the letting and the cost of collection, amounted to about 2000 talents[73]. It must however be remembered, that at this period Athens was not in a flourishing condition, as it was the first years after the anarchy: in prosperous times the custom duties were probably far more productive.

In several other countries the custom duties were equally considerable, and in some places they yielded a much larger sum. In Macedonia the harbour duty was generally let for 20 talents; Callistratus raised the rent to 40 talents, by lessening the amount of security; for whereas before his time, each person was obliged to furnish security amounting at the lowest to a talent, which none but the wealthy were able to procure, he permitted the farmer to give security only for the third part, or for whatever smallest portion of his rent he could persuade the people to accept security[74]. Can there be any doubt that a yearly lease is here meant? The harbour duty of Rhodes amounted before Olymp. 153, 4 (B.C. 165) to a million drachmas

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[72] Lex. Seg. p. 297, 21.

[73] Barthélemy (Anacharsis, vol. iv. p. 505) reckons the annual imports and exports not very differently at ten millions of livres.

[74] Aristot. Œcon. 2, 22.

(166 talents) a year: after it had considerably fallen off, it still amounted to 150,000 drachmas (25 talents)[75]. Cersocleptes of Thrace received an annual income of 300 talents from the harbour duties, at times when commerce was not impeded[76].

Whether Athens collected port duties in other countries, for example, in the harbours of Thasos, which she had obtained by conquest, or whether they were transferred to the states of the cleruchi, I am unable to decide. On the other hand, custom duties must necessarily have been established by land against Megaris and Bœotia; for at certain times a total prohibition existed against those countries: nothing determinate can however be ascertained. It is related of Oropus, upon the boundaries of Attica and Bœotia[77], that the inhabitants were all plunderers and toll gatherers, and also raised a duty upon imported goods, being men of the most immoderate avarice. This might certainly be referred to a duty paid upon entrance into the country, which the Bœotians and the Athenians had at different times collected at this spot: but as Oropus was situated on the sea, and as the importation from Eubœa into Attica originally went by way of Oropus, the meaning remains uncertain.

CHAPTER V.

The Harbour Duties, and the Duty of a Hundredth, or One per Cent. The Market Tolls.

IN addition to the fiftieth which was imposed upon imports and exports, it is probable that a separate duty was levied upon all vessels (whether they were unladen or not) for the use of the harbours, which had caused so large an expense to Athens; as we know that a duty was collected for permission to deposit commodities in the warehouses and magazines[78]. A harbour

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[75] Polyb. xxxi. 7, 12.

[76] Demosth. c. Aristocrat. p. 657, 9.

[77] Dicæarchus in the Description of Greece, and the verses of Xenon which he has preserved. [See Meineke, Fr. Com. Gr. vol. iv. p. 596.—TRANSL.]

[78] From Xenophon's proposals (de Vectig. 3,) we are justified in assuming that this was the usual custom.

duty (ἐλλιμένιον) and collectors of the harbour duty (ἐλλιμενιστὰι) are often mentioned. The latter, however, appear to have been considered by Pollux[79] as identical with the pentecostologi. The pentecostologi at Athens, like the collectors of the harbour duties in the Bosporus and elsewhere, and the Roman portitores, examined the goods, valued them, and entered them in their books[80]: the term harbour duty is however a general expression, which also comprehends import and export duties, as in the case of the harbour duty of the Rhodians. Nevertheless this fact does not prove that a separate duty was not imposed for the use of the harbour. I am induced to assume the reality of such an impost, by two apparent traces of its existence. In a fragment of Eupolis[81], a harbour duty is mentioned which was to paid before the passenger embarked: it thus appears that a duty was imposed in the harbour, even upon individuals. In Xenophon's Essay upon the State of Athens[82],

[79] viii. 132. Other passages in the grammarians, e. g. Lex. Seg. p. 251, give no definite information concerning the ellimenistæ.

[80] Demosth. c. Phorm. p. 917, 10, cf. Jul. Afric. Cest. p. 304.

[81] Ap. Poll. ix. 30. Ἐλλιμένιον, ὃ δοῦναι πρὶν εἰσβῆναί σε δεῖ. Εἰσβῆναι can evidently be only understood of going on board a ship, as Kühn has already remarked.

[82] i. 17. Schneider (Opuscul. Xenoph. p. 93) considers this hundredth to be a custom duty, which was afterwards succeeded by the twentieth. Neither to this notion however, nor to that of Manso (Sparta, vol. ii. p. 496), can I accede. With regard to the twentieth, of which I have given the true explanation in chap. 6, Manso (p. 502) understands it to be an increased custom duty upon commodities levied in the Piræus; he combines however passages which have no reference to one another. Among other things, he assumes that the Athenians only remitted to the allies that part of the tribute which was increased by Alcibiades, which he incorrectly states at 300 talents, and that instead of it, a custom duty was collected in the Piræus. This duty was not however levied upon the allies alone, but upon all traders, whether Athenians, allies, or not; and who compelled the allies to come to the Piræus with their commodities? Athens would manifestly by this increased duty in the Piræus have injured her own imports, and raised the prices of commodities, which would have been against her own interest. The twentieth was not collected in the Piræus, but in the countries of the allies. Manso again, proceeding upon the amount of the fiftieth, calculates the increased duty at 90 talents: but is it conceivable that the Athenians would have established a duty producing only 90 talents, part of which moreover was before received, instead of the tributes which brought in so large an income, in order to increase their revenues, and yet, while it caused a precisely opposite effect, have allowed the twentieth to exist for so long a period?

it is remarked that the necessity of trying their causes in Athens, to which the allies were subject, increased the productiveness of the hundredth (ἑκατοστὴ) in the Piræus. We are not justified

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Enough however of these errors. I may observe that with this a main argument of Schneider's falls to the ground, that the Treatise upon the State of Athens is as old as this period, and consequently not the production of Xenophon.

I have already remarked in book i. ch. 8, that I will not answer for its being the work of Xenophon; but the proofs to the contrary I consider as insufficient. That the dominion of the sea did not belong to Athens after the 93rd Olympiad (B.C. 405) is not entirely true. The battle of Cnidos brought subject allies again under the power of Athens (book iii. ch. 17), and why should not the Athenians have again introduced their compulsory jurisdiction? Isocrates (Areopag. 1) speaks in the most unambiguous manner of the naval dominion of the Athenians and of their numerous allies after the victories of Timotheus: εἰρήνην δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν ἀγούσης, καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀρχούσης, ἔτι δὲ συμμάχους ἐχούσης, πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ἑτοίμους ἡμῖν, ἤν τι δέῃ, βοηθήσοντας, πολὺ δὲ πλείους τοὺς τὰς συντάξεις ὑποτελοῦντας καὶ τὸ προσταττόμενον ποιοῦντας. It is certainly remarkable that the tributes should be called φόροι; the name σύνταξις was not however introduced till Olymp. 100, 4 (B.C. 377): Xenophon may either have written this treatise a short time before, or, as appears to me more probable, the ancient and customary expression was retained in use later. Comp. book iii. ch. 17.

That the tributes were valued every four years is also an account to which it is difficult to assign its proper place, particularly in reference to earlier times. According to book iii. ch. 11 and 15, the tributes were not altered until the 89th Olympiad (B.C. 424), and about Olymp. 91, 2 (B.C. 415) they were entirely abolished, and changed into a custom duty, in which state they remained until the dissolution of the whole connexion by the battle of Ægospotamos. Here then it might be preferable to understand the times after the battle of Cnidos, or after the 100th Olympiad (B.C. 377). When the author speaks of the Athenians giving up their own country, we are indeed forcibly reminded of the first period of the Peloponnesian war; but is it not possible that ideas of this kind may have been principles which were derived from the earlier history of Athens?

But the most singular passage of all is the assertion of the writer, that it was not allowed to ridicule the people of Athens in comedies, but only individuals. In the Knights of Aristophanes, which was acted in Olymp. 88, 4 (B.C. 424), and in the Wasps, which was not brought forward till later, the people, as Schneider remarks, is ridiculed; but for this reason to attribute to this writing a greater antiquity than Olymp. 88, 4, would be a bold assumption, nor would it indeed be of much service. Aristophanes had previously ridiculed the state in the Babylonians (see Acharn. 502, and the scholiast), and likewise in the Acharneans, though qualified with an apology which was produced by particular circumstances, that he only speaks against individuals, and not against the state (vs. 514, 515). The freedom of comedy was indeed for a short time abridged, particularly by a decree passed in Olymp. 85, 1 (B.C. 440), which was however abro-

in assuming that this hundredth was an import duty, which was levied at a particular period in place of the fiftieth; for we find the fiftieth mentioned both in the earlier time of Andocides (whose lease of the custom duties, as well as that of Agyrrhius, falls in the first years after the anarchy), and also in the time Demosthenes; and an alteration in this tax cannot be assumed without any proof. May we not suppose that another harbour duty was imposed in addition to the tax upon persons just mentioned, amounting to one per cent. on the cargo? The more

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gated in Olymp. 85, 4 (B.C. 437). (Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 67.) According to the scholiast to Aristoph. Nub. 31, it was expressly prohibited to ridicule the archon in comedy: and according to the scholiast on Acharn. 1149, Antimachus, at the time when he was choregus, had proposed a decree that no one should be ridiculed by name. All these accounts appear to refer to the law passed in the archonship of Morychides, and prove no more than that it was forbidden to attack anybody by name; a prohibition which was not long in force. On the other hand, to ridicule the people, although Cleon threw it out as a reproach against Aristophanes (Acharn. 501), and it would naturally produce hatred against the poet, appears to have been always allowed until after the time of the anarchy. By this overthrow of the democracy the Athenian demus was rendered suspicious and mistrustful; and the parabasis, in which public matters were discussed, was omitted. Of this however want of space prevents me from treating; with regard to the passage in question, it agrees as well with the time which succeeded the anarchy as with the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

Lastly, Schneider was justly surprised at the following passage: ὀλίγοι δέ τινες τῶν πενήτων καὶ τῶν δημοτῶν κωμῳδοῦνται, καὶ οὐδ' οὗτοι, ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πολυπραγμοσύνην καὶ διὰ τὸ ζητεῖν πλέον ἔχειν τοῦ δήμου: which, it appears, could not have been said after the ill treatment of Socrates by the comic poets, and least of all by Xenophon. If however Xenophon wrote this essay perhaps forty years after the representation of the Clouds, when all the circumstances of the times had been changed, was it necessary that he should refer to Socrates in an ironical account of the principles of the Athenians? And could the best friend of Socrates, or even Socrates himself, deny that he wished to raise himself above the people, he who came forward as the ameliorator of the people, and was not only a declared enemy of the demus, but entertained purely aristocratical principles? I may also make a remark upon the observation occurring in 1, 10, that slaves at Athens were not allowed to be beaten, for which regulation a false reason is ironically assigned. The true reason appears to have been forgotten at the time when the author wrote, namely, the war. (Aristoph. Nub. 7.) When the Clouds were acted, the circumstance was evidently new, and the reason well known. Consequently, this circumstance likewise seems to prove that this writing had a later origin than the Clouds of Aristophanes at the earliest. I do not indeed consider the question to be set at rest by these arguments; but the space does not allow of a more detailed investigation.

strangers came to Athens, the greater was the intercourse; if a larger number of vessels arrived, even without bringing any commodities for importation, the harbour duty was increased by the influx of foreigners. At the same time I only throw out this notion as a conjecture, for we know nothing certain of the hundredth. Aristophanes speaks of many taxes of a hundredth collected by Athens[83], which, according to the scholiast, the states paid for the duties (τέλη); an explanation more obscure than the thing explained. It is however possible that this small tax was levied in Attica upon several occasions, a question which we shall presently reconsider.

Duties levied in markets are mentioned in Attica, as well as in other countries of Greece[84], and were considered as a tax of importance, so that they could not have been mere fees paid for permission to erect booths. It is more probable that they were an excise duty upon all things sold in the market; but in what manner the rate was estimated we are wholly unable to state. The grammarians[85] mention a tax upon sales (*ἐπώνιον, ἐπώνια*), but they did not themselves know accurately what was its nature. Harpocration conjectures that it was *the tax of a fifth* (*ἡ πέμπτη*), a duty of which he appears to have obtained some knowledge from other sources; other grammarians copy this account from him; but, if we consider the moderate rate of the other duties, it is not credible that so high a tax should have been imposed upon all sales, which would have fallen chiefly upon the home consumption. In another account, which in all probability is equally founded on mere conjecture, certain duties of a hundredth are cited as instances of this tax. At Byzantium we meet with a tax of ten per cent. upon sales, but only imposed for the moment, and not intended for any long

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[83] Vesp. 656.

[84] Xenoph. de Vectig. 4, Aristoph. Acharn. 904, ed. Invern. Demosth. Olynth. i. p. 15, 20.

[85] Pollux vii. 15. Harpocration, Suid. Etymol. Phavorinus. The following less valuable statement occurs in Lex. Seg. p. 255, Ἐπώνια μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ ὠνῇ προσκαταβαλλόμενα, ὥσπερ ἑκατοσταί τινες. The sale of duties cannot here be meant, although the grammarian classes the *κηρύκεια*, the pay of the criers at the sale of the duties, together with the *ἐπώνια*, the former being a fee which was perhaps exacted in all sales by auction.

continuance[86]: other examples of large excise duties of this kind I omit to enumerate.

Whether this tax was collected at the gates or in the market I do not find anywhere stated[a]; toll-gatherers were, however, appointed for the collection of it. A story preserved in Zenobius and other compilers of proverbs[87], of a countryman named Leucon, leads to this conclusion. The story is, that this Leucon used to place leathern bottles of honey in a panier, upon the top of which he laid some barley, and brought it to Athens on an ass, which he represented to be loaded with nothing but barley. One day the ass fell down, and the toll-gatherers, coming to his assistance, discovered the honey, and seized it as contraband. This story indeed is in all probability a fiction, and did not actually happen to any Leucon. Leucon was an Athenian comic poet, perhaps the son of Hagnon[88], the contemporary of Aristophanes and Pherecrates, and he had represented the misfortune of the peasant upon the stage, in a play called the *Ass which carried the leathern bottles.* This does not however invalidate the argument; for even if it was not founded upon any real fact, it must, in order to be made the subject of a play, have been at least a possible occurrence according to the existing usages at Athens.

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[86] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. 2, 3, in the words τοῖς δ' ὠνούμενοις τι ἔταξαν χωρὶς τῆς τιμῆς διδόναι ἐπιδέκατον.

[a] The author mentions in the Addenda, that having left it undecided where the duty was paid upon goods that were brought for sale into the city, he afterwards considered that it was probably taken at the gates, and that the passage duty, or διαπύλιον, refers to this. "The only account of it is found in Hesychius. Διαπύλιον (as has been rightly corrected) τέλος τι παρ' Ἀθηναίοις οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο, where consult the notes of the commentators: the word is used in a somewhat different meaning in Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. ii. 2, 14, from whence it might be concluded that the money was only paid for passing through the gate; but at Athens the word might have had any other signification, and that the διαπύλιον was some kind of admittance money, appears to me hardly conceivable."

[87] Zenob. i. 74; Mich. Apost. ii. 68. Comp. Diogenianus and Suidas vol. i. p. 98.

[88] Suid. in v. Λεύκων, and particularly Toup Emend. in Suid. vol. ii. p. 252, ed. Leip. against the commentators. Respecting the time at which he lived, see Athen. viii. p. 343 C. His Φράτορες is quoted by Athenæus, Hesychius, Photius, and Suidas; the latter mentions two other pieces, Ὄνος and Ἀσκοφόρος; both however are one, viz. Ὄνος ἀσκοφόρος.

CHAPTER VI.

The Duty of a Twentieth part. Tithes; their different sorts.

IN addition to these regular duties, the Athenians began, about Olymp. 91, 2 (B.C. 415), to substitute in the room of the tributes, which up to this period had been periodically paid by the allies, a duty of a twentieth (εἰκοστὴ) upon all commodities exported or imported by sea in the states of the subject allies; hoping to raise a greater revenue by that means than by the direct taxation of these states[89]: and it cannot be doubted that this tax, as Aristophanes mentions no less than 1000 tributary cities, must have produced a very considerable revenue. It was, according to the usual practice, let out in farm; the collectors had the name of eicostologi (εἰκοστολόγοι)[90]. From a reference made by Aristophanes in the comedy of the Frogs (Olymp. 93, 3, B.C. 405), to an unfortunate eicostologus, who sent some contraband commodities from Ægina to Epidaurus, it may be inferred that this duty had not been abolished, but lasted until the end of the Peloponnesian war.

But the tenth (δεκάτη) raised by the Athenians at Byzantium was a mere extortion. It was first imposed in Olymp. 92, $\frac{3}{4}$ (B.C. 409), when Alcibiades, Thrasyllus, and the other Athenian generals who came from Cyzicus, fortified Chrysopolis in the territory of Chalcedon: a station for the reception of those duties (δεκατευτήριον) was built, and thirty ships were sent out under two generals, in order to tithe the commodities on board all ships which came out of the Pontus, as Xenophon relates[91]. Polybius mentions the ships going to the Pontus; both accounts are doubtless correct, and the tenth was levied upon the cargoes of vessels both coming in and going out of this sea. That this

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[89] Thucyd. vii. 28. To this twentieth and to the Byzantine transit duties, which will be presently mentioned, the following passage refers in Lex. Seg. p. 185, 21, Δεκάτη καὶ εἰκοστή· οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῶν νησιωτῶν ταῦτα ἐλάμβανον.

[90] Pollux ix. 30; Aristoph. Ran. 366.

[91] Hellen. i. 1, 14, with which Diodorus xii. 64 agrees.

tax produced a large revenue may be readily conceived, for the rate of duty was high, and this channel was very much frequented. "Byzantium," says Polybius[92], "is most favourably situated upon the sea of any known place;" against the will of its inhabitants, it was not possible either to go out of or to come in to the Pontus, on account of the rapid current in the straits; for that reason it was far more fortunately situated than Chalcedon, the City of the Blind, which at first sight appears to have possessed an equally advantageous position: a large supply of leather, the best and the greatest number of slaves, came from the Pontus; also honey, wax, and salt meat; oil, and every kind of wine, were carried from Greece into the Black Sea; corn it sometimes exported and sometimes imported. The only good passage however, as the same historian remarks, was by Bus and Chrysopolis, for which reason the Athenians, upon the advice of Alcibiades, had chosen this latter city as the station for collecting the duties. Of this tax they were deprived by the defeat at Ægospotamos. Thrasybulus however reestablished it about the 97th Olympiad (B.C. 390), and let it out in farm[93]; at that time the Athenians derived great resources from it for the carrying on of war. The peace of Antalcidas (Olymp. 98, 2, B.C. 387), probably produced its second abolition; and a long time afterwards (Olymp. 139, B.C. 224), the Byzantians, to assist a pecuniary difficulty, introduced the same transit duties (*διαγώγιον*), which were the cause of the war waged against them by the Rhodians[94].

Wherever houses or stations for the collection of tenths (*δεκατευτήρια, δεκατηλόγια*) are mentioned[95], tolls collected at sea are always to be understood, which required particular establishments of this description. Therefore Pollux mentions the erection of them as an event which only happened on particular occasions. But when farmers of tenths, and collectors of

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[92] Polyb. iv. 38, and afterwards 43, 44.

[93] Xenoph. Hellen. iv. 8, 27, 31; Demosth. c. Leptin. § 48, and there Ulpian's and Wolf's notes.

[94] Polybius in the following chapters. Comp. Heyne de Byzant. p. 15 sqq. To compel a person to sail to the place where the duties were collected was called *παραγωγιάζειν*, Polyb. iv. 44, 46; iii. 2.

[95] Pollux viii. 132.

tenths (δεκατῶναι, δεκατηλόγοι, δεκατευταὶ) are mentioned[96], duties of different descriptions may be understood. In the first place there were the tenths of the produce of the soil; we know, for example, that this tax was collected in the governments of the satraps, as a distinct branch of revenue; it was also universally extended in the tyrannies of Asia, and probably was the most ancient tax paid to the kings. Thus too the Romans collected tenths from conquered countries; and this same duty was also very common in Greece, but only as a tax upon property which was not freehold, the tenths being paid for the use. Consistently with this the tyrant demanded the tenths from all his subjects, as lord and master of the whole country, which he only permitted to be occupied by his subjects upon the payment of these taxes. Of this kind are the Sicilian tenths, which were received by the kings before that country fell into the hands of the Romans; and many cases of the same duty occur in Greece Proper, as, for example, the tithes of the corn at Cranon in Thessaly[97]; thus Pisistratus, as tyrant or usurping proprietor of the country, subjected all the lands of the Athenian citizens to a tithe, and incurred the hatred of his people by this despotic measure; although as a sophist supposes him to say in a spurious epistle, he might excuse himself by alleging, that the tithes were not paid for himself the tyrant, but for defraying the expenses of the sacrifices, with the other branches of the administration, and the costs of war[98]. The Pisistratidæ did not abolish this tax, but they lowered it to a twentieth[99].

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[96] Δεκατῶναι are farmers of the tenths, δεκατηλόγοι, collectors of the tenths; both of which callings were often united in the same individual: δεκατευταὶ appears to be applicable to either. Cf. Harpocrat. in vv. δεκατευτὰς and δεκατηλόγος, Pollux ix. 28; Demosth. c. Aristocrat, p. 676, 26. Also Hesychius in v. δεκατηλόγοι, Etymol. in v. δεκατευτήριον, where however the statements given are incorrect and confused. To collect the tenth was called δεκατεύειν. Aristophanes ap. Poll. ix. 31, ἐλλιμενίζεις ἢ δεκατεύεις; and thence Hesychius δεκατεύειν, τελωνεῖν, not to quote other grammarians.

[97] Polyæn. ii. 34.

[98] Concerning these tenths see Meursius Pisistrat. 6, 7, 9. The spurious epistle is given by Diogenes Laertius in the Life of Solon.

[99] Εἰκοστὴ τῶν γιγνομένων, Thucyd. vi. 54. In the free constitution of Athens nothing of this kind occurs. That the Roman tenths were copied from those of Attica is the singular notion of Burmann de Vect. P. R. ii. and v.

In the same manner that, with reference to a tyrant, all lands were subject to a tithe, so in a republic many estates were subject to this tax, as not being the freehold property of the possessor, but only held by him as occupier. Thus the state of Athens owned the tithes of public demesnes, and let them in farm; the temples also frequently enjoyed property of this kind, of which many examples are extant: thus, for instance, the Delian Apollo received a large amount of tithes from the Cyclades[100]; and in the island of Ithaca, the temple of Diana received the tithes from an estate, the possessors of which were bound to keep her temple in repair[101]; and Xenophon had formerly devised the very same regulation at Scillus. Obligations of this nature arose in great measure from the piety of individuals, who dedicated their property to the gods, and thus gave up the ownership or dominion, retaining at the same time the use of it for themselves in consideration of a fixed payment; the temples may also on certain occasions have received the right of tithes by conquest. Thus the Greeks promised that after the fortunate termination of the Persian war, all states who had afforded any protection to the enemy, should pay a tithe to the Delphian Apollo, that is to say, that they would make their lands subject to a tribute[102]. At Athens, moreover, Minerva of the Parthenon received the tithe of the plunder, and of captures[103], and also of certain fines[104]; while others were paid to the temples without any deduction, together with the tithe either of all or of a large proportion of confiscated property[105]. The tithes of Minerva are mentioned in connexion with the

[100] Spanheim ad Callim. Hymn. Del. 278; Corsini Gr. Diss. vi. p. cxvi.

[101] Corp. Inscript. No. 1926. See Paciaudi Mon. Pelop. vol. i. p. 142, and his diffuse notes, where the genuineness of the inscription is proved. Xenophon set up the very same inscription at Scillus (Cyr. Exped. v. 3, 3,) and this inscription of Ithaca is a somewhat modern imitation of it, but unquestionably not a forgery.

[102] Herod. vii. 132; Diod. xi. 3; Polyb. ix. 33, concerning Thebes. Cf. Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 3, 9.

[103] Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 741, 3; Diod. xi. 62; Lysias c. Polystrat. p. 686; Harpocrat. in v. δεκατεύειν. Comp. Paciaudi *ut sup.* p. 172 sqq.; Lakemacher Ant. Græc. Sacra, p. 409.

[104] Cf. e. g. Demosth. c. Macart. p. 1074, 24.

[105] Decree in the Lives of the Ten Orators, p. 226; Andocid. de Myst. p. 48. Xenoph. Hellen. i. 7, 10. Compare book iii. ch. 14. Photius mentions a tenth received by the gods in v. ἀδεκατεύτους, without however specifying which.

fiftieths of other gods, and of the heroes of the tribes (ἐπώνυμοι)[106]; the latter were probably similar per centages, and must not be confounded with the custom duty of the fiftieth.

CHAPTER VII.

Taxes upon Aliens, Taxes upon Slaves, and other Personal Taxes.

AMONG the direct and personal taxes, the protection money of the resident aliens (μετοίκιον) is most generally known, an institution by no means peculiar to the Athenian state, but which was introduced in many[107], and perhaps in all countries. At Athens every resident alien paid twelve drachmas a year, as we learn from the testimony of Eubulus and Isæus[108]; according to the latter, the women paid 6 drachmas, if they had no son of sufficient age to pay for himself. If however the son paid the protection money, the mother was exempt; consequently no woman paid it, except those whose families did not contain any adult male; and as the son exempted the mother, there can be no doubt that the husband exempted his wife. For that the wives of the resident aliens had to make a separate payment is improbable for this reason, that otherwise a widow, even if her son paid this tax, would also have been required to pay for herself; whereas it is stated in the most general terms, that if the son paid, the mother did not, nor consequently the widow. The protection money was also farmed out; since farmers of duties (τελῶναι) are mentioned in connexion with it; for example in the Life of Lycurgus, who threatened a farmer of duties with imprisonment, for arresting Xenocrates for not having paid his protection money[109], and also in the grammarians. It is main-

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[106] Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 738, 5, and Ulpian's note.

[107] Besides the two passages of Lysias and Lycurgus which Wesseling quotes ad Petit. ii. 5, 1, see Demosth. c. Aristocrat. p. 691, 3, and c. Aphob. ψευδομ. p. 845, 19.

[108] Harpocration in v. μετοίκιον, cf. Lex. Seg. p. 280, Hesychius in v. μέτοικοι, Photius, who transcribes Harpocration, in v. μέτοικοι and μετοίκων λειτουργίαι, Pollux iii. 55, Nicephor. ad Synes. de Insomn. p. 402. The other statement of 10 drachmas in Hesychius v. μετοίκιον and Ammonius v. ἰσοτελὴς only rests upon an error of the copyist.

[109] Vit. Dec. Orat. vol. iv. p. 253,

tained by some writers, that the payment of the protection money was made by the patron (προστάτης)[110], which agrees very well with his character of surety for the resident aliens, but is directly opposed to the testimonies of the ancients. For the state looked for security to the body of the resident alien himself, and if he was convicted before the poletæ of non-payment of the duty, he was immediately sold[111]. It is also to be observed that Harpocration, who is followed by Photius, proves from the comic poets in particular, that the freed men also paid this protection money; Menander, however, he proceeds to state, says in two plays, "that besides the 12 drachmas, the latter also paid 3 oboli, perhaps to the farmer of the duties." According to the context the "latter" can only be the freed men, as Petit rightly understood it[112]; and, as is so frequently the case, Pollux and Hesychius generalize this account of the payment of the triobolon, and extend it to all resident aliens. But they go still farther than this, for the latter informs us that it was paid to the farmer of the duties, the former, that the clerk received it. The general accuracy and information of Harpocration prove that no grammarian could know it for certain, and to what purpose should it have been paid to a clerk, or even to a farmer of the duties, if the tax was farmed out? This triobolon paid by the freed men must therefore have had a different character, to which point I will presently return. On the other hand many resident aliens, as is implied in the story of Xenocrates, enjoyed an immunity from the protection money (ἀτέλεια μετοικίου)

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ed. Tübing.; also Plutarch in the Life of Q. Flamininus, and Photius in the Life of Lycurgus. Concerning Xenocrates see also Plutarch's Phocion 29, and Ste. Croix in his Memoir on the μέτοικοι in the Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xlvii. p. 184 sq.

[110] Petit ubi sup. and Lex. Seg. p. 298.

[111] Harpocration, from the Oration against Aristogiton i. p. 787, 27, which if not written by Demosthenes himself, is of considerable antiquity, where there is an instance of the sale of an unmarried woman. The place where this sale took place was called the πωλητήριον τοῦ μετοικίου. The sale was carried on under the direction of the poletæ, Pollux viii. 99, comp. above book ii. ch. 3. The protection money was naturally sold by auction in the same place. In the Lives of the Ten Orators μετοίκιον is incorrectly used instead of πωλητήριον τοῦ μετοικίου.

[112] Leg. Att. ii. 6, 7.

without being isoteles, at Athens as well as in other countries[113]. Many were even exempted from custom duties[114], and other payments, as will be shown below; yet these preferences appear to have been very rare; for, according to Demosthenes[115], scarcely five persons were exempted from the regular liturgies, and what Diodorus[116] supposes Themistocles to say with regard to the immunity of the resident aliens and the artificers, must have arisen from some misunderstanding, which perhaps originated in the circumstance that Themistocles had encouraged this class in some other manner. If then we take the sum of the resident aliens in the time of Demetrius Phalereus, which was 10,000, as an average amount, and reckon about 1000 women who paid this tax, the protection money would have amounted to about 21 talents: the freed men are included in this estimate, although in Xenophon's Treatise upon the State of Athens[117], this class of persons is distinguished from the resident aliens.

Xenophon says[118], that "whoever remembers how much the slave duty produced before the Decelean war, will allow that it is possible to maintain a large number of slaves in the country." At that period great numbers eloped; Thucydides reckons more than 20,000; the maritime wars destroyed a very large number, and as it was easy for them to escape from Attica, the Athenians probably reduced their establishments, or exported their slaves to foreign markets. In short, Athens had more slaves before than after the Decelean war, and this duty was consequently more productive. But by means of what? was it merely by the duty of a fiftieth upon their importation? In that case the expression *slave duty* could scarcely have been used. It is more probable that a tax upon the slaves themselves existed: and this would in that case be the only direct and regular taxation of a part of the property of the citizens, excepting the liturgies; although this duty, in so far as slaves cannot be considered as mere property, but as servants also, may be viewed in the light

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[113] Corp. Inscript. No. 87, ad fin. Demosth. c. Aristocrat. p. 691, 3.

[114] Book i. ch. 15.

[115] C. Leptin. § 16, 17.

[116] xi. 43.

[117] i. 10; see b. i. ch. 7.

[118] De Vectig. 4, ὅσον τὸ τέλος εὕρισκε τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πρὸ τῶν ἐν Δεκελείᾳ.

of a tax upon servants. Now the supposition that a slave tax of this nature was in existence, appears to be confirmed by the triobolon which was paid by the freed men. The rate of taxation for slaves could not indeed have been high, if it was not to press too heavily upon the property of persons who employed a large number, and particularly of the mine proprietors; but 3 oboli a year for each slave was a tax that would easily have been borne; and it is probable that the possessors paid this sum for every slave; of which the triobolon paid by each freed man in addition to the protection money, was probably the result: the latter he paid by virtue of his new station; but the state would not consent to renounce what it had formerly received from him. If this supposition is well founded, and we reckon 400,000 slaves in Attica, the tax produced to the farmer of the duties 200,000 drachmas, or about 33 talents a year.

From this example it may be perceived how limited is our knowledge even of the Athenian antiquities. Obliterate the few and indistinct traces of this tax upon slaves, and there is nowhere an indication of its existence. How many similar duties and revenues may Athens have possessed, of which we know nothing? In the state of Byzantium, fortune-tellers (who, as may be seen from Isocrates and Lucian, carried on a profitable trade), quacks, jugglers, and other itinerant impostors paid the third part of their profits for permission to follow their callings[119], and traders of this description were also taxed in other countries in ancient times[120]; it is fair to suppose that Athens likewise levied a similar tax.

Even retail-dealing in the market was not permitted either to the resident aliens or to foreigners, without the payment of a tax, which was known by the name of foreigners' money (*ξενικὰ τελεῖν*); hence Demosthenes says of a woman who sold ribbands, that if they wished to prove that she was a foreigner and not a citizen, they must search the duties collected in the market[121]; and perhaps the resident aliens paid a tax even for the exercise of other trades.

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[119] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. 2, 3.

[120] Casaub. ad Sueton. Calig. 40.

[121] Demosth. c. Eubulid. p. 1308, 9, p. 1309, 5.

The most shameful of all taxes of this class is the tax upon prostitutes (*πορνικὸν τέλος*), which was likewise introduced in Rome by Caligula, and not only continued during the reigns of the Christian emperors[122], but to the disgrace of mankind still exists in Christian states. At Athens it was annually let out by the senate; the farmers knew accurately the names of all who followed this calling[123], men as well as women; for even the former, as was the case under Caligula, paid the tax. According to a passage of Suidas and Zonaras[124], the agoranomi fixed the price which each prostitute was to take: it appears therefore that the tax was different according to their different profits[125], as was the case in the ordinance of Caligula[126]. If persons of the rank of citizens demeaned themselves in this manner (which the laws endeavoured to hinder, by excluding them from sacrifices and public offices, and by other wise regulations), they were also subject to the tax, although the citizens did not pay anything for following honourable callings.

Lastly, the state had some revenues of a smaller kind, which reverted from the expenses, and although they bear no resemblance to those which have been here enumerated, yet they cannot be mentioned with greater propriety in any other place. Among these is the hide money (*δερματικόν*), which was derived from great sacrifices and feasts[127].

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[122] Burmann de Vectig. Pop. Rom. xii. Hegewisch über die Römischen Finanzen, p. 213, p. 308, sqq.

[123] Æschin. c. Timarch. p. 134, 135. These farmers are also *τελῶναι, οἱ ἐκλέγουσι τὸ τέλος*. The expression *πορνοτελῶναι* in the comic poet Philonides (Pollux vii. 202, and the commentators) refers to the tax in question, although Pollux (ix. 29) cites this word among the vituperative names applied to farmers of duties in general. [See Meineke, Fr. Com. Gr. vol. ii. p. 421. TRANSL.]

[124] In v. *διάγραμμα*.

[125] Comp. above book i. ch. 21.

[126] Sueton. Calig. 40. Ex capturis prostitutarum, quantum quæque uno concubitu mereret.

[127] See book iii. ch. 19, and Corp. Inscript. No. 157.

CHAPTER VIII.

General Remarks upon the foregoing Taxes, particularly upon the mode of levying and paying them.

THE government of Athens cannot be accused of having levied any regular duties, which were so high as to be oppressive; other states appear to have imposed far heavier taxes, as, for example, Cersobleptes in the Chersonese laid a duty of a tenth upon all commodities[128], and Leucon, king in the Bosporus, imposed a tax of a thirtieth upon exported corn[129]. In Babylon all goods entering the town were subject to a tithe; this practice had, however, fallen into disuse long before the time of Alexander[130]. The Lampsacenians, on an occasion when many triremes, and consequently a considerable sale of provisions, were expected, laid an excise duty of half the usual price upon all commodities[131]. It is, indeed, undeniable that the method of collection by a farmer-general, to whom the duties were sold, diminished the receipts of the state[132]. This custom, however, was not peculiar to Athens: for the duties were farmed out in all the countries of Greece, and also in the kingdoms of Macedonia and Rome. We have already seen from Andocides how those persons who wished to take a lease were able to defraud the public at the auction of the duties; the farmers of the custom duties made a conspiracy against the state, bought off any competitors who wished to overbid them, either by direct bribery or by giving them a share in the letting, or even persecuted those who deprived them of the lease, as was the case with Andocides himself. The same fact is proved by another case mentioned in Plutarch[133]. A resident alien, whose property did not amount to more than 100 staters, conceived a passion for Alcibiades, and brought him his whole stock of

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[128] Demosth. c. Aristocrat. p. 679, 24.
[129] Demosth. c. Leptin. § 26.
[130] Pseud.-Aristot. Œcon. 2, 34.
[131] Ibid. 2, 7.
[132] The expressions used are τέλη ἐκδιδόναι, πιπράσκειν, ἀπομισθοῦν, Pollux, ix. 34.
[133] Alcib. 5.

ready money, in order to move him to a return of affection. Alcibiades, pleased with the love and devotion of this person, invited him to be his guest; he then returned him the money, charging him at the same time to bid against the farmers of the duties upon the following day, towards whom he had a particular cause of enmity. When the poor man excused himself on the plea that the letting was an affair of many talents, Alcibiades threatened to flog him, in case he did not comply with his wishes: the alien then obeyed him, and upon the following day, at the sale of the duties in the market-place, he increased the former bidding by a talent, and Alcibiades himself provided him with security, to the vexation of the farmers of the custom duties. The company of farmers, who were always accustomed with the second letting to pay off the debts of the first, seeing that there was no means of extricating themselves from the difficulty, offered the man money to withdraw his bidding; upon which Alcibiades did not allow him to take less than a talent.

Three separate descriptions of persons were connected with the management of every duty, viz., the *farmers* or *lessees* (τελῶναι, πριάμενοι, or ὠνούμενοι τὸ τέλος, rarely μισθούμενοι, except in the letting of landed property and not of duties), the *sureties*, (ἔγγυοι, ἐγγυηταὶ), and the *collectors* (ἐκλογεῖς)[134]. The last expression has two meanings: it sometimes signifies the public officers, who in the name of the state exacted payment of the public money (hence the persons who collected the tribute, which was never farmed out, were called by this name[135]); and sometimes it is used to signify those who collected the duty in the name of the farmer-general: which of these two meanings is required in the particular passage, it belongs to the commentator to decide. The sureties, as is proved by the examples already quoted, were appointed at the taking of the lease; it is probable that they frequently had a share in the profit of the

[134] Law of Timocrates in Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 713, 3. The oath of the senators in the same speech p. 745, 15.

[135] Harpocration, Suidas in v. ἐκλογεῖς, Lex. Seg. p. 245. Ἐκλέγειν τὸ τέλος is also used in two different meanings.

contractors. More extensive lettings were taken by companies, as may be seen from Andocides, Lycurgus[136], and Plutarch. At the head of these associations was placed the chief farmer (*ἀρχώνης, τελωνάρχης*). Persons of noble descent, who were proud of their station and dignity, never entered into business of this description; but these farmers were generally respectable citizens, and sometimes even statesmen; as, for instance, Agyrrhius the demagogue, and Andocides the merchant and orator. Resident aliens were also entitled to take leases of custom duties; but the grant of property subject to a rent, as for example of mines, was limited to citizens and isoteles. The farmers of custom duties (*τελῶναι*) frequently occur in the character of collectors, who appear to have been for the most part inferior sharers in the letting, although hired servants or slaves of the lessees were perhaps occasionally employed for this purpose. According to the different duties which they farmed, these persons had different names (*ἐλλιμενισταὶ, δεκατηλόγοι, εἰκοστολόγοι, πεντηκοστολόγοι*, or less Attic, *εἰκοστῶναι, δεκατῶναι*, &c.)[137]; and in like manner the places where the respective duties were collected (*τελώνια, πεντηκοστολόγια, δεκατηλόγια, δεκατευτήρια*, and others)[138]. They kept their books[139], and had power to seize commodities and persons[140]: whether the imposition of a seal upon the goods[141], which was customary in later times, had been introduced during the existence of the republic, I do not undertake to decide: but all other vexations of custom duties, such as a strict search and examination, even opening of letters, are mentioned; the latter practice is indeed only noticed in the Roman comedies, which is perhaps sufficient testimony, as they for the most part represent the usages of Athens[142]. Fraud and smuggling were however as difficult to

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[136] C. Leocrat. p. 150, where an action occurs, brought by one person against another for defrauding him in the company for farming the fiftieth. Comp. also p. 179.

[137] See Pierson ad Mœrin p. 165.

[138] Pollux ix. 28, Lex. Seg. p. 239.

[139] Comp. book iii. ch. 4, Pollux, ix. 31.

[140] Not to quote more than one passage, see Demosth. c. Mid. p. 559, 18.

[141] See Barthélemy, Anacharsis, vol. ii. p. 168.

[142] Plaut. Trinumm. iii. 3, 64; Menœchm. i. 2, 5; Terent. Phorm. i. 2, 100, with the note of Donatus, and Nonius in v. Telonarios.

prevent in ancient times as at the present day; in Attica the thieves' harbour (*φώρων λιμὴν*) was much used for these purposes[143]; and that the collectors of the duties were themselves sometimes engaged in this unlawful traffic, is proved by the instance of the Eicostologus in Aristophanes[144]. Their dishonest practices and oppressive conduct brought them into the worst repute[145]: indeed the displeasure and hatred which the collectors of the Roman customs had excited were so great, that the state was compelled to abolish the custom duties in Italy, to the manifest loss of its revenue[146]. The peculiar legal relations between the farmers of these duties and the state were defined by the laws of the custom duties (*νόμοι τελωνικοι*)[147]. These also doubtless contained particular enactments, with regard to offences connected with the custom duties. That commodities which it was attempted to smuggle in without the payment of a duty (*ἀτελώνητα, ἀναπόγραφα*)[148] were forfeited by the Athenian as well as by the Roman regulations, is evident from the example which has been already quoted: as, however, at Athens it was allowable to institute a phasis against persons who had violated the laws connected with the custom duties[149]—in which form of proceeding the assignment of the penalty was arbitrary—a severer punishment might be brought on by aggravated circumstances. The father of Bion the Philosopher was sold, together with his whole family, for an offence against the laws of the custom duties, although this did not take place at Athens[150]. The farmers of the custom duties were allowed by law an exemption from military service[151], in order that they might

[143] See Palmer Exercit. p. 639; Lex Seg. p. 315. Concerning the way in which the farmers of the duties were cheated, see Jul. Afric. Cest. p. 304.

[144] See the passage quoted above, note 90.

[145] Pollux ix. 29, 32.

[146] Concerning the farmers of the duties at Rome, compare with this view Cicer. ad Quint. Frat. i. 1. To how great a nicety the system of custom duties was brought by the Romans, has been shown by Burmann de Vectig. P. R. V.

[147] Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 739, 29, p. 731, 1.

[148] The latter expression occurs in Pollux ix. 31, the former in Zenob. i. 74.

[149] Pollux viii. 47.

[150] *Παρατελωνησάμενός τι πανοίκιος ἐπράθη*, Diog. Laert. iv. 46.

[151] Orat. c. Neær. p. 1353; Ulpian. ad Mid. p. 685 A.

not be impeded in the collection of the duties; and although Leocrates, as mentioned by Lycurgus, when a partner in the lease of the fiftieth, does not appear to have availed himself of this plea as an excuse for neglecting to serve in war[152], it is possible that he had particular reasons for not taking that line of defence.

The payment of the rents (*καταβολὴ τέλους*, *τέλος καταβάλλειν*, *καταθεῖναι*, *διαλῦσαι*, *ἀποδοῦναι*, *καταβάλλειν τὰς καταβολάς*)[153] took place in the senate house, in the appointed prytaneias[154]. If the farmer of the duties did not observe the term of payment, it was ordered that he should at the latest pay in the ninth prytaneia; if he failed to observe this term, his debt was doubled; and if the double amount was not immediately paid, his property was forfeited to the state. That this regulation was in force before the time of the thirty tyrants, is proved by the following words of Andocides[155]: "When the fleet had been destroyed, and the siege commenced, you deliberated upon the expediency of concord among yourselves, and, upon the proposal of Patrocleides, you decreed to restore to their rights those who had been subjected to atimia. Now who these persons that had been thus sentenced were, and what were the circumstances connected with each case, I will mention to you. They were then, in the first place, persons owing money to the state, of whom some had filled official situations, and had not passed their accounts; some were in debt to the public, for obtaining wrongful possession of property (*ἐξοῦλαι* in the widest sense), or in consequence of public suits (which

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[152] Lycurg. c. Leocrat. p. 179.

[153] Pollux ix. 31, and frequently in other writers.

[154] Orat. c. Neær. ut sup.

[155] De Myst. p. 35. Concerning the abolition of the atimia see Xenoph. Hellen. ii. 2, 6; and for the payment of the double amount see Liban. Argum. ad Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 696, 2, and Demosthenes himself, p. 705, 1. With regard to the *ἐξοῦλαι* see below, chap. 12. From these fines the *ἐπιβολαὶ* and the money paid for unsuccessful *γραφαὶ* are essentially different, as every one will perceive from the statements presently made. I may observe that it has been inferred with great probability (but not with absolute certainty) from Andocides, p. 45 sqq. that the law relating to the public debtors was repealed in the archonship of Euclid; it must however have been again introduced, as it was indispensable.

the accusers had lost), and for fines adjudged by a court of justice (ἐπιβολαί); others having taken leases from the public had not paid the stipulated sum, or had been sureties to the state: all these persons, I say, were permitted to pay on or before the ninth prytaneia, and in case of non-payment they were to be fined double, and their possessions sold for the benefit of the state. This was one species of atimia." This passage only leaves one point doubtful, viz. whether the atimia was not put into force until after the omission of the payment in the ninth prytaneia, or whether it followed immediately upon failure of payment at the appointed period. There can be no question but that the latter was the case; the atimia was immediately inflicted, if the first term of payment was neglected; since otherwise no one would have paid until the ninth prytaneia: and the debtor could moreover be thrown into prison by an augmentation of the punishment (προστίμημα)[156].

Both these facts may be seen from the speech of Demosthenes against Timocrates. The latter person had proposed a law, which enacted that the public debtors should not be put in prison before the ninth prytaneia; by which means, says the orator[157], he makes the *augmentations of punishment invalid* (that is to say, he deprives the court of the right of inflicting that penalty), and exempts the public debtors from atimia. Here the atimia, together with the right of augmenting the punishment, is evidently supposed to apply to the time preceding the ninth prytaneia: the penalty of excommunication or atimia was moreover inseparably associated with the idea of a public debtor, which every one became from the day on which he should have made his payment. Lastly, the law of Timocrates shows that the person bound to pay was liable to imprisonment immediately after the expiration of the first term: he thus became a public debtor, and therefore subject to atimia. Timocrates did not include the farmers of the duties within the operation of his law, but intended that the ancient

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[156] Concerning this see below, chap. 11.

[157] P. 729, 8. Upon the meaning of the words ἄκυρα τὰ προστιμήματα ποιεῖ, see Herald. Animadv. in Salmas. Observ. ad J. A. et R. iii. 3, 10.

laws should remain in force with regard to them; his only object being to favour certain persons connected with himself, who had embezzled public monies[158]; and therefore proposed, that "if any one of the public debtors, by any law or decree, had been, or should be, condemned to imprisonment as an additional punishment, either himself or some one for him should be allowed to furnish sureties for the debt; and that, when he had provided sureties, if he paid the state the money for which he provided the sureties, he should be released from prison: but if he should not, either in his own person or through his sureties, pay the money in the ninth prytaneia, that the party bailed should be thrown into prison, and that the property of the sureties should be forfeited to the state; but that in the case of farmers of duties and their sureties, and collectors, and persons renting public property and their sureties, the money due should be exacted by the state according to the existing laws. And if any person should become a public debtor in the ninth prytaneia, he should pay the money owing either in the ninth or tenth prytaneia of the following year[159]." The right of imprisoning the farmers of the duties, even without a judicial sentence, which was required in other cases (imprisonment being an additional punishment), is also contained in the oath of the Senate of Five Hundred: "Neither will I imprison any Athenian who produces three sureties having the same valuation as himself, except he is convicted of treason against the state, or of subverting the democracy, or has not paid the duty when a farmer, surety, or collector[160]."

The object of thus imprisoning the farmers was both to prevent the possibility of their escape, and to terrify them from any irregularity in their payments, which might be the occasion of much financial difficulty to the state: and for the prevention

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[158] Demosth. passim, more particularly p. 719, 26 sqq.

[159] Demosth. p. 722, 17 sqq. See Liban. in the argument, where however what he says in p. 696, 21, of the imprisonment of the debtor in the second year in reference to the ancient law is manifestly false, and borrowed from the conclusion of the law of Timocrates.

[160] Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 745, 12 sqq. Compare Andocid. de Myst. p. 45, and Demosth. p. 731, 10 sq.

of inadequate security, the sureties were subject to the same penalties[161]. The property of the temples was also protected by similar laws; for any tenant who failed to pay the rents of the lands of the gods and heroes of the tribes, himself, together with his whole family and heirs, was laid under atimia, until they were paid[162]. Now that Timocrates, when he mitigated the severity of this law, was not so much actuated by philanthropy as by personal views, is evident from the exception which he made to the prejudice of the public farmers: for since these persons, as Demosthenes[163] remarks, were exposed to injury, the provisions of the new law would have been extended to them with the greatest propriety: nay, this statesman was so little consistent with himself, that he had formerly passed another law, which provided that the offenders who had been prosecuted by an eisangelia, and condemned to pay a fine, should be imprisoned until such time as they paid[164].

From this account of the subject (which has been intentionally given at greater detail, as in most books which contain any information on this head it is mixed and confused in endless contradiction), it is evident what judgment must be passed upon the passage of Ulpian[165] concerning this point. "It must be known," he says, "that the farmers of the duties were bound to furnish sureties in the very first instance, so that if they did not pay until the ninth prytaneia, either they or their sureties paid the double amount; and all debtors did the same: as soon as they were indebted to the state, they were compelled to furnish sureties, that they would pay the same before the ninth prytaneia, and remained under atimia until they paid. If however the ninth prytaneia arrived, and they had not yet paid, they were put in prison, fined double, and were no longer allowed to find bail." The grammarian evidently confounds the existing ancient laws with the proposal of Timocrates, which moreover

[161] Besides the passages already quoted see the speech against Nicostratus, p. 1254 extr. and p. 1255, 1.

[162] Demosth. c. Macart. p. 1069 extr.

[163] P. 738, 20 sqq.

[164] Demosth. p. 720, 721.

[165] Ad Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 449. I pass over Suidas and others, who have nothing peculiar or important.

made no mention of the public farmers; the sureties provided by the farmers were also responsible for the first payments before the last term: the atimia, and the right of imprisonment, could be adjudged immediately after the first term had been neglected; the ninth prytaneia brought with it the payment of double the sum then due; and if this fine was not attended to, the confiscation of property followed: whereas the proposal of Timocrates took away the liability to imprisonment from the public debtors (with the exception of the farmers of the duties and the farmers of the landed property, together with their sureties), if they could furnish security until the ninth prytaneia, and accordingly imprisonment could not take place until after the expiration of this term; it moreover wholly abolished the doubling of the money in causes which were not sacred, and the increasing of its amount tenfold in sacred causes, in which the latter was the legal penalty for the offence[166].

In what prytaneias the payments of the duties were appointed to be made, we are not informed. According to Suidas and Photius[167], two terms were fixed for the farmers of the duties, the first before the beginning of their lease, and afterwards a second; the money paid at the former term was called the *payment in advance* (προκαταβολή), and that paid at the latter was called the *additional payment* (προσκατάβλημα). This statement, which is founded upon the testimony of an ancient author, has much probability: thus we find that rents were paid to the demi and the tribes in a similar manner, either in two payments, in the first and sixth month, or in three payments, in the first, seventh, and eleventh months[168]: that a payment took place in advance, at least coincidently with the beginning of their term, can scarcely be doubted; the additional payments were perhaps distributed over several prytaneias.

A difficulty however arises from the manner in which Demosthenes speaks of these additional payments (προσκαταβλή-

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[166] Concerning these points comp. also Demosth. p. 726, 22 sqq. p. 728, 159, p. 730, 1—4, p. 732, 24.

[167] In v. προκαταβολή. According to Lex. Seg. p. 193, 7, προκαταβολὴ is πρὸ τῆς προθεσμίας διδόμενον.

[168] See above chap. 2.

ματα). For in the speech against Timocrates[169] he says, in order to prove that the administration was endangered by the new law proposed by this person, "You have an excellent law, which enacts, that those who are in possession of money either belonging or not belonging to sacred corporations, shall deposit it at the senate-house. And in case of omission, that the senate may claim it by the laws which regulate the letting of duties. It is by this law that the administration of public affairs is carried on. For," he immediately proceeds to say, "if the money arising from the duties is not sufficient for the uses of the administration, the remaining payments are made through fear of this law. Is it not then manifest, that the whole fabric of the state must be dissolved, if the payments of the duties (*αἱ τῶν τελῶν καταβολαὶ*) are insufficient by a considerable sum for the demands of the administration? Nor even in such a case as this could they be obtained until the conclusion of the year. And if neither the senate nor the courts of justice are authorized to imprison those who fail to pay the remaining portions, but the defaulters are allowed to provide sureties until the ninth prytaneia, what will become of us during the intervening eight?"

In this passage the additional payments are opposed to the duties. The laws relating to the letting of duties appear to have been only applied to them[170], and the duties themselves were not paid in full until about the end of the year. If this representation is correct, I confess that I do not understand what these additional payments can be. By the sacred and public money, which had been received by private individuals from the state, nothing else can be meant than rents of duties and lands, and fines which were owing to the public. Among these the additional payments must be included, according to Demosthenes' own words. That they were fines is extremely improbable, if we may judge from the force of the word. What then can they be, except unpaid rents of duties and lands? Are we therefore to suppose that Demosthenes, when he speaks of duties, only alluded to the sums that were

[169] P. 730, 731.

[170] On this point comp. also p. 732, 1, 2.

paid in advance? This hypothesis is hardly credible, especially as he again says, that the duties were paid in full about the end of the year. Or was this last remark added on the supposition that the first payments of the public farmers were not, according to the law of Timocrates, to be made until the ninth prytaneia, as the farmers were to provide security up to that period? This would be an unheard-of piece of sophistry; for Timocrates particularly excludes the farmers of duties from the benefits of his new law. I am therefore forced to confess my ignorance of what Demosthenes means by those additional payments, and must leave the statement of Suidas to rest upon its own authority, in the hope that some acuter person may solve the difficulty which I have pointed out.

CHAPTER IX.

Fees and Payments upon Legal Proceedings. Prytaneia, Parastasis.

THE second head of the public revenue comprehends the justice fees and fines.

This source of income was not by any means inconsiderable. Among the advantages which Sparta might expect to gain by the fortification of Decelea, Alcibiades enumerates the loss which the Athenians would sustain of the revenues from the courts of justice[171]; as a cessation of justice was caused by the existence of a war in the country. The circumstance of Alcibiades using this as an argument in favour of his proposal, proves that the sum lost would not have been trifling. The productiveness of these imposts was increased by the obligation of the allies to try their causes in Athens, which regulation, inasmuch as it

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[171] Thucyd. vi. 91. The Scholiast upon this place ignorantly and inaccurately mentions the fines in several lawsuits, as e. g. in the action for bribery (δωροδοκίας), assault (ὕβρεως), sycophancy, adultery, false registration (ψευδογραφίας, by which he probably means ψευδεγγραφῆς, the action for false enrolment among the public debtors), for malversations of ambassadors (παραπρεσβείας), and leaving the army (λειποστρατίου): whereas upon all these offences much severer penalties than fines could be imposed.

increased the amount of the dicasts' wages, and consequently contributed largely to the support of the citizens, was of the highest importance.

The justice fees and fines which here come into consideration, are, in the first place, the four mentioned together by Pollux[172], parastasis, epobelia, prytaneia, and paracatabole, of which the first and third always accrued to the state, the fourth probably in certain cases, the second never: to which may be added, the damages assessed for offences (*τιμήματα*), if they were estimated in money, and the fines imposed by law upon unsuccessful plaintiffs or accusers.

I will first consider the prytaneia (*πρυτανεῖα*). These, as is well known, both parties were obliged to deposit in court, before the beginning of the suit—not however if the case was referred to an arbitrator—like the Roman *sacramentum:* if the plaintiff omitted this payment, the officers who introduced the cause (*οἱ εἰσαγωγεῖς*) quashed the suit; the party which lost the cause paid both prytaneia, that is to say, his own were forfeited, and he replaced the sum which had been paid by the successful party[173]. The amount was fixed according to the standard of the cause, in the pecuniary assessment; in a suit for sums of from 100 to 1000 drachmas, 3 drachmas was the amount to be paid by each party; for sums of from 1001 to 10,000 drachmas, 30 drachmas[174]; for larger sums probably in the same progression. With regard to suits for less than 100 drachmas, nothing is stated; probably no prytaneia were paid for them, a case to which Valesius appears with justice to refer a proverb preserved in Hesychius[175].

It is to be observed, that the statement of Pollux is confirmed by two cases in judicial pleadings which are still extant.

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[172] viii. 37.

[173] Demosth. c. Everg. et Mnesib. *ψευδομ.* in the passage which will be immediately quoted, Pollux viii. 38, Harpocration in v. *πρυτανεῖα,* and thence Suidas, Photius, and Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1139.

[174] Pollux viii. 38.

[175] Hesychius in v. *ἄνευ πρυτανείων,* Vales. ad Harpocrat. p. 165, ed. Gronov. Matthiæ on the other hand (Miscell. Philog. vol. i. p. 262,) refers this to the *δίκη κακώσεως*: the *δίκη ὕβρεως* might be also understood: but of this hereafter.

Callimachus, as mentioned in Isocrates, had instituted a suit for 10,000 drachmas against the client of this orator, who defended himself with a paragraphe; but he afterwards relinquished it in order that he might not be obliged to pay the epobelia, which he must have done if he did not obtain a fifth part of the votes; subsequently, however, having gained over the authorities to his side, he again set the cause on foot, as he now thought that he had only to fear the danger of losing the prytaneia[176]. The defendant, on the other hand, makes use of a law of Archinus, which was passed under the following circumstances. After the return of the people from the Piræus, many citizens had been accused before the people contrary to the act of amnesty, on the charge of having connected themselves with the aristocratical party; in order therefore to secure these persons against frivolous actions, he enacted that if any one should be accused contrary to the oath of amnesty, he could defend himself by a paragraphe, and whichever of the two parties should in that case be found guilty, was to pay the epobelia to the other. The orator, however, endeavours to show that Callimachus was violating the act of amnesty, in order that he should not merely be exposed to the danger of losing the 30 drachmas[177]. In this case these 30 drachmas are evidently the prytaneia: Isocrates' client, however, only reckons the prytaneia for one party, which would be due to him from Callimachus, in case the latter person lost the cause; of the other prytaneia, which Callimachus had already paid, he takes no account, since his only object is to form an antithesis between the additional payments which would be made in either case; these being the prytaneia to be restored to the successful party, in case no paragraphe was instituted, and the prytaneia together with the epobelia, which would be paid by one party after the introduction of a paragraphe.

Another clearer case occurs in the speech against Euergus and Mnesibulus for false testimony, in the works of Demosthenes[178]. The plaintiff had been cast in an action for an

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[176] Παραγραφὴ c. Callimach. 5—7.

[177] Ibid. 1—2, also 9 sqq.

[178] P. 1158, 20 sqq. Cf. p. 1162, 20. In a recent manuscript of no authority, the sum in both places is 1403 drachmas 2 oboli, of which nothing can be made. It is a corruption from XHHHΔFFFII into XHHHHFFFII. Petit as usual

assault (δίκη αἰκίας) brought against him by Theophemus, which was connected with a cross action, both parties having come forward as plaintiffs; and he was forced to pay 1313 drachmas 2 oboli to him: in this sum the epobelia and the prytaneia amounting to 30 drachmas are expressly included: the fine was doubtless a round sum, and probably amounted to 1100 drachmas, upon which supposition the epobelia came to 183 drachmas 2 oboli.

From this it is evident that the idea of some grammarians[179], that the prytaneia were the tenth part of the estimated damages, does not deserve the least credit; especially as we are enabled easily to explain how they fell into this error. They state that the prytaneia were deposited by the plaintiff alone, whereas they were paid by both parties; but in the case of a suit in which any party claimed an inheritance or an heiress, the paracatabole was paid by the plaintiff alone, which amounted to the tenth part of the valuation; it was with this payment that they confounded the prytaneia. This confusion is particularly apparent in the statements of Suidas and the Scholiast to Aristophanes: the latter[180] informs us, that the prytaneia, which amounted to the tenth part of the valuation, were also called paracatabole; the former[181] applies the statement that the paracatabole was the tenth part of the valuation, to the prytaneia in the Clouds of Aristophanes, and particularly mentions the identity of the two. Both these

(Leg. Att. v. 1, 3) confuses the whole passage. Palmerius understood it rightly, but without correcting the errors of the common reading. Instead of χιλίας μὲν καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς καὶ τρεῖς καὶ δύω ὀβολὼ τὴν ἐπωβελίαν, which is manifestly imperfect, should be written χιλίας μὲν καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς τὴν καταδίκην, ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς καὶ τρεῖς, καὶ δύω ὀβολὼ τὴν ἐπωβελίαν, although perhaps the right place of the words καὶ τρεῖς is before δραχμάς. With regard to the position of the words, which was chosen for a reason which will be easily perceived, compare Dinarchus ap. Dionys. Halicarn. in vit. Dinarch. χρυσίου μὲν στατῆρας ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους καὶ πέντε. The epobelia in the cross-suit was not paid from the timema fixed by the adversary, but from that at which the party himself had assessed his opponent: in this case, however, both were manifestly the same, as the accurate coincidence of the numbers shows.

[179] Pollux ibid. Hesychius, Ammonius, and thence Thomas Magister in v. πρυτανεῖον.

[180] Schol. Nub. 1258.

[181] Suid. in παρακαταβολή. Concerning these errors comp. also Petit. Leg. Att. v. 1, 9.

writers are ignorant enough to assert that the creditors paid a tenth part of the sum in suits relating to monies owing to them, which were called prytaneia[182]: which account is in the first place censurable for stating that the tenth part was always paid, and in the second place for mentioning the prytaneia alone in the Clouds of Aristophanes[183]. It should however be observed, that this confusion of the prytaneia with the paracatabole is derived from an idiomatical ambiguity of terms; for when used in its wider sense, the latter expression denotes any sum of money paid in court; hence again, the Etymologist explains the parastasis and paracatabole as identical[184]. The prytaneia may accordingly be included under the paracatabole in its more general meaning, but they are not for that reason the same as the paracatabole in its more limited signification; and still less can the latter, as Maussac supposed, be classed among the prytaneia.

With the prytaneia the parastasis (*παράστασις, παρακατάστασις*) was intimately connected. The pay of the arbitrators or diætetæ was called by this name[185], with which we have no concern in this place, as it was paid directly into the hands of the diætetæ, and not into the public treasury: and to this payment the words of Harpocration refer, when he explains the parastasis to be a drachma, which was deposited by persons who carried on private law-suits. On the other hand, there was another parastasis of unknown, but probably very small, amount, and the same in all cases: perhaps this one was not more than a drachma, and was doubtless received by the state[186]. According to Aristotle[187], it was paid before a public action to the thesmothetæ, if a foreigner was accused of

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[182] Schol. Vesp. 657. Suidas in *πρυτανεῖον* and *προκαταβολή*.

[183] Vs. 1181, 1257. The Scholiast on the Clouds (vs. 1192) says that the prytaneia were a drachma paid into the public treasury, confounding them with the parastasis.

[184] Isocrat. c. Lochit. 3, with the notes of Valesius ad Harpocrat. Demosth. c. Pantænet. p. 978, 20; Harpocration, Photius, and Suidas, in *παρακαταβολή*, Etymol. in *παρακατάστασις*.

[185] See book ii. ch. 15.

[186] From which the statement of the Scholiast on Aristophanes (Nub. 1192), quoted above in note 183, may probably be explained.

[187] Ath. Polit. ap. Harpocrat. Phot. in *παράστασις*. See Pollux viii. 8; Phot. in *παρακατάστασις*.

having illegally introduced himself among the citizens (*γραφὴ ξενίας*), or was charged, after an accusation of this kind, with having obtained a favourable verdict by bribery (*γραφὴ δωροξενίας*); again in suits concerning false enrolment among the public debtors (*ψευδεγγραφῆς*), for false summoning (*ψευδοκλησίας*), conspiracy (*βουλεύσεως*), false erasement from the list of the public debtors (*ἀγραφίου*), and for adultery (*μοιχείας*). This is not a complete enumeration of the public actions[188]; the author however appears only to have quoted them as examples, and it can hardly be doubted that the parastasis was paid in all other indictments (*γραφαὶ*) brought before the thesmothetæ, and in all other public actions. It appears, however, to have been deposited by the plaintiff alone, for the purpose of calling out his adversary, and of introducing the action.

It is very certain that parastasis and prytaneia were never paid together; for both of them had the same object, viz. of commencing the cause: it may however be well inquired, in what cases the one or the other payment was made, an investigation which has not as yet been undertaken by any writer. Omitting then the parastasis of the diætetæ, I assert, that in private law-suits (*ἰδίαι δίκαι*) prytaneia alone, and no parastasis, were paid, and conversely that in the public actions (*δίκαι δημοσίαι, κατηγορίαι, γραφαὶ*) parastasis alone, and no prytaneia. We even learn from examples, that prytaneia were paid in private and parastasis in public causes: thus the former were deposited in cases of debt; as, for example, Strepsiades' creditor in the Clouds threatens him with depositing the prytaneia[189]. This regulation is quite intelligible. All private causes, with the exception of those which were instituted for assaults, referred to wrongs for which fines had been appointed by law[190], so that the latter could not be altered, except that in actions for damages the plaintiff so far appointed the fine, that he estimated his own injury[191]; in which case an alteration in

[188] See Matthiæ Miscell. Philog. vol. i. p. 247 sqq.

[189] Vs. 1257.

[190] The word *τίμημα* is here translated by fine, whether it had the nature of damages or of punishment.

[191] See below chap. 11.

the estimate could only have been made by petition, and mostly with the consent of the plaintiff. Here then the prytaneia could be fixed with certainty.

Again, in a private cause the plaintiff claimed either a sum of money or money's worth from the defendant, which moreover he was himself to receive: it was therefore fair that he should be subject to the payment of justice fees. But in public actions the determination of the prytaneia would have been liable to great difficulties, and in many cases have been wholly impossible. For if either loss of life, banishment, confiscation of property, or atimia, were assigned as the penalty, it would have been impossible to estimate the amount of the prytaneia, as they were always fixed according to the money in litigation. The fines in public causes were also subject to considerable and frequent alterations, and if the payment of the prytaneia took place in cases of this description, they could only have been fixed according to the estimate of the plaintiff in his pleadings; but as we find no mention of any such arrangement, we may safely conclude that it did not exist. When for example Æschines, in his action against Ctesiphon for illegal proceedings (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*), estimates the damages at 50 talents, the prytaneia of both parties would together have amounted to a talent, the payment of which would have fallen upon the losing party: but nothing of the kind is any where alluded to, although the far inferior loss of 1000 drachmas, which the plaintiff was to pay in case he did not obtain the fifth part of the votes, is repeatedly mentioned.

Moreover the public plaintiff did not pursue his own advantage; and if he gained the cause, the state, or whoever was the injured party, and not the accuser, received the fine. It would not therefore have been just that he should pay any prytaneia. It was also against the interest of the state to throw difficulties in the way of public actions, by compelling the deposit of prytaneia. The only payment required in the case which has been just quoted, was the penalty of the thousand drachmas imposed upon the plaintiff for the purpose of restraining frivolous accusations; and in cases in which a private money suit was mixed with a public action, the epobelia was exacted: the parastasis

however appears to have had a symbolical meaning, and to have signified that the cause was commenced. In every other case the state decided all public actions gratis, as they related to matters concerning its own interest, and the fines were afterwards sufficient to cover the expense.

There were, however, some public actions from which the plaintiff, in case he gained his cause, obtained some advantage at the same time that he prosecuted the offender; in such cases as these the plaintiff paid the prytaneia for one party, but the plaintiff alone. Thus a law enacted, that whoever dug up olive-trees, excepting upon particular occasions, should pay to the state a fine of 100 drachmas for each tree, and an equal sum to the plaintiff: "the plaintiff however was to pay the prytaneia for his own share[192]." This was a public action; for the interest of the community, and not of any individual, was damnified by the diminution of the culture of olives, and all persons were at liberty to accuse. Now since the payment of the prytaneia is expressly enjoined in this law, it is manifest that they were not commonly required in public actions, since otherwise it would have been unnecessary to insert this clause. The reason however why the plaintiff alone was bound to pay them is, that he might derive individual advantage from the introduction of the cause, in case he was successful: so that considered in this light it was his private suit: thus the Roman law made the injury of the prætorian album a private cause (*causa privata*), although the privilege of accusation was free to any person (*in causa popularî*). The defendant however did not deposit any prytaneia, inasmuch as he did not damnify the private interest of the plaintiff, and on his side the cause was entirely public.

There was also another kind of public action, in which the plaintiff might advance his own interests, while at the same time he endeavoured to maintain the rights of the state. This was the phasis (or information), which form of proceeding might be instituted either in the case of robbery of public property, or in offences concerning trade, custom duties, and mines, syco-

[192] *Πρυτανεῖα δὲ τιθέτω ὁ διώκων τοῦ αὐτοῦ μέρους*, Lex. ap. Demosth. c. Macart. p. 1074, 19.

phancy, and offences against wards; and in this form of action all persons had the right of accusing, even if they were not the parties injured. If a person who had not been injured came forward as accuser in a phasis, and if he only undertook the action as the representative of the public, and not as his private suit, the estimated damages were not awarded to the plaintiff, if he gained the cause from the defendant, but to the injured party[193]; to the state, for example, if the property of the state was injured; to the farmers of the customs, if the custom duties had been fraudulently evaded; to the orphans, if the property of orphans had been embezzled. Consequently an accuser of this kind paid only the parastasis, and no prytaneia; but in order to repress frivolous accusations, the accuser was subjected to the risk of the thousand drachmas, and on certain occasions to the epobelia, if he did not obtain the fifth part of the votes[194].

But what were the regulations if the injured party himself came forward an accuser? In this case two different methods may be conceived to have existed. A case which would justify the institution of a phasis, admitted of being viewed in a double light; and the plaintiff, whom it individually concerned, could, as I am convinced, select which of the two he would adopt. Thus, for example, redress might be obtained for an assault either by a private (*δίκη αἰκίας*) or a public action (*δίκη* or *γραφὴ ὕβρεως*), according as the plaintiff chose: so as we learn from Demosthenes, the law intentionally allowed in very many cases not two only, but even four different methods of proceeding, in order that every person might choose according to his disposition and circumstances: for instance, a person might institute a private action for a theft of property exceeding 50 drachmas, and among public actions, the common action, the *ἀπαγωγὴ* and the ephegesis; there were also four different forms of proceeding in a case of impiety, and so with almost every other offence[195]. The correctness of this assertion is

[193] Pollux viii. 41, 48.

[194] See below chap. 10, 12.

[195] Demosth. c. Androt. p. 601. On this point see more particularly Herald. Animadv. iv. 7, 8.

proved by the spirit of the whole Athenian law. In the same manner the law, in an instance in which private property had been damaged, either allowed a case which justified the procedure by phasis, to be in fact brought on as a phasis or a public suit (which course a person who had not received any injury, in case he wished to come forward as accuser, was always compelled to take), or the injured party was at liberty only to found a private action upon it, for the purpose of prosecuting his own rights. By the former method of proceeding the plaintiff brought the defendant into greater hazard, as the latter was subject to the penalty not only of a fine, but also of imprisonment and death: at the same time he exposed himself to the risk of the thousand drachmas, and also of the epobelia, if he did not obtain the fifth part of the votes. In the latter case the defendant was exposed to less risk, and the plaintiff was not subject to the loss of the thousand drachmas, but only of the epobelia. Now with regard to the prytaneia, we can hardly suppose that they were required in the first case, as the injured party came forward solely in the character of public accuser, and the fine which he received would have been equally paid to him if another person had been plaintiff: in the latter case, however, prytaneia were unquestionably required, as the cause was merely a private suit.

It is probable that, unless some particular cause of animosity or zeal existed, the method of the private suit was generally preferred; and we have still two law-suits extant, which might have justified a phasis, and were nevertheless instituted as private causes. Pollux expressly states that the action against guardians (*δίκη ἐπιτροπῆς*) was a public suit, and adds, that any person who wished it was at liberty to prosecute the guardian in behalf of the injured orphans[196]; and yet in another place he calls it a private suit[197]: so again the author of the Lexicon Rhetoricum considers the action for the omission of the letting of orphans' property as a phasis, and at the same

[196] Pollux (viii. 35) calls it the *δίκη ἐπιτροπῆς δημοσία. Ἐξῆν γὰρ τῷ βουλομένῳ γράφεσθαι τὸν ἐπίτροπον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ὀρφανῶν.*

[197] viii. 31. Heraldus Animadv. in Salmas. Observ. iii. 4, 5, also considers that the *δίκη ἐπιτροπῆς* was a private suit.

time as a private suit[198]; and it is also cited by Pollux, together with the action against guardians, among the private suits[199]. The law-suit of Demosthenes, detailed in the speeches against Aphobus, which have been placed by the arrangers of his works among the private orations, is an action against guardians. Are we then to suppose that these persons were deceived in a whole set of speeches so important in the history of Demosthenes? It is highly improbable that they should have committed so great an error, although it is true that they have incorrectly classed two other speeches[200]. It is indeed evident from the tenour of the speech itself, that the action was not a phasis, but merely a private suit. Demosthenes frequently complains that he is exposed to the risk of the epobelia, to which his property was only just sufficient, and which should not in fairness have applied in his case[201]. Again, if the action had been a phasis, he would have spoken of the thousand drachmas, which must have been paid in the same case to which the epobelia applied. But of this payment he says not a word. Or are we to suppose, that in the action against guardians the phasis itself, which in all other cases was a public suit, became a private one, with this difference only, that any person had the liberty of accusing? This is apparently the notion which the author of the Lexicon Rhetoricum had formed of this point, as he calls the phasis a species of public and private action, and the latter with reference to the omission of the letting of orphans' property; his

[198] Lex. Seg. p. 313, cf. p. 315; Etymol. in v. φάσις, Phot. in v. φάσις, particularly in the second article, and Epitome of Harpocration, quoted by the commentators upon Pollux viii. 47.

[199] To this action the words of Pollux viii. 31 (δίκη) μισθώσεως οἴκου should be referred. Hudtwalcker is incorrect in supposing (von den Diäteten, p. 143,) that the δίκη μισθώσεως οἴκου is the same as the action for the payment of house-rent (δίκη ἐνοικίου), an error into which he was probably led from the difference between οἶκος and οἰκία in the Athenian law having escaped him. Heraldus has pointed out the meaning of οἶκος correctly in his Animadv. in Salmas. Observat. iii. 6, 10.

[200] In the speeches against Nicostratus and against Theocrines, neither of which, however, is by Demosthenes. The latter was considered by Callimachus to be the work of Demosthenes, but Dionysius and the greater number of authorities include it in the works of Dinarchus, and justly give it a place among the public orations. See the Life of Dinarchus by Dionysius.

[201] P. 834, 25, p. 835, 14, p. 841, 22, p. 880, 9.

statement, however, is probably founded upon a confusion, the origin of which was, that the subject of a phasis could equally be the subject of a private cause; and that it was the wish of the government that offences connected with guardianship should be treated as public actions, as well as offences relating to harbours, custom duties, and mines, and sycophancy, in order to give greater protection to orphans. And it is remarkable that Photius, who for the most part coincides with the Lexicon Rhetoricum, opposes the phasis regarding the property of orphans, to the public actions, but yet does not distinctly call it a private suit; so that the grammarians do not themselves appear to have formed any precise notion of the subject. It may therefore be supposed that as, in the Roman law, the *actio tutelæ* of the ward against the guardian, at the end of the guardianship, for a restitution of the property taken from him during the minority, was a private suit, and the *actio suspecti* of a third person against the guardian who acted dishonestly during the tutelage was a quasi-public (*quasi publica*) suit, so in the Athenian law, a distinction of the following nature existed between the actions against guardians; viz., the public action was the phasis, not being however, as in the Roman law, limited to a third person, and to the continuance of the guardianship[202], and the private suit was the δίκη ἐπιτροπῆς and μισθώσεως οἴκου. The grammarians then appear, in the first place, to be in error when they call the δίκη ἐπιτροπῆς and μισθώσεως οἴκου a public action[203], and secondly, when they call the phasis in actions

[202] A public action against a fraudulent guardian is extant in the oration of Lysias against Diogeiton, where he speaks of the *extreme of danger* (ἔσχατοι κίνδυνοι, p. 893 ad fin.) which alludes to the penalty of death. It is instituted by a third person, but after the conclusion of the guardianship, and the passing of the accounts. That the injured party was also empowered to bring on this kind of action, I do not find anywhere expressly stated; but it can hardly be doubted that such was the case, if we may judge from the spirit of the Athenian law, by which the greatest liberty in the selection of the mode of proceeding was allowed.

[203] It may be easily perceived how Pollux, who alone, as far as I remember, calls the δίκη ἐπιτροπῆς a public suit, was led into this notion. For after having correctly mentioned the δίκη ἐπιτροπῆς and μισθώσεως οἴκου in the enumeration of the private suits, he returns to it only incidentally in viii. 35, in the words ἀπροστασίου δὲ κατὰ τῶν οὐ νεμόντων προστάτην μετοίκων· ἀλλ' αὕτη (as should be read for

against guardians a private suit; excepting that this phasis, by reason of its double relation, both to the injury of individuals and to that of the state, may be considered as a public and at the same time as a private action, and by this means the account of the grammarians may be in some measure justified: whereas it is extremely improbable that the public action or the phasis, and the private suit, were both called *δίκη ἐπιτροπῆς* and *μισθώσεως οἴκου*.

There is a corresponding resemblance between the proceedings against Aphobus, and the law-suit detailed in the speech against Dionysodorus. The defendant, as is plain from the charges of the accuser, had not only injured him, but also transgressed the commercial laws; consequently he might have been prosecuted for this latter offence by a phasis; yet it is manifest from the whole speech, that this matter was taken up as a private suit, and we therefore hear nothing of the possible loss of the thousand drachmas, but only that the plaintiff, in case of failure, will be forced to pay the epobelia[204]. We do not, indeed, in either of these two law-suits, find any mention of the prytaneia, an omission in which there is nothing remarkable; for their loss and restitution was so much a matter of course, as they were deposited in all private causes with the exception of the private action for an assault, that no allusion to this payment need be expected. Apollodorus also in the first oration against Stephanus[205], in an action for debt, in which we know with certainty from Aristophanes that the prytaneia were always required, only remarks that he should have to pay the epobelia in addition, silently implying the loss and restitution of the prytaneia.

αὐτή) μὲν δημοσία, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς. Ἐξῆν γὰρ τῷ βουλομένῳ γράφεσθαι τὸν ἐπίτροπον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ὀρφανῶν. Here it occurred to him accidentally, that the guardian might be prosecuted by any person, viz. by a phasis, and thus he thought it necessary to remark, that the *δίκη ἐπιτροπῆς* was a public suit, although he had before stated it to be a private suit. The first account he appears however to have derived from good authority; the accidental observation evidently came from his own head, and therefore it deserves but little credit.

[204] P. 1284, 2.

[205] P. 1103, 15, *προσοφλὼν δὲ τὴν ἐπωβελίαν*.

Heiresses (ἐπίκληροι) were under the peculiar protection of the state. If, therefore, any person laid claim to an heiress whom another person wished to marry, as having a better right to her, he was compelled to pay the parastasis as in a public action[206]. One description of actions, viz., the eisangelia for mal-treatment of the helpless, for example, of an heiress, of parents on the part of children, and orphans on the part of the guardians (κακώσεως ἐπικλήρου, γονέων, ὀρφανῶν), which was commenced before the archon eponymus, received from the state a considerable preference, in the exemption from prytaneia and parastasis; and even if the accuser did not obtain a single vote, he was not, according to Isæus, exposed to any risk[207]. It is also to be observed, that this was a public suit, since every person was allowed to accuse either by instituting an eisangelia[208], or a common indictment (γραφή)[209]: and the probable reason why Pollux[210] enumerates it among the private suits, is, that for the same wrong which justified a public action, the party injured (for example, the ward after the cessation of his minority) could seek redress by a private one.

Another particular exception also existed in the actions for assault. Isocrates mentions[211], that public and private suits (γραφαὶ καὶ δίκαι) might be instituted for an assault (ὕβρις) without depositing any *sacramentum* (παρακαταβολή), which preference existed in this case alone. In this statement there is a trifling discrepancy with Isæus, who mentions that the eisangelia before the archon was the only one devoid of hazard. According to Isocrates, however, the private action for an assault at least, was completely free from risk, whatever might have been the case with the public suit, which, if this exemp-

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[206] Andoc. de Myst. p. 60.

[207] Isæus de Pyrrhi Hered. p. 44, 45, and thence Harpocration in v. εἰσαγγελία.

[208] Isæus ut sup. Compare Demosth. c. Pantænet. p. 979 sqq. Herald. Animadv. in Salmas. Observat. iii. 14, 4, Matthiæ Miscell. Philog. p. 234 sq.

[209] Orat c. Theocrin. p. 1332, 14.

[210] viii. 31.

[211] C. Lochit. 3. See Vales ad Harpocrat. in v. παρακαταβολή, Sigon. R. A. ii. 6. Whoever wishes to see a full account of the δίκη αἰκίας and ὕβρεως, may find it in Heraldus Observ. et Emend. c. 46—48, and in his Animadv. in Salmas. Obser. ad I. Ar. et R. ii. 9, sqq. and iii. passim.

tion did not extend to it, would have subjected the accuser to the loss of the thousand drachmas: unless the epobelia applied in the first case, if the plaintiff had not the fifth part of the votes on his side, a point as to which we are at least wholly uninformed. Nor was it only in actions for assault that no sacramentum was necessary, since it was not paid in the eisangelia above-mentioned. Whether, however, the statements of the two orators can or cannot be reconciled with one another, thus much is certain, that in the action for an assault the accuser paid nothing for the introduction of the cause, as well as in the case of which Isæus speaks: which was so arranged in order to give to the poor the means of protecting themselves against the oppression of the rich and noble, a preference founded upon a democratic, and we may boldly say, a truly humane principle; and for this reason also the prytaneia, which were paid in all other private causes, were not required in private actions for assault. Notwithstanding this, the payment of the prytaneia took place in the action for assault contained in the speech against Euergus and Mnesibulus.

This law-suit, which we have already noticed, was, however, of a mixed kind; and from this circumstance the solution of this difficulty may be derived. The client of the Pseudo-Demosthenes and his adversary Theophemus had beaten one another with cudgels: one of them instituted a private action for an assault (*δίκη αἰκίας*), and the other person did precisely the same; it was therefore a cross-suit (*ἀντιγραφή*). But the latter method of proceeding was particularly guarded against by the fear of the epobelia, as it would have given rise to vexatious persecution from one party[212]; and for the same reason the preference granted to the action for an assault, viz., that it should be introduced without any payment of money, ceased at the very moment when the suspicion of a vexatious intention was caused by the introduction of a cross-suit. The first plaintiff, who merely instituted an action for assault, paid no prytaneia; but the plaintiff in the cross action was compelled to deposit them; by doing which he at the same

[212] See below, chap. 10.

time entailed the payment of them upon the first plaintiff, who by this time had become defendant. If either party lost his cause without having the fifth part of the votes on his side—as, for example, the client of Demosthenes in the speech above quoted—in the first place his prytaneia were forfeited to the state, and he was obliged to replace the prytaneia of the successful party: in the second place, he had to pay the fine to his adversary: and lastly, he had to pay to the opponent the epobelia for the fine at which he had assessed his injury.

These monies, the prytaneia and the parastasis, were used, like the parastasis of the diætetæ, for paying the wages of the dicasts; of the prytaneia in particular, as being the most important, it is mentioned, that they were applied to the payment of the courts of justice[213]. The prytaneia have therefore been compared with the fees of the Roman courts; and this analogy has been supported by a passage in Aristophanes, which, however, does not prove that the dicasts received the prytaneia at Athens immediately, as the Romans received their fees[214]. On the other hand, Joseph Scaliger[215] has started the singular notion, that the corresponding payment at Rome were not the justice fees, but the *sportula* which was given by the nobles of Rome to their clients, in money or victuals, confounding them with the public feasts in the prytaneum. If by the fees of justice, according to the Roman custom, we understand the payment received directly by the judges, the prytaneia cannot be called fees; but although not the same in name they were so in substance, and the only difference was that they were paid into the public coffers, as is the case at present in some places, and the state then paid the judges with this money. For this reason Aristophanes[216] reckons the prytaneia among the public revenues, which is also the account given by

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[213] Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. i. 16, Pollux viii. 38, Suidas and Photius in v. *πρυτανεία*, where by the 6000 the judges are meant.

[214] Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1139, Suidas in v. *πρυτανεῖον*, glosses quoted by Kühn ad Polluc. viii. 38, Casaub. ad Athen. vi. p. 237 F. referring to Aristoph. Nub. 1200, Spanheim ad Nub. 1182.

[215] De Emend. Temp.

[216] See above, note 4.

Suidas and Photius[217]: the presidents of the courts of justice assigned them to the proper authority, which was doubtless the office of the colacretæ. For the colacretæ had the duty of managing the feasts in the prytaneum, for which, as their name sufficiently proves, the prytaneia were originally assigned, at a time when law-suits were received and introduced in the prytaneum[218]; the same officers also distributed the wages of the dicasts, after their introduction as a regular stipend, and the prytaneia were then naturally appointed for the immediate payment of this salary. But how great must have been the number of law-suits in order to defray the wages of the dicasts, amounting to about 150 talents! Xenophon gives us to understand, that it chiefly was the law-suits of the allies which made it possible to pay the dicasts out of the prytaneia; at the same time, as has been above remarked, additional money must have been supplied from other sources; for it is not credible that the prytaneia were ever alone sufficient; and, moreover, the pay of the dicasts was only one of those democratic forms, under which the public money was to be divided among the people.

Chapter X.

Fees upon Appeals. The Paracatabole and the Epobelia.

Another description of the payments made in the courts of justice was the fee (*παράβολον*)[219] upon appeals (*ἐφέσεις*), concerning which nothing is known accurately. The paracatabole was, however, a fee of nearly the same nature: this was a payment which was made by any person who either claimed

[217] Πρυτανεῖα: *πρόσοδος εἰς τὸ δημόσιον κατατασσομένη*. Cf. Lex. Seg. p. 192, 17. Valesius (ad Mauss. ad Harpocrat. p. 326, ed Gronov.) and Küster (ad Nub. 1134) have given a correct general view of the question.

[218] This is the meaning of Suidas in v. *πρυτανεῖον* and *παρακαταβολή*, Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 1139. Concerning the colacretæ see book ii. ch. 6, and on the pay of the dicasts, book ii. ch. 15.

[219] This is the term used by Aristotle; by later writers it was called *παραβόλιον*, Pollux viii. 63; see Salmas. M. U. V. p. 198; Hudtwalcker von den Diäteten, p. 127.

(*ἀμφισβητεῖ*) from the state any confiscated property, or from individuals an estate adjudged to him, and it was forfeited if the party lost his suit. The fifth part of the property claimed (*τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων*) was paid before the action as paracatabole, if the party laid claim to confiscated property; and the tenth part if he claimed an inheritance or property of heiresses[220], and in fact the payment took place at the preliminary investigation into the case (*ἀνάκρισις*)[221]. The similarity of both cases with the appeal may be seen from this fact, that all confiscations of property were founded upon a judicial verdict, and whoever laid claim to property thus forfeited, if he did not in strictness of speech appeal against the decision, yet appealed against its application to a particular object; the resemblance is also strengthened by the circumstance, that the paracatabole was only paid in cases relating to the inheritance of property, when the plaintiff sought to obtain possession of an inheritance already adjudged to another person (*ἐπιδικαζόμενα*)[222], so that in this instance also an appeal was made against a former legal decision.

In both varieties of the paracatabole the questions arise, by whom was it received, if the party who had deposited it lost the cause, and whether other justice fees and fines could be combined with it. In order to determine these problems, it will be necessary to premise the following observations. The payments made in law suits were of three kinds: in the first place, there were mere justice fees, such as prytaneia and parastasis, which the unsuccessful party paid: in the second place, fines

[220] Pollux viii. 39, 32; Harpocrat. Suid. Phot. in *παρακαταβολή*, Lex. Seg. p. 290 (Harpocration refers to Lysias, Hyperides, and other orators): see Harpocration and Suidas in *ἀμφισβητεῖν*, and concerning the inheritances see Pollux viii. 32; Timæus Lexic. Plat. in *παρακαταβολή*, and there Ruhnken; Demosth. c. Macart. p. 1051, 20, 1054, 27 (from a law), c. Leochar. p. 1090, ext. p. 1092, 20. Isæus mentions it in several places. And to this probably belongs what Didymus says in Harpocration in *πρόπεμπτα· εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ τὰ πέμπτα τῶν τιμημάτων* (he should have said *τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων*) *παρακαταβάλλεσθαί φασιν, ὡς Λυσίας ἐν τῷ κατὰ Ἀπολλοδώρου ὑποσημαίνει.* All the rest of this article is worthless, as has been already remarked by Valesius in his notes to Maussac.

[221] Isæus de Hagn. Hered. p. 2.

[222] See Bunsen de Jure Heredit. Athen. 1, 2, 3.

(τιμήματα), which the successful plaintiff received in private, and the state in public suits, excepting that in a phasis, the injured party received the fine, and in certain private suits, a fine was annexed to be paid to the state: and, lastly, certain compensations, which in particular law suits, the unsuccessful was compelled to make to the successful party, for the risk to which he had exposed him, for example the epobelia. Now the paracatabole appears to be of the latter kind, and it was evidently introduced in order to protect the state and all legal heirs from the vexatious suits of self-interested plaintiffs: from this it follows that it must have been received by the party who was injured by the suit, viz. in claims for confiscated property by the state, in cases of inheritance by the heirs. From this view of the case, the litigants were probably in addition to the paracatabole compelled to pay the common justice fees, since they would have paid them if there had been no paracatabole, according to the respective circumstances of the suit, although I have not been able to find any information upon this point. The unsuccessful plaintiff does not appear to have been subject to any other punishments or augmentations of punishment (προστιμήματα). It should also be observed, that the payment of the paracatabole could only have been required from the complaining party, as a punishment for vexatious litigation.

Something must also be said on the subject of the epobelia (ἐπωβελία), since in the writings of both early and modern scholars as little clear and definite information is found upon this point as upon the other justice fees and fines[223]. The epobelia is the sixth part of the assessment of the suit (τίμημα), and was so called because an obolus was paid for every drachma of the valuation. As this circumstance is manifest from the name alone, and the best grammarians give the same account[224]; and as the examples of the epobelia occurring in Demosthenes,

[223] Even the accurate Heraldus (Animadv. in Salmas. Observ. iii. 4, 8—11, 5 ad fin) has adopted an entirely false view of the question, and Hudtwalcker only incidentally touches upon this subject in a few places.

[224] Harpocrat. Etymol. Suid. Zonaras in ἐπωβελία, Lex. Seg. p. 255; Schol. Plat. Ruhnk. p. 239; Pollux viii. 39, 43, ix. 60; cf. Salmas. M. U. p. 12 sqq.

which will be adduced presently, prove it beyond a doubt, the statement which Hesychius and Eustathius have derived from ignorant writers[225], that the epobelia was the tenth part of the assessment, does not require refutation; it owes its origin to a confusion with the paracatabole, not unlike that which we have already seen in the case of the prytaneia. The true nature of this fine is given in general terms by Harpocration, who states that it was an additional valuation (*προστίμημα*) fixed by law, independent of the decision of the judges[226]: this account, however, leaves the questions open, in what law suits, by whom, under what circumstances, connected with what, and to whom, was it paid.

According to the Etymologist[227], the epobelia was introduced because many persons had been vexatiously accused in causes relating to money, particularly with regard to bottomry or sea security: on which account the law imposed the epobelia upon the plaintiff, for the prevention of vexatious accusations (*συκοφαντία*); and afterwards it was applied equally to all other pecuniary causes (*χρηματικαὶ δίκαι*). Probably this alludes to the fact mentioned by Isocrates against Callimachus[228], who states that Archinus, after the government of the thirty tyrants, introduced the payment of the epobelia in law suits in which the defendant was allowed the right of instituting a paragraphe against the plaintiff, in order to protect him from vexatious accusations. The case mentioned in the speech of Demosthenes against Stephanus for false testimony[229], is precisely of this nature. The orator's client, Apollodorus, had brought an action against his step-father Phormion to recover a sum of money which he claimed from him; Phormion, on the other hand, instituted a paragraphe, and Apollodorus, having been unsuccessful in the suit, was condemned to pay the epobelia. But the litigants were also exposed to the risk of the epobelia in pecuniary cases, even when there was no paragraphe, as may be

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[225] Hesych. in *ἐπωβελία*; Eustath. ad Odyss. A. p. 1405, 27.

[226] Harpocrat. in *προστιμήματα*, and thence Photius.

[227] From which Suidas in *ἐπωβελία* is transcribed.

[228] In the beginning; comp. below, chap. 15, 16.

[229] P. 1103, 15.

seen from the law suit of Demosthenes against his guardians, and the cause against Dionysodorus on account of the non-repayment of a loan of money: and also in a phasis which related to a fine; in this instance, however, it was doubtless limited by certain conditions, which will be more aptly pointed out in another place: and, finally, in the cross action[230] (*ἀντιγραφὴ*), on account of the appearance of vexation which it bore. It cannot be proved that any epobelia was required in actions for an assault. The private suit for the same offence (*δίκη αἰκίας*) of necessity indeed led to nothing more than a fine, but it was distinguished in several essential points from a common pecuniary law suit; and the only known case in which epobelia was paid in a private action for an assault, related in the speech against Euergus and Mnesibulus, had also the nature of a cross suit, which circumstance introduced the obligation of the epobelia. In the public action for an assault (*δίκη ὕβρεως*) it is impossible to conceive that any epobelia existed; nor when Æschines against Timarchus[231] supposes the case of a person bringing an action against a youth, who, having sold his chastity by a written document, had violated his engagement, and considers it to be just that the plaintiff should both lose his suit, and suffer the penalty of death, "not only paying the epobelia, but also a fine for the other injury," must it be supposed that the plaintiff generally paid the epobelia in public actions for bodily wrong; for this would not be a suit of this nature, but an action connected with pecuniary matters, which, as the agreement was contrary to law, would necessarily be lost; considered in the light of a pecuniary case, the plaintiff would of course suffer the penalty of the epobelia; but the orator supposes him to be punished with far greater severity for the seduction and disgrace of an Athenian youth. Speaking generally, the epobelia only applied in cases relating to money, and not in public actions, except in the phasis.

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[230] Pollux viii. 58.

[231] Where the chief words that refer to this subject are, *ἔπειτα οὐ καταλευσθήσεται ὁ μισθούμενος τὸν Ἀθηναῖον παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ προσοφλὼν ἀπείσιν ἐκ τοῦ δικαστηρίου οὐ τὴν ἐπωβελίαν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλην ὕβριν*: the case here supposed is *ἑταίρησις κατὰ συνθήκας*, which actually occurred. See Lysias c. Simon. p. 147, 148.

With regard to the party who was bound to pay the epobelia there may seem to exist some doubt, for the passages of the grammarians apparently contradict one another, and the ancients do not explain themselves with sufficient distinctness. It seems to me probable, that not the plaintiff only, but the unsuccessful party in general, was subject to this payment, although a decisive proof to this effect cannot now be obtained. By the law of Archinus, both parties in the litigation, as well the accuser as the party instituting a paragraphe, in case he was condemned, was bound to pay the epobelia[232]; which however cannot be accounted for by the reason which Pollux mentions[233], that the paragraphe was similar to a cross suit, and therefore both parties were considered as plaintiffs: Pollux asserts, that in the phasis the unsuccessful party paid the epobelia, without making any distinction between plaintiff and defendant; which he also states in the most general terms of the epobelia[234]. And doubtless if in a phasis the defendant paid the epobelia equally with the plaintiff, in case he lost the suit, by the same reason he must have paid it in a money case to which the epobelia applied, even if it was only a private cause, for in the phasis the epobelia was only added in reference to the money which the injured party endeavoured to obtain from the defendant; that is to say, merely in reference to that which in the phasis is a private concern; and if the plaintiff was exposed to the danger of the epobelia, it was but just that the hazard of the accuser should be increased in an equal proportion.

We have two instances of the plaintiff paying the epobelia in private cases; but if correctly understood, they do not war-

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[232] See above, chap. 9.

[233] Pollux viii. 58, upon the principle of *Reus excipiendo fit actor*.

[234] viii. 48 and 39. In the former chapter he says, ὁ δὲ μὴ μεταλαβὼν τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων τὴν ἐπωβελίαν προσωφλίσκανε, where by the word προσοφλισκάνειν the grammarian means to express the *additional loss* besides the loss of the suit: in the same manner in viii. 58, ὁ δὲ ἀντιγραψάμενος μὴ κρατήσας τὴν ἐπωβελίαν προσωφλίσκανε. Demosth. c. Stephan. ψευδομ. i. p. 1103, 15, προσοφλὼν δὲ τὴν ἐπωβελίαν, and Æschin. ut sup. I mention this, that it might not be thought that by προσοφλισκάνειν a previous fine is implied. In the other passage (c. 39) Pollux says, ἐπωβελία δ' ἦν τὸ ἕκτον μέρος τοῦ τιμήματος, ὃ ὤφειλεν ὁ αἱρεθείς.

rant us in inferring that the defendant, if he was unsuccessful, would not have been compelled to pay it. Darius and Pamphilus lent Dionysodorus 300 drachmas upon bottomry; this latter person acted contrary to the agreement and the commercial laws: "but, notwithstanding all this," says the orator, "he dared to come into court, with the intent of depriving me of the epobelia, and of carrying it off to his own house, in addition to the other money of which he has defrauded me[235]." The silence of the orator cannot be considered as a proof that the defendant, in case he was unsuccessful, did not pay the epobelia. Demosthenes says in the first speech against Aphobus[236], that if he was unsuccessful, he should have to pay the epobelia without being assessed (*ἀτίμητος*); if Aphobus lost, he should not have to pay the fine until the assessment of the judges had been made (*τιμητός*). This expression does not by any means exclude the possibility of Aphobus being compelled to pay the epobelia. Demosthenes had estimated his damages against Aphobus at 600 minas: "If I lose my cause," he says, "I shall be forced to pay 100 minas for epobelia, without being assessed;" for as he had himself estimated the damages, the estimate remained, and the epobelia was thus immediately determined, that being the only manner in which it could be fixed. If, on the other hand, Aphobus lost, he was empowered to put in a petition that the judges would moderate the damages, and compel the plaintiff to lower his demands: the fine was then assessed, and consequently the epobelia also, which followed the assessment of the damages. Demosthenes, however, had no reason for laying any stress upon the latter point, as the payment of the epobelia is naturally understood. In a third case, viz. the cross action in the speech against Euergus and Mnesibulus, no distinction can be made between the plaintiff and defendant, as both of them come forward in a double character. Now although the grammarians[237] (whose joint testimony has only the authority of a single witness) state that the plaintiff paid the epobelia to the defendant, if he lost the suit, they do not actu-

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[235] Demosth. c. Dionysod. p. 1284, 2.
[236] P. 834, 25.
[237] Harpocrat. Etymol. Suid. Schol. Platon. Lex. Seg.

ally deny that the defendant was also obliged to pay it: but as it was originally introduced for the prevention of vexatious accusations, they only mention the plaintiff, and state that, in case he lost, he was forced to pay the epobelia to the defendant, as compensation for the risk which he had occasioned. It should also be observed, that the unsuccessful party was only compelled to pay the epobelia in case he did not obtain the fifth part of the votes[238], and therefore his guilt might be considered as sufficiently manifest.

Our next question is, whether the epobelia could be connected with other justice fees and fines? It had not the nature of a sacramentum, nor was it deposited before the verdict, but was paid immediately after the loss of the cause, as is evident from the speech of Demosthenes against Euergus and Mnesibulus[239]; from the law suit against Aphobus; and even from Isocrates against Callimachus: consequently, some sacramentum must necessarily have been paid for the introduction of the suit; and accordingly we know for certain that in the first of the three cases above quoted the unsuccessful party paid the prytaneia and the epobelia, and that prytaneia were also paid in the last case[240]. Again, the loss of a fine (*τίμημα*) was sometimes connected with the payment of the epobelia: this loss, however, could necessarily be suffered only by the defendant, and by him in every case in which he was unsuccessful; if he did not obtain the fifth part of the votes, the payment of the epobelia was appended to the fine, according to the amount of a sixth part of the money which he was condemned to pay: the plaintiff, on the other hand, was not subject to any fine, but only paid the epobelia upon the sum which he had assessed against the defendant, in case he did not obtain the fifth part of the votes; unless by the institution of a cross action he had taken the double character of plaintiff and defendant. All these particulars might have been assumed *à priori*, even apart from the authority of law suits now extant; it is manifest therefore that the statement of Hesychius, made upon the authority of Didymus, that the epobelia was a fine which followed the assessment

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[238] Isocrat. in Callimach. 5, Pollux viii. 48. [239] Comp. chap. 9. [240] Vid. ibid.

of the lost cause[241], merely refers to the determination of the epobelia according to the assessment of the suit: for this payment in reference to the plaintiff was regulated by the assessment which he made against the defendant, and in reference to the defendant by the assessment appointed by the court: on the other hand, we should misconceive the meaning of the grammarian, if we supposed that the epobelia was so far a consequence of the assessment or fine, that it was only paid in cases in which the fine itself or the timema was paid. For in all cases mentioned above, in which the plaintiffs speak of their being exposed to the risk of losing the epobelia, there is no trace of any apprehension of a fine.

Lastly, a peculiar circumstance occurred in the phasis, as being a public suit. In this form of proceeding it must be inferred, from the circumstances of the case, that the defendant, if he lost the cause, paid the fine, and also the epobelia, if he did not obtain the fifth part of the votes: the plaintiff indeed had no reason to apprehend the first payment, but if he was unsuccessful in his suit, he was in the same case compelled to pay the epobelia; and if he did not obtain the fifth part of the votes, *i. e.* in the very case in which he was subject to the epobelia, he was forced to pay to the state the usual fine of 1000 drachmas[242]; the former regulation arising from the nature of the money suit (χρηματικὴ δίκη), the latter from its being a public cause. Are we however to suppose that both these payments were required in every phasis, according to the hypothesis which we have just made? This point cannot be determined without taking a more accurate view of the nature of the phasis.

The phasis then was sometimes a purely public suit, as for example in the case of plunder of monies, or unsold mines

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[241] Ἀκόλουθον τῷ τῆς καταδίκης τιμήματι ὄφλημα: an inaccurate expression which cannot be applied to the plaintiff, unless, with all probability against us, we prefer writing δίκης with Salmasius M. U. p. 14 (who besides this has rightly corrected the passage as I have given it), and Palmer upon Hesychius. I pass over the mass of confusion which is contained in the notes of the other commentators upon this passage of Hesychius.

[242] Orat. c. Theocrin. p. 1323, 19.

belonging to the state, actions by which no private individual was injured; at other times, it was a suit partly public and partly private, for instance, if an action was instituted for the embezzlement of orphans' property: it could not in any case be solely a private suit, for it would thus have lost the distinctive character of the phasis, and have become a mere money suit for compensation of the injury suffered. Now, when the phasis was a purely public suit, its only object was a fine to be paid to state; and in this case neither the plaintiff nor the defendant could ever have paid the epobelia, since this payment was only required in cases which took the form of a private money suit, as its origin alone shows, the intent of it being to repress frivolous accusations, or on the part of the defendant to prevent him from vexatiously withholding the property of another person. Hence in the purely public phasis, the only penalty was doubtless that of 1000 drachmas, which fine is in the speech against Theocrines quoted from a law, in reference to this point, without any mention of the epobelia in a phasis, as the penalty of the unsuccessful plaintiff, if he did not obtain the fifth part of the votes; whether the plaintiff had made the assessment for a fine or some other punishment. If however the phasis was of a mixed nature, the object of the accuser was to obtain a fine for the compensation of the injured individual, and a fine to the state as a penalty for the injury done to it: in this case probably the epobelia applied both to the plaintiff and defendant in reference to the first view of the suit, and the penalty of 1000 drachmas on the part of the plaintiff, in reference to the public nature of the action. Lastly, if the injured person brought on a case, which would have justified a phasis, merely as a private suit, the epobelia alone applied. From this then it may be also determined to whom the epobelia was paid. The grammarians[243] say that the defendant received it from the plaintiff, if he (the defendant) gained the cause; from which it is evident, that if the plaintiff was successful he received it from the defendant; supposing always that both parties were bound to

[243] Etymol. Suid. Schol. Plat. Lex. Seg. ἐλάμβανε δὲ τὴν ἐπωβελίαν ὁ φεύγων παρὰ τοῦ διώκοντος, εἰ τὴν δίκην ἀπέφευγεν.

pay it, as we have assumed. And that in private suits the epobelia was received by the successful party and not by the state, is completely proved by the orations which are still extant[244]. But, it will be asked, to whom did the epobelia in the case of the phasis belong? If the phasis was a purely public action, the epobelia did not apply; where it did exist, it was merely annexed in so far that the phasis contained, as it were, an action for compensation claimed by a private individual, in order to restrain vexatious suits, or the withholding of property belonging to the plaintiff. If then the plaintiff was unsuccessful, the epobelia was paid to the defendant, in the same manner as in a private money-suit; but if the plaintiff was successful, either the party whose rights had been violated by the defendant, and who was represented by the public accuser, received the epobelia in the same manner that the injured party received the fine (for the circumstance of the plaintiff being a third person might appear quite accidental in reference to the money-suit contained in the phasis), or it was paid to the plaintiff as compensation for the risk to which he himself had been exposed. The state therefore could not in any case have had any share in the epobelia.

Chapter XI.

The Fines accruing to the State.

The public income arising from judicial cases was further increased by the fines for illegal acts, as far as they were estimated in money and paid to the state.

All fines were called *valuations* or *assessments* (*τιμήματα*), a term which comprehended damages and all punishments estimated in money, because they were determined by the valuing or *τίμησις*, and by the abuse of the word it came to signify the punishment itself.

In treating of this matter I shall chiefly follow the guidance of Heraldus, who has entered into a comprehensive examination

[244] Orat. c. Euerg. et Mnesib. p. 1158, Demosth. c. Dionysod. p. 1284, 2.

of it; but agreeably to my purpose I shall limit my inquiries to what is either requisite for the comprehension of the whole question, or is immediately connected with the public revenue; for which reason I shall set aside all assessments which were not made in money, and in great measure also the question of damages, as alien to my subject.

All punishments (fines included) were either defined by law as affecting both public and private actions, or were with respect to some public actions left to the discretion of the judges, which was however limited in particular cases; certain punishments being defined, from which they were to select that which appeared to them best adapted to the case[245]. An action in which the punishment was a fine or other penalty affixed by law, was called *an unassessed suit*, from the laws having defined no certain penalty (ἀγὼν ἀτίμητος); if it was necessary to assess it for the occasion, it was called *an assessed suit* (τιμητός)[246]. In all private causes, the fines were with a single exception fixed by law[247], and if not absolutely, they were fixed proportionably to the value in litigation. Thus in the action for injury (δίκη βλάβης) in many cases a scale fixed according to proportions was the only one which could be adopted, as the amount was to be determined by the injury done, which required to be accurately known in order to admit of an assessment. In this case it was ruled by the law, that if the injury had been done unintentionally the single, and if intentionally the double, assessment should be restored[248]. The law, on the other hand, fixed all penalties absolutely which had not the character of compensation, as, for example, in a case of slanderous words (κακηγορία), at 500 drachmas[249], and in the action for non-appearance of a witness (δίκη λειπομαρτυρίου) at 1000 drachmas[250].

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[245] Herald. Anim. in Salmas. Obs. ad I. A. et R. iii. 1, 2.

[246] Herald. iii. 2, Matthiæ Miscell. Philog. vol. i. p. 276, 277.

[247] Ulpian. ad Demosth. c. Mid. p. 325.

[248] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 528.

[249] Isocrat. c. Lochit. 4, Lysias c. Theomnest. p. 354. See Matthiæ ut sup. Hudtwalcker von den Diäteten, p. 149 sqq.

[250] Pollux viii. 37. Compare Harpocration, Photius, and Suidas in v. κλητῆρες, Lex. Seg. p. 272, 10.

The only case in which the fine was undetermined was the private action for assault (*δίκη αἰκίας*), in which the procedure upon the whole resembled that in public causes, and it was thus an assessed action[251], in order that the court and the plaintiff might be able to estimate the fine according to the degree of injury received: it could, however, be only rated in money[252]. But in all private suits the plaintiff received the assessment, so that we have no farther concern with this species of cases. In public suits, on the contrary, the state received the fine of the defendant, unless the money-cases of private individuals were implicated in them, *e.g.* in the phasis concerning cases of misconduct of guardians or violation of commercial law, in which the assessment accrued to the injured party, if the plaintiff succeeded; in all other public causes, however, the penalties of infamy, death, &c. might be appointed in place of fines. Now these public causes were either assessed or unassessed: in the first case, the plaintiff generally assessed the injury in his plaint (*τιμᾷ, προτιμᾷ*), the defendant made a counter-assessment (*ἀντιτιμᾷ, ὑποτιμᾷ*); the court then decided upon the assessment (*τιμᾷ, ἐπικρίνει*), agreeing with one or the other. At the same time the plaintiff might give up his own higher assessment and accede to that of the defendant; and in like manner the judges might depart from their own assessment and take that of the defendant, if the plaintiff consented.

This method of proceeding (*συγχωρῆσαι*)[253] was much used in public actions in which there was no punishment distinctly fixed for the defendant, but only for the plaintiff, in case of his being unsuccessful; thence in the writing of accusation it was always necessary to fix some assessment; there were, however, cases in actions of this kind, in which the law only left the plaintiff the choice between certain fixed punishments; thus *e.g.* in the action for bribery (*γραφὴ δωροδοκίας*) it was necessary either to fix as a punishment death or the tenth part of the

[251] Harpocrat. in v. *αἰκίας*, and the authorities cited by Matthiæ, p. 272, 273.

[252] Lysias ap. Etymol. et Suid. in v. *ὕβρις*.

[253] Herald. iii. 1, 10. Instead of *τιμᾶν, ὑποτιμᾶν*, &c., *τιμᾶσθαι, ὑποτιμᾶσθαι*, are also used without any alteration in the meaning.

sum received[254]. In a phasis an assessment was necessary by reason of the damages to be paid, and we also know from distinct authority that such was the case[255]; in other public causes, however, there was no assessment, the penalty having been already appointed by law, which was the case in an information (*ἔνδειξις*).

Lastly, the additional assessment (*προστίμημα*), which was added as an enhancement of the punishment, must be separated from the simple assessment. This was a fine, which the court had full power to impose in certain cases in which it was permitted by laws or decrees of the people, or which regularly followed under particular circumstances, as the epobelia. The additional assessment was in some cases fixed by law; thus in instances of theft, which were not capital crimes, the additional punishment was fixed at five days and nights' imprisonment; it rested however with the judgment of the court whether they would add or omit it[256].

To what degree private suits admitted of an assessment has been already explained, *i. e.* only in damages, and likewise in the private suit for assault; of the former kind are the action for injury (*βλάβης*) and the action against guardians, when brought on as a private suit (*δίκη ἐπιτροπῆς* or *ἐπιτροπείας*), and the like. In these the plaintiff made an assessment in his plaint which referred solely to his own injury, without there being any counter-assessment on the part of the defendant. The latter was, however, at liberty to put in a petition, and the judges had the power of diminishing the assessment[257]. Heraldus[258] has justly considered as a compensation of this kind the assessment of 1 talent, which occurs in the speech of Demosthenes against Stephanus in the private action for false testimony (*δίκη ψευδομαρτυρίου*). But in all causes for damages

[254] Herald. iii. 3, 1.

[255] Pollux viii. 47.

[256] Herald. iii. 2, 9—14. The chief passage in the law of Solon is given by Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 733 (comp. the explanation, p. 746, 12); from which *μὴ* should be struck out in Lysias c. Theomnest. p. 357, 9, and not changed into *μὲν* with Heraldus and Taylor. There are indeed in this passage other difficulties, which I now intentionally pass by, as they could only be removed by a detailed examination.

[257] Herald. iii. 4.

[258] iii. 1, 14. The passage of Demosthenes is p. 1115, 25.

the assessment was not left to the litigant, as in several cases of this description a certain fine was already determined by law[259].

With regard to the other case, *i. e.* for assault, it is of so remarkable a character, and we have been already so often compelled to mention it, that it cannot be properly neglected in this place. In this case two kinds of action might be instituted, as in the Roman law, differing however not in respect to the object, but only in the form and the consequences, viz. the public (*δίκη ὕβρεως*) and the private suit (*δίκη αἰκίας*); because by an assault committed upon any person, either the state might be considered as wronged (it being thought that the state and the public freedom were injured by any act of violence, even if a slave was assaulted), or only the individual, according to the views and inclination of the plaintiff[260]. If the plaintiff brought it on as a private cause, the defendant could only be condemned to pay a fine, which the plaintiff received, who in this case was

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[259] Herald. iii. 5.

[260] It is however remarkable that the *γραφὴ ὕβρεως* is sometimes represented to be a private suit, because, like many other public actions, it only referred indirectly to an injury done to the state, and immediately to the injury of an individual. In this sense Demosthenes or rather Meidias (adv. Mid. p. 522, extr.) may call the *δίκη ὕβρεως* an *ἰδία δίκη*, in opposition to the *προβολὴ* before the people, which must be considered as an action for a direct injury done to the state, for example, by the disturbance of a festival, or an injury done to sacred persons or property, and to public offices (cf. p. 424, 425); the *προβολὴ* being the method of proceeding against such as had shown themselves disaffected to the state, or had cheated the public, and therefore it might be instituted against sycophants, or against persons who had injured the silver mines still belonging to the state, or for embezzlement of the public money. (See Taylor ad Demosth. c. Mid. p. 562 sqq. Reisk. Append. Crit. vol. i. Matthiæ Miscell. Philog. vol. i. p. 238.) The meaning of the orator is most evident when he says (p. 524, 21,) that whoever injures a private individual in deeds or in words, may be prosecuted by the *γραφὴ ὕβρεως καὶ δίκη κακηγορίας*, and that if the same is done to a thesmothetes, the guilty party will be *ἄτιμος* for the single offence. In this passage too the *γραφὴ ὕβρεως* is considered as *ἰδία*, as the word *ἰδίαν* which has been added from the MSS. also refers to *γραφήν*. The orator therefore does not in this more than in other orations deny that the action for *ὕβρις* was a public action (*γραφὴ*), although he calls it *ἰδία*, cf. p. 523, 18, p. 524, 21, p. 528 extr. From this fact moreover, viz. that the *γραφὴ ὕβρεως* might ralate to the injury done to a private individual, and in fact was usually so considered, it may be seen why Dionysius Halicarnassensis in the life of Dinarchus enumerates the speech of this orator against Proxenus (*ἀπολογία ὕβρεως*) among the private speeches. The *γραφὴ ὕβρεως ἰδία* occurs in another

necessarily the injured party; if, however, the cause was brought on as a public suit before the thesmothetæ[261], (which might be done by a party having no interest in the event of it,) the state received the whole fine[262], although the punishment might be capital[263]. Consequently in the public proceeding there was no private advantage for the plaintiff; whereas in addition to the loss of the suit he was also subject to the risk of forfeiting 1000 drachmas, if he had not a fifth part of the votes on his side, and therefore nothing but excessive hatred or disinterestedness could excite any man to institute a public action for an assault. In both forms of action, however, an assessment was made on the part of the plaintiff, the course of proceeding in the private action for assault being similar in several points to that in public suits: on the other hand, in the private action for assault there appears to have been this deviation from the procedure in public cases, that the defendant was not permitted to make any counter-assessment, but the court followed either its own or the plaintiff's assessment[264].

CHAPTER XII.

Examples of Fines.

IN order to enable the reader to judge as to the amount of the income which the state of Athens derived from fines, it will be advisable to cite some examples of them: others will be omitted, as a complete enumeration would be equally tedious and unavailing.

As it will be necessary to speak partly of fines appointed to be paid into the public coffers, and partly into those of temples, we may previously remark, that in the laws of Solon, the precious metals being at that time high in price, fines were fixed at very low rates[265]; *e.g.* whoever defrauded another person in

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sense in the law in Demosth. adv. Mid. p. 529, 23, concerning which it is sufficient to refer to Heraldus ii. 10, 12.

[261] Matthiæ, vol. i. p. 247, 249.

[262] Besides Heraldus see more particularly Demosth. c. Mid. p. 528, 27, Poll. viii. 42.

[263] Lysias ap. Etymol. et Suid. in v. ὕβρις. See Petit vi. 5, 4.

[264] Herald. iii. 3, 15—17.

[265] Plutarch. Solon. 23.

public or ceremonial affairs, paid 3 drachmas to the injured party, and 2 to the state, whereas in later times the penalty for libellous words was 500 drachmas; in like manner the fines in the Twelve Tables were, as is well known, very inconsiderable. To these ancient times must be referred the law which ordered that any person who occupied any land within the Pelasgicum should pay 3 drachmas[266]. And judged according to the standard of later times, the fine of 100 drachmas, which the archon had to pay according to Solon's regulation, if he did not lay a curse upon exportation, was of small amount[267].

Of later times, however, it may on the contrary be asserted, that the fines were fixed at very high rates. If the prytanes did not hold certain assemblies according to rule, or the proedri did not propose the appointed bnsiness, each prytaneus had to pay 1000 and each proedrus 40 drachmas to Minerva[268]; and for conviction nothing more than an information (ἔνδειξις) was necessary. If the officers appointed to superintend the weights and measures performed their duties negligently, they paid, according to a later decree, a penalty of 1000 drachmas to Ceres and Proserpine[269]. Whoever declared falsely that a citizen's property belonged to the state, paid a forfeit of 1000 drachmas for his act of sycophancy[270]. If the demarch did not perform his duty with regard to the interment of a dead body found in the demus, he forfeited 1000 drachmas to the state[271]. If an orator conducted himself indecorously in the senate or the public assembly, he could be fined 50 drachmas for each offence, which might be raised to a higher sum at the pleasure of the people[272]. This fine was collected by the practores for the public. A citizen who cohabited with an alien, paid a penalty,

[266] Pollux viii. 101.

[267] Plutarch. Solon. 24.

[268] Petit ii. 1, 1.

[269] Corp. Inscript. No. 104. Large fines, as *e. g.* of 1000 drachmas, were paid to Juno (Demosth. c. Macart. p. 1068, 10), as well as to the eponymi of the tribes. Thus Theocrines was condemned to pay 700 drachmas to the eponymus for incorrect accounts, Orat. c. Theocrin. p. 1326, 6.

[270] Suidas in v. ἀμφιορκία, Orat. c. Nicostrat. ap Demosth. p. 1246, 9. This penalty was imposed in a δίκη ἀπογραφῆς, as in the case of non-success in other public actions (p. 407). Cf. Harpocrat. in. v. ἀπογραφή, where a doubt is thrown out against the genuineness of the oration just mentioned.

[271] Demosth. c. Macart. p. 1069, 22.

[272] Æschin. c. Timarch. p. 59 sq.

in case he was convicted, of 1000 drachmas[273]; a regulation which could not always have been enforced. Whoever dug up olive trees, beyond the number allowed by law, forfeited to the state 100 drachmas for each tree, of which a tenth part went to Minerva[274]. A woman conducting herself indecorously in the streets, paid a fine of 1000 drachmas[275]. If a woman went to Eleusis in a carriage, she subjected herself, according to the law of Lycurgus, to a fine of a talent[276]. Whoever brought a foreign dancer upon the stage, forfeited, in the age of Phocion, 1000 drachmas. This law, however, only applied to the theatre of Bacchus in the city. Demades brought forward 100, and thus forfeited 100,000 drachmas[277]. Other fines of 50 and 1000 drachmas, with regard to foreigners in the chorus, need not be here mentioned[278]. In the case of embezzlement of public money, the penalty was fixed at double, and in the case of sacred money at ten times the amount[279]. If any person was accused of not having paid a fine awarded by a judicial sentence, or of having retained any property adjudged to the plaintiff, and was convicted in the suit (*δίκη ἐξούλης, actio rei judicatæ*), the state received from the defendant the same sum that he was bound to pay to the plaintiff[280]: the same was also the case if the defendant was found guilty of taking forcible possession of any property[281]. The state derived a similar

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[273] Demosth. c. Neær. p. 1350, 23; Petit (Leg. Att. vi. 1, 6), has misunderstood this law in a most ludicrous manner.

[274] Demosth. c. Macart. p. 1074, 19.

[275] Ἀκοσμεῖ. See Harpocrat. in v. ὅτι χιλίας, and thence in other glossaries.

[276] Petit i. 1, 17.

[277] Plutarch. Phoc. 30; cf. Petit Leg. Att. iii. 4, 3.

[278] See Petit iii. 4, 5.

[279] Demosth. c. Timocrat. passim.

[280] Hudtwalcker von den Diäteten, p. 137 sqq.

[281] Hudtwalcker ut sup. p. 135, note, wishes to deduce the latter fact from the words of Demosthenes against Midias (p. 528, 17), ἂν δὲ μικροῦ πάνυ τιμήματος ἄξιον τις λάβῃ, βίᾳ δὲ τοῦτο ἀφέληται, τὸ ἴσον τῷ δημοσίῳ προστιμᾶν οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, ὅσουπερ ἂν τῷ ἰδιώτῃ. My reason for rejecting this inference may be seen from what follows: of the fact itself I entertain no doubt, for expulsion from possession was always considered as violence, even when a creditor was obstructed in taking possession of the property pledged for the debt, or when this pledging and obstruction were only fictions, and consequently as severe a penalty was the consequence of expulsion from possession, as of an act of abstraction by violence. And that in every δίκη ἐξούλης (and not only in the

profit from condemnations in actions for violence (*δίκη βιαίων*)[282]; and if any person took a slave from his master as if he had been a free citizen, he paid to the state the half of the whole fine[283]: in all three cases because the state was considered as injured.

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actio rei judicatæ) the state received a fine equal in amount to that which was to be made good to the plaintiff, may be also seen from the words of Harpocration and Suidas in v. *ἐξούλης δίκη*: *οἱ δὲ ἁλόντες ἐξούλης καὶ τῷ ἑλόντι ἐδίδοσαν ἃ ἀφῃροῦντο αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ κατετίθεσαν τὰ τιμηθέντα*, which passage Hudtwalcker (p. 147) appears not to have understood. It would have been more convenient if the *actio rei judicatæ*, the issue of which was that the same sum was paid to the state as was given in compensation to the plaintiff, had not been called by the same name, *δίκη ἐξούλης*, unless the original *δίκη ἐξούλης*, which was a real expulsion from possession, had not been followed by the same consequences. Nor do the words of Demosthenes against Meidias, p. 528, 11, by any means prove that the *actio rei judicatæ* was alone followed by a fine to the public, but the orator only cites this one instance, as the other cases, on account of what is afterwards said concerning the *δίκη βιαίων*, did not appear to require a separate mention. It may be observed, that the reason why the *δίκη ἐξούλης* is considered in this place as *οὐκ ἰδία* is, that it is merely considered in reference to the fine required by the state; for that in all other respects it was *ἰδία*, Demosthenes must have been well aware. *Οὐκέτ' ἐποίησεν* is certainly the preferable reading: but the word *οὐκέτι* does not make any opposition between the *δίκη ἐξούλης* as an *actio rei judicatæ* and the *δίκη ἐξούλης* as an *actio unde vi*, as if the former could only be called *οὐκ ἰδία*, and not the latter; but Demosthenes calls the *actio rei judicatæ οὐκέτ' ἰδίαν* in opposition to the foregoing private suit from which it arose. I may also remark, that a particular application of the *δίκη ἐξούλης* was when it was brought by a mortgagee against the buyer of any property which had been given as security to the former. See the Dissertation on the Mines of Laurium.

[282] Harpocrat. in v. *βιαίων*, on the authority of the passage in Demosthenes against Meidias given in the last note, which refers to the *δίκη βιαίων*, and not to the *δίκη ἐξούλης*, the former being a different kind of action for property taken by violence, but extending only to moveables, for example, slaves. An instance of it occurs in Lysias adv. Paneleon, p. 736. Compare Plato de Leg. xi. p. 914 E. It is indeed sufficiently singular that, according to Suidas, the *δίκη ἐξούλης* also applied to moveable property, particularly slaves; so that it is not easy to perceive the difference between the *δίκη βιαίων* and the *δίκη ἐξούλης*. Perhaps it was that the *δίκη βιαίων* might be instituted by the possessor against the person who had forcibly abstracted from him some article of moveable property, and that the *δίκη ἐξούλης* might be brought on by the person, to whom the moveable property had been adjudged by a judicial verdict, against the possessor who refused to allow him to take possession; and also by the mortgagee, who had the right of seizing the moveable property for non-payment, against the debtor who did not transfer the mortgaged property to him.

[283] Concerning this case, in which the offender could be prosecuted by a *δίκη ἐξαιρέσεως*, see Orat. c. Theocrin.

It has been already remarked incidentally in several places, that in all public actions the plaintiff paid a fine to the state of 1000 drachmas, if he did not obtain a fifth part of the suffrages (*τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων μὴ μεταλαβὼν ὤφλε χιλίας*); which penalty could also be enforced, if he dropped a cause already commenced: this last law was not however always applied in practice, as is proved by the example of Demosthenes, when he abandoned the action against Meidias[284]. The only exemption from this fine was in the case of an eisangelia before the archon[285]; in all other public causes, by whatever names they were distinguished, it was exacted[286]. We find in the ancient authors frequent examples and confirmations of this assertion. Demosthenes expressly proves it with regard to

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p. 1327 sq. Compare the argument and Petit ii. 6, 4. According to this law the state received *τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ τιμήματος*, by which is meant the half of the whole fine, not of the damages accruing to the plaintiff; *i. e.* the state received the same sum as the injured person. This, as it appears to me, is evident from a comparison of the *δίκη ἐξούλης* and the *δίκη βιαίων*: Plato (ubi sup.) to a certain degree includes the *δίκη ἐξαιρέσεως* under the *δίκη βιαίων*, and then supposes a double reparation of the injury.

[284] See Taylor's Introduction to the Oration against Meidias. The latter point, viz. the penalty for dropping the action, or for compounding in public suits, is treated of particularly by Hudtwalcker von den Diäteten, p. 159 sqq. with so much accuracy, that I have nothing farther to add. Only the following words, which occur in p. 168, require some limitation: "It was also allowed to compound even in court, and this was often effected in criminal cases by the assistance of the judges themselves." For the two instances quoted by Matthiæ, vol. i. p. 269, of a composition made in court in Isæus de Dicæog. Hered. p. 98, and Isocrat. c. Callimach. 16, are only in private cases, the former in a *δίκη ψευδομαρτυρίου*, the latter in an action for more than 10,000 drachmas, which the plaintiff claimed for himself, and not for the state. In the former case indeed the penalty of atimia was added, by which however the law suit does not cease to be a private case, as I will show in another place: in the latter the plaintiff is also apprehensive of the atimia (Isocrat. 15), but evidently only on account of the consequences ensuing upon the loss of the suit; since, if he had not a fifth part of the votes, he would be compelled to pay the epobelia, and not being able to pay this from his poverty, would be prosecuted by the successful party with a *δίκη ἐξούλης*, and if condemned in this suit, would become a public debtor. This is the very reason why Demosthenes is apprehensive of atimia, with the loss of the epobelia, in the private cause against Aphobus, p. 834, 29, p. 835, 11.

[285] See the passages quoted above.

[286] Pollux viii. 41, Theophrast. ap. Poll. viii. 53, and in reference to dropping the cause see Orat. c. Theocrin. p. 1323, 14 sqq., Demosth. c. Mid. p. 529, 23.

the action for assault (*δίκη* or *γραφὴ ὕβρεως*): the same is evident from other writers with regard to the action for impiety (*γραφὴ ἀσεβείας*)[287], for incontinency (*γραφὴ ἑταιρήσεως*)[288], and for illegal proceedings (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*)[289]; and Demosthenes even refers it to all actions, *ἀπαγωγαὶ*, &c.[290] With reference to the *ἀπαγωγὴ*, which is another kind of public cause, this liability is several times attributed to it by the ancients[291], as also to the eisangelia[292]; it may equally be proved to have applied in the case of the phasis[293]; so that a distinct testimony is not necessary for the other kinds of public actions. On the other hand, the idea is erroneous, as Heraldus has already shown, that the party condemned by default (*in contumaciam*) was obliged to pay 1000 drachmas[294]. The fine, however, which was appointed in public causes underwent, at least at certain periods, some alteration. In an unsuccessful action for illegal practices mentioned in Demosthenes, we find that the plaintiff was only sentenced to a fine of 500 drachmas[295]. In other cases an additional fine (*προστίμημα*) appears to have been imposed, as in the case of Æschines, who, in consequence of such fine imposed after the loss of his action against Ctesiphon, quitted the city of Athens; although nothing certain can be said upon this point, as the ancients themselves were in doubt concerning it[296]: also for the most part the plaintiff was subjected to atimia, if he had not the fifth part of the votes with him, and by consequence was debarred from the liberty of instituting certain public suits (*γραφὴ, ἀπαγωγὴ, ἐφήγησις, ἔνδειξις*), nor was he able in an action for impiety to take refuge

[287] Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 702, 5, Plat. Apol. 5.

[288] Demosth. c. Androt. p. 599 extr.

[289] Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 701, 1, must be so understood. Comp. also the Lives of the Ten Orators, p. 248, ed. Tübing.

[290] C. Androt. p. 601, 20.

[291] Demosth. c. Aristocrat. p. 647, 7, Andocid. c. Alcib. p. 120, Pollux viii. 49, Suidas in v. *ἀμφιορκία*. Cf. Lex. Seg. p. 188, 19, in reference to theft.

[292] Harpocrat. in v. *εἰσαγγελία*, Theophrast. ubi sup.

[293] Orat. c. Theocrin. p. 1323, 19.

[294] See Hudtwalcker von den Diäteten, p. 93 sq. Matthiæ, vol. i. p. 266, is mistaken. To be condemned *in contumaciam* is *ἐρήμην ὀφλεῖν*.

[295] Demosth. de Corona, p. 261, 20, where *τὰς πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς* refers to something customary.

[296] See Lives of the Ten Orators ut sup. and Matthiæ, p. 272.

in any temple[297], excepting in the case of an eisangelia, probably according to some enactment which was subsequently added[298]. Lastly, the court appears in certain cases to have been authorized to condemn the plaintiff to the same fine at which he had assessed the defendant, as Aristogeiton, having failed in an action for illegal practices against the priestess of Diana of Brauron, was forced to pay the fine of 5 talents, at which he had assessed the defendant[299]. The punishment of death, which, according to the statement of Andocides, was the consequence of the false information (*μήνυσις*) of a mutilator of the Mercuries, appears to have a regulation appointed only for that individual case[300].

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[297] Concerning the atimia see Demosth. c. Aristog. i. p. 803, 13, Andocid. de Myst. p. 17 and 36, whence we learn that this atimia was only partial, *κατὰ πρόσταξιν*, that is, according to a certain prohibition that one person might not bring on a *γραφὴ*, another an *ἔνδειξις*, &c. See also Schol. Demosth. ap. Reisk. vol. ii. p. 132, 133. According to Genethlius, as quoted by this grammarian, a public accuser could only be sentenced to atimia, if he had not obtained the fifth part of the votes in three law suits; *i. e.* because Androtion had not been made *ἄτιμος*, for having once lost an action of this kind: this assertion however untenable, nor can it be proved that Androtion, after losing the *γραφὴ ἀσεβείας*, was not *ἄτιμος κατὰ πρόσταξιν*; so that he could not any more *γράφεσθαι* in the more limited sense: and even supposing that this was not then the consequence of losing the cause, it must be borne in mind that at Athens the letter of the law was not always attended to. The law might therefore have prescribed atimia, and yet its ordinances have been disobeyed. The same was the case with the law which imposed a punishment for giving up public actions, of which I have just spoken. It is moreover evident, that whoever failed to pay the fine of 1000 drachmas was also subject to the separate kind of atimia imposed upon public debtors. Whether atimia was the immediate consequence of dropping a public action is not manifest. From Demosthenes adv. Mid. p. 548, 7, and there Ulpian, it may be concluded that atimia had been appointed by law (only however the partial atimia in reference to bringing on actions of this kind), as Heraldus Animadv. vii. 16, 20, assumes, without any interference on the part of the state; for the plaintiff, says Demosthenes, subjects himself to the atimia by dropping the suit, without mentioning that the state sentenced him to it. But we may adopt the supposition advanced by Hudtwalcker in p. 162, that the seceding plaintiff was condemned to a fine of 1000 drachmas, and made himself *ἄτιμος* by failing to pay it, inasmuch as he had then become a public debtor, and thus actually *ἄτιμος*, although perhaps he was not considered as such, as gradually they ceased to exact the payment of the fines, and to treat the defaulters as ærarii.

[298] Poll. viii. 53, from Theophrastus.

[299] Dinarch. in Aristog. p. 82.

[300] See Matth. p. 270, 271. This information must be distinguished from the *γραφὴ ἀσεβείας*.

The fines (*τιμήματα*) which were fixed against the plaintiff were for the most part much higher. In cases indeed in which the senate decided, as in certain kinds of eisangelia, the defendant escaped easily, as the senate was not able to inflict a fine of more than 500 drachmas; if however a fine of this amount appeared too small, they referred the case to a court of justice. An instance of a very inconsiderable fine is afforded in the cause of Theophemus, who by the concession of his accuser was only condemned to an additional fine (*προστίμημα*) of 25 drachmas, besides the restitution of what the state claimed from him as public property[301]. Phrynichus was condemned in a public action to a fine of 1000 drachmas for the representation of his play called the Taking of Miletus[302]. In the action for impiety (*γραφὴ ἀσεβείας*) brought against Socrates, his accusers made it a capital crime; he himself however fixed the penalty at 1 mina, and afterwards, upon the injudicious recommendation of his friends, at 30 minas, or according to others at only 25 drachmas[303]. The common fine imposed by the judges appears to have been 10,000 drachmas[304]: 5 talents are mentioned in the case of Anaxagoras[305], although the accounts of the misfortunes of this philosopher at Athens do not all agree with this fact. A fine of 10,000 drachmas also occurs in the public suit for assault, and also as a penalty for sycophancy[306]. In the action for false citation (*γραφὴ ψευδοκλητείας*) death is mentioned as the punishment, but mitigated upon the representation of the plaintiff to a fine of a talent[307]. Fines of a very large amount were imposed in the actions for illegal practices (*γραφὴ παρανόμων*), as much as 5, 10, or 15 talents, although they were sometimes lowered, for example, a fine of 15 talents was diminished to 1. We even find that Æschines fixed a fine of 50 talents against Ctesiphon, and Lycinus a fine of 100 against Philocrates[308]; both

[301] Orat. c. Euerg. et Mnesib. p. 1152, compare Pollux viii. 51.

[302] Herod. vi. 21, and there the commentators.

[303] Plat. Apol. 28, and there Fischer.

[304] Corp. Inscript. No. 158.

[305] Diog. Laert. ii. 12.

[306] Aristoph. Av. 1046, 1052, Lysias c. Agorat. p. 488.

[307] Orat. c. Nicostrat. p. 1252, 15.

[308] Diog. Laert. in Vit. Theophrast. Dinarch. c. Aristog. p. 82, 83, Orat. c.

these persons were acquitted, which however must not be considered as an usual occurrence. It was no doubt by an action of this kind that Demades was condemned to a fine of 10, or, according to Ælian, of 100 talents, for having proposed to pay divine honours to Alexander[309]. The former was probably the sum that was actually adjudged, the latter the original proposal of the accuser.

These fines were made a productive branch of the public revenue by the injustice of the demagogues, by party hatred, and the litigious disposition which prevailed. The popular leaders, seldom guided by purely moral principles, raised themselves by flattering the people, and by the lavish administration and distribution of the public money. The majority of them however so little forgot their own gain, when they had reached their high station, that they omitted no means of enriching themselves, and the people on the other hand rejoiced in condemning and overthrowing them. What great demagogue was there who did not meet with an unhappy destiny? Was not this the fate of Miltiades, Themistocles, Aristides, Timotheus, and Demosthenes? And fortunate was he who escaped with the payment of a heavy fine, while others suffered the penalty of death, or were condemned to forfeiture of property, or to exile. Thrasybulus, son of the restorer of the freedom of Athens (who himself, if he had not died, would have been capitally condemned), paid a fine of 10 talents[310], probably by an action for malversation in an embassy (*γραφὴ παραπρεσβείας*). Callias the Torchbearer concluded a most advantageous and honourable peace with the king of Persia, according to which no army was to approach the coast within a day's march of cavalry, and no armed Persian vessel was to appear in the Grecian seas; yet although he obtained much celebrity by these negotiations, as Plutarch relates in the Life of Cimon, he was condemned to a fine of 50 talents, when he ren-

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Theocrin. p. 1323, 3, (cf. p. 1331, 19, p. 1332, 5, 17, 22,) and p. 1336, Demosth. c. Mid. p. 573, 17, Orat. c. Neær. p. 1347, 10, (p. 1348, 1,) Demosth. de Corona, Æsch. de Fals. Leg. p. 198, 199.

[309] Athen. vi. p. 251, B. Ælian. V. H. v. 12.

[310] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 431, 14.

dered an account of his official conduct, for having taken bribes[311]. And how large was the number of those who were condemned to severe punishments for treason or bribery! Cleon was compelled to pay 5 talents, probably not, as the Scholiast of Aristophanes[312] supposes, for having injured the knights, but for having taken bribes from the allies, in order to procure a mitigation of their tributes; and to omit the fine of 50 minas, which Aristides is stated (probably without truth) to have paid for having received bribes[313], Timotheus was condemned upon the same grounds to a fine of 100 talents by an indictment for treason (*γραφὴ προδοσίας*), a sum greater than ever had been paid until that occasion: nine parts out of ten were however remitted to his son Conon, and the tenth he was forced to expend upon the repair of the walls for which Athens was indebted to his grandfather[314]. Demosthenes was sentenced to a fine of 50 talents by an action for bribery (*γραφὴ δωροδοκίας*), and also thrown into prison[315]; the latter punishment having doubtless been imposed in addition by the court (*προστίμημα*). According to the strict law he should have paid ten times the amount of the sum received; five times the amount is however the only fine mentioned, and even this he was unable to pay[316]: nor can we determine how this fine was calculated, as the statements of the sums received are so contradictory, that Dinarchus[317] speaks of 20 talents in gold, and refers to the Areopagus for authority, with whom Plutarch[318] agrees, who relates that he received 20 talents in a royal golden goblet; whereas others speak of 30 talents, and even of so

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311 Demosth. ut sup. p. 428. Concerning the embassy (Olymp. 82, 4, B.C. 449,) see Diod. xii. 4, Herod. vii. 151.

312 Acharn. 5, where the statement of Theopompus should be particularly attended to. It appears that the knights were the accusers, and that Cleon by mitigation of the fine only paid the sum which he had embezzled. The proceeding was without doubt the *γραφὴ δωροδοκίας*. See the second argument to the Knights.

313 Plutarch. Aristid. 26.

314 Dinarch. c. Demosth. p. 11. Isocrat. de Antidos. p. 75, ed. Orell. Nepos Timoth. 3, 4, cf. Vit. Dec. Orat. p. 234, 235, ed. Tübing.

315 Plutarch. Demosth. 26. That it was a *γραφὴ δωροδοκίας* is evident from the case itself, and from the Lives of the Ten Orators, p. 264.

316 Vit. Dec. Orat. ut sup.

317 C. Demosth. p. 40.

318 Vit. Demosth. 25.

small a sum as 1000 darics[319]. Demosthenes remained in debt 30 talents of his fine, which upon his recal were remitted to him for the building of an altar[320]. Miltiades was accused of treason, and condemned to pay 50 talents, not for a compensation, as Nepos ignorantly asserts, but according to the usual form of assessing the offence. The fine was paid by his son[321]. Even before this occasion Miltiades had been sentenced to a fine of 30 talents[322]. Cimon himself narrowly escaped being condemned to death for a supposed intent to overthrow the existing government, which penalty was commuted for a fine of 50 talents[323]. The illustrious Pericles was vehemently accused, after the second invasion of Attica by the Lacedæmonians, the people being dissatisfied with his method of carrying on the war, and particularly with the abandonment of their own country to the enemy; and the Athenians were not contented, as Thucydides says[324], until they had sentenced him to a fine. The highest sum stated was, according to Plutarch[325], 50 talents, the lowest 15; the former was probably the assessment of the accuser, the latter of the court. Fines of a less amount did however occur in important cases, as for example a fine of only 3 talents in an indictment for treason[326].

CHAPTER XIII.

The Public Debtors. Nature of the Legal Remedies against them.

EVERY person who failed to pay a fine owing to the state was reckoned among the public debtors (*οἱ τῷ δημοσίῳ ὀφείλοντες*), of whom some mention has been already made in connection

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[319] Vit. Dec. Orat. p. 264, 267.

[320] Vit. Dec. Orat. p. 264, and Photius. Plutarch. Demosth. 27, who however also mentions 50 talents in this place.

[321] Herod. vi. 136, Plutarch Cimon. 4, Nepos Cimon. 1.

[322] Orat. c. Aristogit. ii. p. 802, 18.

[323] Demosth. c. Aristocrat. p. 688, 25.

[324] ii. 65.

[325] *Pericl. 35. To the former belongs the author of the speech against Aristogeiton ii. ut sup. Diodorus,* with his usual exaggeration, mentions 80 talents, xii. 45.

[326] Demosth. c. Timocrat p. 740, 15.

with the account of the farmers of the public duties*, but the main investigation properly belongs to this part of the book.

The public debtors were of different kinds, either farmers of public property or their sureties, or purchasers, for example, of mines[327], or persons who had been sentenced to a public fine, or who had borrowed property from the state, and had not replaced it at the appointed time, as, for instance, ships' furniture belonging to the state from the public storehouse[328]; also such as had not paid rents or fines accruing to the funds of the temples[329], although it is not entirely clear whether the whole severity of the law against public debtors was at all times applicable to the latter class of defaulters. It is certain that those who were in arrear for the property-tax (*εἰσφορά*) were treated less severely, nor do I find that they were classed with the public debtors; a regulation which is perfectly reasonable. Whoever had purchased or was in possession of any public property, was a personal debtor, and by parity of reasoning, whoever had failed to pay a fine after it had become due; these therefore might be subjected to atimia and imprisonment, besides other penalties: whereas the property-tax was not a personal debt, but a debt merely attaching upon property, for which no one could be imprisoned, or treated in the manner of the public debtors; it therefore remained unpaid without any evil consequences for the person taxed, until the state, pressed by pecuniary difficulties, determined upon a final and complete collection, and then it could resort to the property of the debtor, if he refused to pay[330].

To ascertain at what time any person became a public

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* Above ch. viii.

[327] Demosth. c. Pantæn. p. 973, 6.

[328] Demosth. c. Euerg. et Mnesib. p. 1145, 25.

[329] Thence the permission to take the property of a citizen for a fine of this kind. (See Corp. Inscript. No. 123, § 2.) But the payment of double the amount after the ninth prytaneia does not appear to have been required either in this or many other cases. To this belongs the case quoted in note 162.

[330] The truth of this statement is proved beyond a doubt by Demosth. c. Androt. p. 603—610. Cf. Lys. c. Philocrat. p. 832. The poletæ also were entrusted with the duty of selling the property of those who remained in debt for their property-taxes. Photius in v. *πωληταὶ*, Suidas in v. *πωλητής*.

debtor requires a separate investigation. With regard to purchasers and farmers of public property, and their sureties, it is evident, that they became public debtors as soon as they exceeded the appointed term of payment. It is more difficult to decide as to those who had to pay any kind of fine, whether arising from action, the passing of official accounts, or a judicial sentence[331]; at the same time every thing seems to show that the party condemned became a public debtor immediately after his sentence, if he did not pay the fine upon the spot. With respect to the public action for assault (*γραφὴ ὕβρεως*), the ancient law enacted that if the defendant was condemned to a fine, he should pay it eleven days after judgment, and that if he should not be able to pay immediately, he should be imprisoned until the payment[332]; it appears, however, that afterwards, if any person assaulted a free citizen, he could be detained in confinement until he had paid, according to the law in Demosthenes[333]. In this law it is supposed that properly the fine was to be paid immediately after every sentence, and that the party so sentenced should be instantly thrown into prison[334]: the additional provision that if he did not pay down the fine upon the spot, he should pay it eleven days after, merely fixes the extreme point, after which he was proceeded against with greater severity. From the first until the eleventh day he was a public debtor, as being under obligation to pay; after the eleventh the payment was no longer received as before, but he was subject to the severe penalty of the regular payment of twice the sum, and if this was not immediately made, confiscation of property. In the case of other debtors the extreme period was the ninth prytaneia, and they could be imprisoned until that period. For a person condemned in a public suit for an assault, it was provided as an additional punishment that the eleventh day should be the extreme period of payment, and that the party condemned should be put in chains, or at least kept in confinement. As

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[331] The different kinds are enumerated by Andocides de Myst. p. 35. See above, note 155.

[332] Æsch. c. Timarch. p. 42.

[333] C. Mid. p. 529.

[334] Cf. Demosth. c. Mid. p. 529, 27.

then this law is not opposed to the account already given, so it is completely confirmed by the express provision, that from the day that any person was sentenced to a fine or transgressed the law (*ἀφ' ἧς ἂν ὄφλῃ ἢ παραβῇ τὸν νόμον ἢ τὸ ψήφισμα*), he should become a public debtor, even if his name had not been reported by the practores[335]. This enactment contains two provisions, according to the difference of the case. In offences which were not proved, and which required an assessment, it was necessary that a sentence should be passed before the individual could become a public debtor, as *e. g.* in the common action (*γραφή*): if however the offence was evident, and the fine appointed by law, as is implied in a case of information (*ἔνδειξις*), the offender became a public debtor from the moment of the transgression, and the action an information against him as a public debtor[336]. It was not by the enrolment of the name that the party became a public debtor, but this latter form was only a consequence of his being one.

The registration of the names was made for the public treasury upon tablets in the temple of Minerva on the Acropolis, the sums due being also noted[337]. This duty belonged to the practores, whose office it was to exact the fines[338]: thence a person registered upon the Acropolis (*ἐγγεγραμμένος ἐν Ἀκροπόλει*) always means a public debtor[339]. Whoever owed any money to the temple of Minerva, to the other gods, or to the heroes of the tribes, was equally liable to an information (*ἔνδειξις*), if he was not registered[340]; the registration took place before the treasurers of the goddess, and of the other gods, and before the king-archon, with the latter of which authorities, those persons were probably registered who owed any money to the heroes of the tribes[341]. The registration of the thesmothetæ (*ἐγγραφὴ θεσμοθετῶν*), which occurs once, connected with a registration made by the practores[342], is probably nothing

[335] Orat. c. Theocrin. p. 1328, 10, p. 1337, 26 sqq.

[336] Orat. c. Theocrin. p. 1337, 1338.

[337] Orat. c. Aristog. i. p. 791, 11, Harpocration and Suidas in v. *ψευδεγγραφή*, Suidas in v. *ψευδέγγραφος δίκη* and *ἀγραφίου δίκη*, &c.

[338] See book ii. ch. 4.

[339] Orat. c. Euerg. et Mnesibul. ut sup.

[340] Orat. c. Theocrin. p. 1326, 2—6.

[341] Cf. Andocid. de Myst. p. 36, extr.

[342] Orat. c. Aristog. i. p. 778, 18.

else than the information which the thesmothetæ, in their capacity of superintendants of the court, gave to the practores, in the regular course of business, with regard to the sentence which had been passed; this registration on the part of the court was the necessary condition for the other which was made by the practores. Whoever paid his fine after registration, was erased either wholly or in part, according to the amount paid[343]. As an information (ἔνδειξις) could be laid against such persons as were not registered, so were those alone who had been improperly erased subject to the action for non-registration (δίκη ἀγραφίου), which therefore could not be instituted against a person who had never been registered[344].

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[343] Orat. c. Theocrin. p. 1338, 8. An instance occurs in Corp. Inscript. No. 158.

[344] The author of the speech against Theocrines, p. 1337, 1338, 7—27, refers the γραφὴ ἀγραφίου to those who had been illegally released, in opposition to the ἔνδειξις against those who had never been registered: cf. Harpocrat. Suid. Etymol. in v. ἀγραφίου, Pollux viii. 54. Zonaras in v. ἀγραφίου δίκη is imperfect. On the other hand, Hesychius (in v. ἀγραφίου δίκη) and Lex. Seg. p. 199, state that the γραφὴ ἀγραφίου was instituted against the debtors who were not registered. Hesychius is followed by Hemsterhuis (ad Polluc.), and by Wesseling (ad Petit. iv. 9, 19, 20,) who transcribes the note of the latter, accusing the author of the speech against Theocrines, notwithstanding his express reference to the law, of intentional perversion of justice. Hemsterhuis however brings forward but weak arguments, and Hesychius, whose collection shows upon the whole but little legal knowledge, together with the author of the Rhetorical Lexicon, or their authority, probably only inferred their statement from the name; nor could the orator have uttered so direct a falsehood, particularly since the apparent force of the word was against him, and he must have known that the law had assigned to it a more limited meaning. It is unquestionably true that an ἔνδειξις might be laid against public debtors, when they held an official situation (Liban. Argument. ad Demosth. in Androt. Suid. in v. ἐνδεικνύναι, Zonaras in v. ἔνδειξις); but manifestly it does not follow from this that it might not be laid against a debtor who had not been registered, without any reference to public offices. But because a person who was not registered might at any moment obtain a place in the public administration, it was natural to allow the ἔνδειξις to be laid against him in order that he might be registered, and thus be ἄτιμος and excluded from holding public offices. This was as it were an ἔνδειξις ἀγραφίου, in which the offence was evident, and the penalty although of small amount was fixed by law; if, on the other hand, any person was released after he had been registered, he was prosecuted by a γραφὴ ἀγραφίου, as in this case there were many points to investigate, the question was more intricate, and the offence so constituted, that it appeared to admit of a very various assessment. The difficulty is removed, when it is perceived

Whoever, on the other hand, falsely declared that he had been registered, was subject to the action for false registration (*δίκη ψευδεγγραφῆς*), whether he owed nothing or less than the sum stated in the register; if he had paid, and yet was registered again, probably also if he was not erased, the action for conspiracy (*γραφὴ βουλεύσεως*) applied[345]: in both cases if the plaintiff was successful, his name was erased, and the defendant became indebted to the state for an equal sum[346].

A punishment immediately connected with the condition of a public debtor is infamy (*ἀτιμία*) or civil death[347], an inquiry into the different degrees of which is not necessary for our purpose. Imprisonment, on the other hand, was by no means an immediate consequence of a public debt, except when the law expressly provided it, as *e. g.* against a plaintiff who was condemned in a public action for assault, of which I have just spoken, and in the eisangelia, if the accused was sentenced to a fine, according to the law of Timocrates[348]. In cases however in which the law did not prescribe imprisonment, it was added by the increase of punishment (*προστίμημα*) if the law permitted it[349]. In this manner Demosthenes and Miltiades were cast into prison, where the latter died[350], and according to Nepos[351], his son Cimon shared the same fate, as having inherited the debt, of which however Plutarch knew nothing, and Plato[352] in the case of Socrates speaks of imprisonment

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that the stress is upon *γραφὴ*, and not upon *ἀγραφίου*. I have therefore followed the statements in the oration against Theocrines, both with regard to the *ἔνδειξις* and the *γραφὴ ἀγραφίου*, without paying any attention to the learned writers mentioned above.

[345] Suid. in vv. *ψευδὴς ἐγγραφὴ* and *ψευδέγγραφος δίκη*.

[346] Orat. c. Aristogit. i. p. 792, 3, Lex. Seg. p. 317. I pass over the *γραφὴ ψευδοκλητείας* (*ψευδοκλησίας*) which Harpocration (and Lex. Seg. p. 317) also refers to the public debtors. The cases which the grammarian alluded to were accidentally connected with public debts. For the same reason the inaccurate author of the Lexicon Segueranum, p. 194, 21, limits the *γραφὴ ψευδοκλητείας* to the false summons in the action *εἰς ἐμφανῶν κατάστασιν*, from Demosth. c. Nicostrat. p. 1251.

[347] Andocid. de Myster. p. 35, Orat. c. Theocrin. p. 1326, 20, c. Neær. p. 1347, 10, Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 743, 19, c. Androt. p. 603 ext., Orat. c. Aristogit. i. p. 771, 6, cf. Petit. iv. 9, 12—14.

[348] Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 721.

[349] See above chap. viii.

[350] Herod. vi. 136, Plutarch. Cim. 4, Nepos Miltiad. 7, Cim. i.

[351] Cim. i.

[352] Apol. p. 37 B.

until the debt is paid, as a customary circumstance; although it is evident from other passages that it did not always take place, since no allusion is made to imprisonment in places where it must necessarily have been mentioned, if it had been generally inflicted[353].

During the continuance of the atimia and imprisonment the public debtors, with the exception of those who received sentence in a public cause for assault, were permitted to pay at any time before the ninth prytaneia: if the payment was not made before this term the debt was doubled, and the next step was confiscation of the property, in order to raise from it the amount of the double debt[354], which procedure, however, Timocrates endeavoured to restrain by a law, as has been stated above at full length[355]. An instance of the fine being doubled is afforded by the speech against Theocrines[356]; the same circumstance is also mentioned to have taken place in the case of a purchaser of a mine, who had delayed the term of payment[357]. The severity of this law (the injurious effects of which are set forth in the speech against Neæra) was farther increased by the debt descending to the sons as heirs to the estate, although this provision may have been necessary in order to prevent concealment or secret transfer of the property: thus the atimia, if the imprisonment was remitted, passed on to the children[358], until they paid what their father owed, as, among many others, the instance of Cimon may show[359]. Also, if the father was not registered, and the exaction of the money owing had been omitted, the children were considered by the law as debtors to the state[360]; and the debt even went by inheritance to the grandson[361].

No fine that had been once adjudged could be re-

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[353] Andoc. de Myst. p. 35, Orat. c. Neær. p. 1347, and in other places.

[354] Andoc. de Myst. Orat. c. Neær. ut sup. Liban. Argum. ad Orat. i. c. Aristogit. Harpocrat. in v. *ἀδικίου*.

[355] See above chap. viii.

[356] P. 1322, 3.

[357] Demosth. c. Pantæn. p. 973, 6. Compare p. 968, 8, and the argument p. 964, 18.

[358] Orat. c. Neær. p. 1347, 11, Demosth. c. Androt. p. 603, extr. See Petit iv. 9, 15.

[359] Nepos Cim. 1, Plutarch. Cim. 4. Cf. Demosth. c. Bœot. de Nom. p. 998, 25.

[360] Orat. c. Theocrin. p. 1327, 21 sqq.

[361] Ibid. p. 1326, 29, p. 1327, 4. Cf. Demosth. c. Aphob. ii. init.

mitted[362], except upon one condition, which will be immediately explained: if the state was willing to grant this, it was necessary to have recourse to a form, by which the debt appeared to be paid, although in reality it had not; and of this nature is the building of the altar which was allowed to Demosthenes. Nor could any debtor who was under atimia apply for a remission of the debt and atimia; if he petitioned in person, he was exposed to an information (ἔνδειξις); if another person petitioned for him, his property was forfeited; if the proedrus put it to the vote, he was himself placed under atimia. It was necessary that 6000 Athenians should give express permission by a decree which was passed by secret votes in tablets, before it could be debated in the public assembly whether a public debtor should be remitted his debt, and be reinstated in his former situation[363].

CHAPTER XIV.

The Confiscation of Property.

ARISTOPHANES mentions the property confiscated and publicly sold (δημιόπρατα) as a separate branch of the public revenue[364]; concerning which an account was presented to the people in the first assembly of every prytaneia[365]. The lists of such forfeitures were posted upon tablets in different places, as was the case at Eleusis, with the catalogues of the articles which accrued to the temple of Ceres and Proserpine, from such persons as had committed any offence against these deities[366].

The penalty of confiscation of property, however unjust towards the heirs, who are innocent of the offence; however melancholy its consequences to families[367]; and however evident its tendency to produce unjust accusations and decisions among

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[362] Petit iv. 9, 16.

[363] Petit iv. 9, 22. This is the ἄδεια περὶ τῶν ὀφειλόντων ὥστε λέγειν ἐξεῖναι καὶ ἐπιψηφίζειν, Andocid. de Myst. p. 36.

[364] Aristoph. Vesp. 657, and the Scholiast; also Schol. Eq. 103.

[365] Pollux viii. 95, Schol. Æschin. vol. iii. p. 739.

[366] Pollux ix. 97.

[367] Orat. c. Neær. p. 1347.

the persons who would gain by the condemnation of the accused, was yet one of the commonest sources of revenue in ancient days, and all writers, in particular Lysias, afford examples of it. Besides the proceedings against the public debtors and their sureties[368], which have been already mentioned, the law enacted in very many instances the confiscation of property, with infamy, banishment, slavery, or death; the three latter punishments always brought the loss of property with them: this was not however the case with banishment by ostracism (*ὀστρακισμὸς*), which differed essentially from simple exile (*φυγὴ, ἀειφυγία*). It is particularly mentioned that the property of those persons was confiscated who were condemned for wilful murder[369], who were banished by the Areopagus[370], or were guilty of sacrilege and treason[371]; or again, persons who endeavoured to establish a tyranny, or to dissolve the democracy. Thus the property of Pisistratus was sold several times to Callias: any person who killed a tyrant received the half of his property[372]; whoever married a foreigner to a citizen, under pretence that she was a citizen, subjected himself to atimia, and his property was forfeited, of which the third part was received by the accuser: if a foreigner married a female citizen, his person and property were sold, and the third part of the proceeds was also received by the accuser[373]. In the age of Demosthenes, any foreign woman who married a citizen was sold as a slave, but probably only in case she pretended to be a citizen. Resident aliens were sold, together with their property, if they exercised the rights of citizenship, failed to pay the protection money, or lived without a patron (*προστάτης*)[374].

These are particular cases selected out of a large number: for it was a favourite practice of the Athenians to multiply occasions

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[368] Besides that which has been already remarked in speaking of the letting of duties, see Orat. c. Nicostrat. p. 1255, 1.

[369] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 528, c. Aristocrat. p. 634, 23.

[370] Pollux viii. 99.

[371] Petit viii. 4, 4.

[372] Andoc. de Myst. p. 49 sqq. Petit iii. 2, 15. Comp. also Xenoph. Hellen. i. 7, 10, Herod. vi. 121. After the archonship of Euclid (B.C. 403) this law did not apply to the time previous to that year; but it doubtless was considered to be in force for the subsequent time.

[373] Petit vi. 1, 5, 6.

[374] Petit ii. 5, 2, sqq.

for the confiscation of property, and they endeavoured above all to entrap the resident aliens, as Dicæarchus remarks of his times[375]. The demagogues also favoured these measures, for the purpose of increasing their private gains and the public revenue, and of providing donations of money to be distributed among the multitude, which was the policy of Cleon[376]. At Megara the penalty of banishment was often resorted to, for the sake of the consequent confiscation of property, and the most crafty and malicious calumnies were circulated against the wealthy, with a view to obtain their possessions[377]. The desire of gain destroyed all sense of equity: and injustice was attended by its natural consequences and penalties; for the multitude of exiles, restless in their places of banishment, and eager to return, created distraction and disturbances in their native country.

It should be remarked, that, besides the confiscation of the whole property, there were other cases in which only a particular sort of property accrued to the state; thus, for example, mines which were in the possession of private individuals, reverted to the state on the violation of the laws and non-performance of the obligations under which they were held[378]; commodities again were forfeited to the state, if the payment of the custom duties was fraudulently avoided, and also if a false measure was used[379]. It is, moreover, probable that the property of persons who died without heirs belonged to the state. This event may, however, have been equally rare with the analogous case of a person appointing the state his heir; as we read that Callias made over his property to the people, in case he should die childless[380].

Notwithstanding the frequency of confiscation of property, the state appears to have derived little essential benefit from it; as we see that the plunder of the church property has for the

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[375] Geograph. Min. vol. ii. p. 9. See Dodwell's Diss. p. 6.

[376] Aristoph. Eq. 103, and Scholia, in which οὐσιῶν should be written instead of θυσιῶν.

[377] Aristot. Polit. v. 5.

[378] Orat. c. Phænipp. p. 1039, 20. See the Dissertation upon the Silver Mines of Laurium.

[379] For the former point see book iii. ch. 8, for the latter, Corp. Inscript. No. 123.

[380] Andocid. c. Alcibiad. p. 118.

most part been of little advantage to modern states. Considerable sums were squandered in this manner, such as the property of Diphilus, which amounted to 160 talents; in many cases a part of the property was received by the accuser, and in most, as appears from the above-quoted examples, the third part. In certain cases, the person who informed against public debtors received three parts of the confiscated possession[381]; this regulation appears however to have been confined to concealed property, which was discovered by the informer. A tithe of the property of persons condemned for treason, or for having endeavoured to subvert the democracy[382], and probably also of all or of most other forfeitures, belonged of right to Minerva of the Parthenon. Many kinds of property were received by the temples without any deduction, so that nothing passed into the public coffers[383]: and how great must have been the losses occasioned by fraud or by sale of property under its value. "You know," says a person in Lysias threatened with confiscation of property[384], "that part of my property will be plundered by these persons (his adversaries), and that what has considerable value will be sold at a low price;" the community, he remarks, derives less profit from the forfeiture, than if the proprietors retained the property, and performed the services annexed to it by law. Again, the offender frequently concealed his property under a fictitious name, or relations and friends claimed it from the state, and, finally, the accused sought to excite pity, by speaking of orphans, heiresses, age, poverty, maintenance of the mother, &c.[385]; and it is a beautiful and praiseworthy feature in the character of the Athenians, that this appeal was seldom made in vain, but a part of the property was commonly transferred to the wife or the children[386]. Upon the whole, the receipts actually obtained were in general far less than was expected, as is shown by Lysias' speech for the property of Aristophanes. If

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[381] Orat. c. Nicostrat. p. 1247, *τὰ τρία μέρη, ἃ ἐκ τῶν νόμων τῷ ἰδιώτῃ τῷ ἀπογράψαντι γίγνεται.*

[382] Xenoph. Hellen. i. 7, 10, Andocid. de Myst. p. 48, Decret. ap. Vit. Dec. Orat. p. 226.

[383] Instances of this may be seen in Corp. Inscript. No. 158.

[384] C. Poliuch. p. 610.

[385] Orat. c. Nicostrat. p. 1255.

[386] Demosth. c. Aphob. i. p. 834, 6.

there was any suspicion of concealment, this again furnished material for fresh accusations. Thus when Ergocles, the friend of Thrasybulus, was deprived of his property by confiscation, for having embezzled 30 talents of the public money, and the value of that found in his possession was inconsiderable, his treasurer Epicrates was brought before the court, suspicions being entertained that the property lay concealed in his house[387].

Chapter XV.

The Tributes of the Allies. Origin of the Tributes, and of the subjection of the Athenian Allies. Amount of the Tributes before the Anarchy (B. C. 404).

By far the most productive source of revenue belonging to the Athenian state was the tributes (*φόροι*) of the allies, as the ancients themselves were well aware[388]. They were, however, an insecure and uncertain income, for the payments soon ceased to be voluntary, and from the disturbances occasioned by war, or the defection of the allies, were often irregularly made, or even entirely failed[389].

"Before the time of Aristides," says Pausanias[390], "the whole of Greece was free from tributes;" by which statement he wishes to detract from the fame of this person, by the mention of the imposts with which he loaded the Grecian islands. We question, in the first place, whether the name of Aristides suffered by a work which at its first institution was honourable and just; and, in the second place, whether the payments which Aristides introduced were entirely novel. At so early a period as when Sparta had the precedence of all Greece, certain monies (*ἀποφορὰ*) were paid for the uses of war, although we have no accurate account of them. When the Athenians succeeded in the place of the Spartans, Aristides was commissioned by the Greeks with the charge of investigating the territory

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[387] Lysias c. Ergocl. et c. Epicrat.

[388] Thucyd. i. 122, ii. 13, iii. 13, vi. 91.

[389] As was the case after the Sicilian war.

[390] viii. 52.

and revenues of the different states, and of fixing, according to the power of the several countries, the contribution which each should make towards the equipment of the naval and military forces against the power of Persia. The moderation of Aristides, the satisfaction expressed with his allotment, and also the poverty in which he lived and died, have gained for him in all ages the reputation of a just man[391]. The temple of Delos was the treasury for the reception of these tributes; and here also the assemblies were held, to which all the allies had admission; the Athenians only enjoyed the precedence together with the administration of the money by means of the Hellenotamiæ, who were always Athenian citizens appointed by the government of Athens. The contributions were, at their first institution in Olymp. 77, 3 (B. C. 470), known by the name of *tributes* (φόροι)[392], and, according to the rate appointed by Aristides, amounted to 460 talents a year[393]; and so early even as at that period it had been determined which states were to supply money, and which ships[394]. Everything was regulated by voluntary agreement for a common object[395]; for the preservation of their freedom, the small and weak states willingly annexed themselves to the larger and more powerful. The ships of the allies assembled at Athens, and those states which had ships gave to those which had none[396]. And notwithstanding the payment of a tribute the allies were independent (αὐτόνομοι)[397], as their share in the regulation of the joint proceedings manifestly shows. Gradually however they fell into entire subjection to the Athenians, and were surrendered to their oppression and ill-treatment; a mischance which was in truth frequently owing to their

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[391] Plutarch. Aristid. 24, Nepos Aristid. 3, Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 647, Demosth. c. Aristocrat. p. 690, 1, Diod. xi. 47, &c.

[392] Thucyd. i. 96, Nepos Aristid. 3, Diod. ubi sup. Dinarch. c. Demosth. The time is not Olymp. 75, 4, as Diodorus states; see Dodwell's Annal. Thucyd. under Olymp. 77, ¾.

[393] Thucyd. ubi sub. Plutarch. Aristid. 34, Nepos ubi sup. Suidas in v. Ἑλληνοταμίαι. Diodorus (ut sup.) has incorrectly 560 talents, although in xii. 40 he errs in the contrary direction, when he states the tributes in time of Pericles at 460 talents.

[394] Thucyd. ubi sup.

[395] Besides the other passages see Andocid. de Pace p. 107.

[396] Andocid. ibid.

[397] Thucyd. i. 97.

own conduct; for these states, in order to avoid serving in war, agreed to supply money and vessels without the crews, but frequently failed to pay their contributions; and for this reason they were ready to seize the first opportunity for revolt, although their resistance would of necessity be unavailing, as they had previously yielded up their power; nor had any sufficient preparations been made against the Athenians, who were strengthened at their expense[398]. On the other hand, the Athenians, although at first they were strict in their demands for crews and vessels, favoured the inclination of the allies after the time of Cimon, who willingly took empty ships and money from those who would not serve in person. He allowed the allies to carry on trade and agriculture without any disturbance, by which means they became unfitted for war; and, on the other hand, practised the Athenians, who were maintained out of contributions of the allies, in naval exercises; for they were continually serving on board their vessels, and the arms were rarely out of their hands[399]. Thus in the same degree that the military strength of the allies declined, the Athenian power increased, and with it a spirit of arrogance and severity towards the confederates[400]. The payment of the tribute was now considered as a duty of the allies, while they were at the same time deprived of their vote in the assembly. The transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens placed the Athenian state in the unlimited possession of these funds, and showed that the true relation between the allies and Athens was that of tributary subjects to their sovereign and protector.

From this period Athens made use of the resources and property of these allies for her own private interests, and against their prosperity and freedom. The excuse alleged in favour of this dangerous transfer of the treasure, was the greater security against the barbarians; and it is remarkable, that this allegation proceeded from Samos, one of the allied states, although it was doubtless made at the bidding of Pericles[401]. Aristides declared that the proceeding was expedient, but unjust, like the burning

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[398] Thucyd. i. 99.
[399] Plutarch. Cim. 1.
[400] Cf. Diod. xi. 70.
[401] Plutarch. Aristid. 25.

of the Grecian docks[402]: but as he had prevented the execution of the latter project, he could not have been zealous in his endeavours to prevent the transfer of the treasure of Delos to Athens, at least according to the judgment of Theophrastus; and he held the opinion, that in public affairs perfect justice need not of necessity be followed[403]. Pericles is stated to have obtained the superintendence of the money that was brought to Athens[404]. He taught the Athenian people that they were not accountable to the allies for these contributions, as the Athenians waged war in their defence against the attacks of the barbarians, while these states did not provide a horse, a ship, or a soldier; that it was their duty to apply the money to objects which would both promote their interests and enhance their celebrity; and that by devoting their resources to the creation of works of art, they would maintain every hand in employment, and at the same time most splendidly adorn their city[405]. In fact, no statesman ever applied the public revenue to nobler purposes than Pericles, or conferred greater benefits upon commerce and industry, which were especially promoted by the extended relations and increased naval force of Athens; but while he distributed this money among the people, he built the wealth of Athens upon maritime trade, and her ascendancy upon naval power, omitting all concern for the welfare of the landholders, whose property he gave up to devastation; and at the same time he laid the foundation of the unlimited democracy, which, as is evident from the diminution which he effected in the power of the Areopagus, was unquestionably a part of his policy, and to which even Aristides and Cimon, although in their hearts they were aristocrats, essentially contributed by yielding to the spirit of the times.

After this transfer of the treasure, which (as near as can be ascertained) took place about Olymp. 79, 4 (B.C. 461)[406], the subjection of the allies was by degrees completely established,

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[402] Plutarch. Themist. 20, Aristid. 22, Cic. de Off. iii. 11.

[403] Plutarch. Aristid. 25.

[404] Diod. xii. 38.

[405] Plutarch. Pericl. 12, cf. Isocrat. Συμμαχ. 29.

[406] Justin. iii. 6; see Dodwell Ann. Thucyd. ad ann.

a point which we shall presently have occasion to notice. Notwithstanding this arbitrary proceeding, Pericles does not appear to have made any great alteration in the rate of the tributes; for in his time they only amounted to about 600 talents[407]. The 140 talents, which is about the excess of this sum above the rate fixed by Aristides, may be easily accounted for by the acquisition of fresh allies subsequently to the time of Aristides, particularly of the Asiatic states, and by the redemption of the obligation to serve in war, or of the dependence of the free states; to which the increase of the Eubœan tribute, supposed to have been the work of Pericles, probably refers. It is expressly related of Alcibiades[408], that he persuaded the Athenians to make a new valuation in the place of that which had been so equitably framed by Aristides, and being appointed for this service together with nine colleagues, he imposed on an average a double rate upon all the allies. This proceeding took place in the beginning of the public career of Alcibiades, shortly before the peace of Nicias concluded in Olymp. 89, 3; for after this period the Athenians raised annually more than 1200 talents, that is, in fact, double the former amount[409]: in this compact, however, many states were suffered still to retain the original assessment of Aristides. According to Plutarch[410], the demagogues after the death of Pericles gradually increased the tribute until it reached 1300 talents, not on account of the expenses of war, but in order to defray the public distributions,

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[407] Thucyd. ii. 13, Plutarch. Aristid. 24. Here Diodorus (xii. 40) falsely gives 460 talents. The passage of Telecleides in Plutarch. Pericl. 16, does not prove that Pericles had raised or lowered the tributes, but only that he had the power of doing so. Cf. ibid. 15, init. Concerning the Eubœan tributes see Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 214.

[408] Andocid. c. Alcib. p. 116. *πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πείσας ὑμᾶς τὸν φόρον ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τάξαι, τὸν ὑπ' Ἀριστείδου πάντων δικαιότατα τεταγμένον, αἱρεθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ δέκατος αὐτὸς, μάλιστα διπλάσιον αὐτὸν ἑκάστῳ τῶν συμμάχων ἐποίησεν*, and on the same subject farther on. Cf. Aristid. Orat. Plat. ii.

[409] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 337, Andoc. de Pace, p. 93. For the more accurate determination of the time as obtained from Aristophanes, see below, chap. 19. In addition to what is there said I may mention that the express condition inserted in the treaty of Nicias, that certain cities should pay the tribute at the rate fixed by Aristides, distinctly shows that it had at that time been increased.

[410] Aristid. 24.

the sacrifices, and other demands of a similar description; whether this statement merely refers to Alcibiades and his colleagues, or to other public leaders, who lived at a later period in the history of Athens, I do not attempt to determine. The new arrangement of the tributes was however, according to the account of Andocides, so oppressive, that many of the allies left their native country, and emigrated to Thurii.

To any person who should wish to have an accurate knowledge of the respective means of the ancient nations, it would be a matter of curiosity to know the amount paid by each individual state; upon this point, however, the information which we possess is most scanty. Cythera, after it had fallen under the power of Athens (Olymp. 88, 4, B.C. 425), paid a tribute of 4 talents[411]. A greater number of data would be afforded us, if more Athenian inscriptions upon the payments of the tributes were extant. In a fragment, which probably is a part of a catalogue of the tributaries, and of the sums which they had paid or still owed[412], we find distinctly mentioned the Neopolitæ between Amphipolis and Abdera, the Thracian Peninsula, the Limnæans of Sestos, and Tyrodiza in Thrace, which is rated at 1000 drachmas; also part of Mysia, probably the country along the coast, is stated to have paid 10 talents; together with other towns and countries whose names are either mutilated or entirely lost, among which two items occur of 10 talents each, two of 1 talent, one of 1000, another of 2000, and another of 3000 drachmas.

About the second year of the 91st Olympiad (B.C. 415) the tributes were entirely abolished, and a transit duty of a twentieth was introduced in their place, from an expectation that it would produce a larger amount of revenue[413]; but of the amount of the receipts obtained from this custom duty we are entirely ignorant; unless the sum of 3000 talents, to which Plu-

[411] Thucyd. iv. 57.

[412] In Chandler's Inscript. ii. 23, p. 53, Δ wherever it occurs in this inscription should be changed into Δ. The writing is that which was in use before the archonship of Euclid (B.C. 403). [See Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 143, where the author refers this inscription to the rearrangement of the tributes by Alcibiades.—TRANSL.]

[413] See above, chap. 6.

tarch states that the demagogues finally succeeded in raising the tribute, may be referred to it. This twentieth, as has been already remarked, does not appear to have been abandoned until the battle of Ægospotamos put an end to the tributary condition of the allies, in consequence of which the board of hellenotamiæ, which was manifestly created for the administration of those monies, was suppressed[414]. As to the conversion of these contributions into a custom duty, our knowledge would also be more accurate, if the inscriptions recording the event had been better preserved. A single inscription[415], which probably refers to this point, is in so mutilated a state as to convey little information.

CHAPTER XVI.

General Survey of the Athenian Allies before the Anarchy. (B.C. 404.)

THE obligation to pay a tribute to Athens was not, even in the times which preceded the Anarchy, common without exception to all the allied states, although with regard to this, as well as

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[414] See book ii. ch. 7, and above, ch. 3, where the necessary information with regard to the collection and management of the tributes will be found.

[415] "Jam vero quum solum olim Pocockii exemplum editum esset in quo vs. I. est ΒΟΣΕΙΤΕΝΕΙ, quod in his hæc, *δώσει τὴν εἰκοστὴν*, latere arbitrabar, Œc. Civ. Ath. ii. 15, conjeci decretum hoc ad tributa in vigesimam mutata pertinere: quæ res accidit circa Olymp. 91, 2 (vid. inf. cap. 17); nunc melioribus exemplis potitus antiquius id esse intelligo. [*In marmore legitur* ΒΟΛΕΝΤΕΝΕΣ, i. e. *Boeckhio interprete* Βουλὴν τὴν ἐχ[ς Ἀρείου πάγου, Σ *pro* X *male lecto.*] Sed quominus id ad primitivam tributorum institutionem Aristidis et Cimonis ætate excogitatam referas, vel scripturæ forma impedit: nec qui id ipsum voluit, quidquam demonstravit. . . . . Probabilius habeo hoc fragmentum ex ea lege esse, qua tributa sociorum, Alcibiadis potissimum opera aucta, nova ratione descripta et ordinata sint. Ea res acta ante Olymp. 89, 3, ut conjicio Olymp. 89, 1—2 (cap. 15, 19). Tum etiam causas de tributis apud populum vel in judiciis actas esse ex Antiphonte docui (not. 467, 468, 470): tum rem tributariam Atheniensibus maxime cordi fuisse docent Aristophanis Vespæ Olymp. 89, 2, editæ, ubi vs. 690, memorantur homines *ἐπαπειλοῦντες καὶναβοῶντες· Δώσετε τὸν φόρον, ἢ βροντήσας τὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν ἀνατρέψω.* Et vs. 727, mille urbes habes, *αἳ νῦν τὸν φόρον ἡμῖν ἀπάγουσιν.* Adde vs. 677." Corp. Inscript. vol. i. p. 113, No. 75.

other particulars, the circumstances of the Athenian alliance were very various.

Many nations had only entered into agreements with Athens with respect to the military service, and provided mercenaries, as for example the Arcadians, the Swiss among the Greeks, and also the Acarnanians, and the Cretans; others were voluntarily connected with the Athenians for a certain time by defensive or offensive alliances (*ἐπιμαχία* or *συμμαχία*), either from a preference for Athens, or for the sake of their own interest, as was frequently the case with Argos, and in the early part of the Peloponnesian war with Corcyra, Zacynthus, the Messenians of Naupactus, and the Platæans[416]. These alliances expired after the conclusion of the period agreed upon, in case they were not renewed, and were always unconnected with any conditions for the payment of a tribute.

The nature of our inquiry limits us to the consideration of the perpetual allies, who may be divided into independent (*αὐτόνομοι*), and subject (*ὑπήκοοι*).

The chief distinction between these two conditions was, that the former class retained possession of unlimited jurisdiction, whereas the subject allies were compelled to try all their disputes in the courts of Athens. The nature of this compulsion has not, however, been as yet satisfactorily ascertained. I should in the first place remark that Casaubon[417], by the mis-

[416] Cf. Thucyd. vi. 85, vii. 57.

[417] Ad Athen. ix. p. 407, B. *καθ' ὃν δὲ χρόνον θαλασσοκρατοῦντες Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνῆγον εἰς ἄστυ τὰς νησιωτικὰς δίκας.* Ἀνῆγον does not mean *traduxerunt*, as Casaubon translates it, but *evocabant*, and the sense is, "At the time that the Athenians decided (*i.e.* used to decide) at Athens the law-suits of the Islanders." Concerning the expression *ἀνάγειν* see Hudtwalker von den Diäteten, p. 123, although the passages which he quotes are not entirely similar. This writer, however, who is so well versed in the Athenian law, maintains in the same place that these suits were called *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων*, in a sense different from the common acceptation. I have not however succeeded in finding any proof of his assertion: Valesius ad Harpocrat., upon whose authority he mainly depends, (and who also quotes in p. 334, two passages of Dion and Libanius, upon the compulsory jurisdiction of the Athenians, which I thought might be passed over,) proves nothing in his favour, nor in the other passages is there anything which supports his opinion, while the passage of Antiphon de Herod. Cæde p. 745, distinctly contradicts it; although even this testimony is apparently opposed to the words of Pollux viii. 63, *ἀπὸ συμβό-*

conception of a passage in Athenæus, imagined that the Athenian nesiarchs (although in fact no officers of this name ever existed) originally decided the law-suits of the Islanders, and that at a subsequent period when these offices were abolished, all litigations were carried on at Athens. It seems, on the contrary, that when the jurisdiction was taken away from the allied states, it was immediately made compulsory upon them to refer all disputes to the Athenian courts. The model of this regulation, by which Athens obtained the most extensive influence and an almost absolute dominion over the allies, was probably found in other Grecian states which had subject confederates, such as Thebes, Elis, and Argos. But on account of the remoteness of many countries, it is impossible that every trifle could have been brought before the courts at Athens; we must therefore suppose that each subject state had an inferior jurisdiction of its own, and that the supreme jurisdiction alone belonged to Athens. Can it indeed be supposed that persons would have travelled from Rhodes or Byzantium to Athens for the sake of a law-suit for 50 or 100 drachmas? In private suits a sum of money was probably fixed, above which the inferior court of the allies had no jurisdiction: while cases relating to higher sums were referred to Athens; hence the amount of the prytaneia, which were only paid in private causes[418], was by this interdiction of justice[419] augmented in favour of the Athenians. The public and penal causes were however of far greater importance to the Greeks from their being habituated to a free government. There can be no doubt that cases of this descrip-

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λων δὲ ὅτε οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐδικάζοντο; in this place however the allies are doubtless meant to be independent and equal with the Athenians. It were much to be wished that some person would undertake a separate examination of the δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων. [This has been done by Schömann, *Attische Process*, p. 773—80, who however interprets the passage of Antiphon thus: "Many of the subject allies emigrate to the main-land, dwell even among the enemies of Athens, and defraud the Athenians by law-suits (δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων)." It is not here stated that the islanders would not when at home have been able to carry on δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων with Athenians, but only that they preferred doing so in foreign countries, since there they could annoy the Athenians without fear or danger."—TRANSL.]

[418] Book iii. ch. 9.

[419] Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. i. 16. Compare above ch. 9, *ad fin.*

tion were to a great extent decided at Athens, and the few definite statements which are extant refer to law-suits of this nature. Thus Isocrates[420] speaks of sentences of death passed against the allies: the law-suit of Hegemon the Thasian, in the age of Alcibiades, was evidently a public action[421]; and the oration of Antiphon concerning the murder of Herodes is a defence of a Mytilenean, who was proceeded against by a criminal prosecution subsequently to the revolt of his state, in consequence of which defection it was made subject, and planted with cleruchi. From the latter orator we learn that no subject state had the right of condemning an accused person without the consent of the Athenians[422], but that it had the power of com-

[420] Panath. 24.

[421] Of what description the law-suit of Hegemon of Thasos was (Chamæleon ap. Athen. ubi sup.) is uncertain; it may however be with some probability supposed to have been a *δίκη ὕβρεως* against the somewhat coarse jokes of the parodist, which proceeded as far as acts of violence; for on one occasion Hegemon even permitted himself to throw stones from the stage into the orchestra; whence it would have been easy to proceed to acts of open violence. Concerning the Metroum, which occurs in this passage in Athenæus, see Lives of the Ten Orators, p. 255, also Harpocration and Valesius. It was there that the laws were preserved; it was in the vicinity of the senate-house (*βουλευτήριον*), and there also the statues of the heroes of the tribes (*ἐπώνυμοι*) were placed, upon which all new proposals of laws were exposed for the information of the public. Before any public action could be brought on, it was also necessary that it should be publicly exposed in the same place. Demosth. c. Mid. p. 548, *πλὴν ἵν' ἐκκέοιτο πρὸ τῶν ἐπωνύμων.* "Εὐκτήμων Λουσιεὺς ἐγράψατο Δημοσθένη Παιανίεα λιποταξίου." Cf. Herald. Animadv. vii. 16, 21. Now in the Metroum, which was close at hand, accusations were also drawn up, and exposed to public view (Chamæleon ubi sup.), and this was the case with the action against Hegemon the parodist. Can it however be supposed that private actions could have been publicly exposed in this place? None but public actions were of sufficient importance to make it necessary that they should be communicated to the people. Hence it is evident that the action against Hegemon was a public suit, and this may be seen from the very words used by Chamæleon: *γραψάμενός τις καὶ τὸν Ἡγήμονα δίκην, ὅπου τῶν δικῶν ἦσαν αἱ γραφαὶ, τοῦ τὴν δίκην γραψαμένου*: at least *γράφεσθαι* is very rarely used of a private action, as in Isocrat. adv. Callimach. 5. [It appears from the passage in Athenæus that some person had compelled Hegemon of Thasos to go to Athens, for the purpose of referring to the Athenian courts an offence committed in his own country, *γραψάμενός τις τὸν Ἡγήμονα δίκην ἤγαγεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.* Hegemon had also on some occasion thrown stones from the stage into the orchestra, probably in the theatre at Athens. There does not therefore appear to be much ground for the conjecture advanced in the beginning of this note.—TRANSL.]

[422] P. 724, *ὃ οὐδὲ πόλει* (a subject state such as Mytilene) *ἔξεστιν ἄνευ*

mencing the investigation[423] (an arrangement which was indispensably necessary), and the Athenian court only gave judgment. For more determinate accounts on this point I have in vain sought.

The independent allies must have had the power of deciding for themselves with regard to war and peace, and at least a formal share in all decrees, although the preponderance of Athens deprived the latter right of its force; while the subject states were, according to the legal conditions, governed by the will of the Athenians. Both had their own public officers; for that this was the case with the subject states is proved by the Delian archons who occur in the 100th Olympiad (B.C. 380), at a time when Delos was so far in the power of Athens, that the latter state was in possession of the temple, which it managed by its own amphictyons. Nevertheless we find that Athens sometimes appointed archons or governors of its own in the states of the subject allies. These officers may be compared with the harmosts of the Spartans[424]. Thus Polystratus,

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Ἀθηναίων οὐδένα θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι. It should be observed, that the person who delivers this speech is not an Athenian, as might be supposed from the Greek argument, but a foreigner; he is indeed one of the ancient inhabitants of Mytilene, which is shown by the account of his father (p. 742—746), who was in Mytilene at the time of the revolt, and afterwards went to Ænus; but he had perhaps formerly lived at Athens as a foreigner, and part of his property and his children were there at the time of the revolt (p. 743). His son Helus (p. 713) includes himself among the foreigners, and (p. 737) he calls Ephialtes τὸν ὑμέτερον πολίτην: also in p. 739, οἱ Ἑλληνοταμίαι οἱ ὑμέτεροι. [And Bekker Orat. Att. tom. i. p. 72, has restored ἡ ὑμέτερα πόλις from 3 MSS.] Reiske, by supposing that Antiphon's client was an Athenian, has fallen into error throughout the whole speech. Hence he misunderstands the passage in p. 743, and writes ἱκανὰ γὰρ ἦν τὰ ἐνέχυρα, ἃ εἶχετε αὐτοῦ, οἵ τε παῖδες καὶ τὰ χρήματα, without making any mention of this alteration beneath the text. The reason given in p. 865 of his notes is however quite futile, and the old reading εἶχετο must be restored, according to which the children and property of the father of Antiphon's client were not in Athens, as according to Reiske's emendation, but, what was more natural, in Mytilene.

[423] This is evident from the same speech of Antiphon, p. 719 sqq. as the examination and the torturing, and indeed the whole investigation, had been previously gone through at Mytilene.

[424] Harpocration; ἐπίσκοποι· Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Δινδίων φόρου, καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Λαισπουδίου· οἱ παρ' Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὰς ὑπηκόους πόλεις ἐπισκέψασθαι τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις πεμπόμενοι, ἐπίσκοποι καὶ φύλακες ἐκαλοῦντο, οὓς οἱ Λάκωνες ἁρμοστὰς ἔλεγον. Θεόφραστος γοῦν ἐν πρώτῳ τῶν πολιτικῶν τῶν

one of the 400, had been an archon at Oropus[425]; we hear of similar officers even before the Peloponnesian war in the subject Samos[426], and one as late as at the time of Æschines in the island of Andros[427], which had indeed been formerly settled by Athenian colonists, and perhaps may be thought to have been under an Athenian governor for that reason. Also in time of war they had Athenian commanders in the cities, together with garrisons, if there appeared to be any necessity. Of those archons or governors we know by name, the episcopi, of whom I have already treated, and the officers called *κρυπτοὶ*, who transacted some foreign affairs in secret, but of what nature, we are not informed[428]. It cannot be proved that there ever were Athenian officers of this kind in the independent states, except only that their military forces were commanded by an Athenian general[429]. Both classes of the allied states had unquestionably the unrestricted administration of their home affairs, and the power of passing decrees. The subject states were necessarily in this point limited to a narrow circle; it is, however, wholly inconceivable that every decree which they passed required a ratification from Athens or the Athenian authorities[430].

The obligation to pay a tribute was held originally not to

πρὸς καιρούς φησιν οὕτω· Πολλῷ γὰρ κάλλιον κατά γε τὴν σοῦ ὀνόματος θέσιν, ὡς οἱ Λάκωνες ἁρμοστὰς φάσκοντες εἰς τὰς πόλεις πέμπειν, οὐκ ἐπισκόπους οὐδὲ φύλακας, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι. The term *φύλαξ* is applied in Thucyd. iv. 104, to the Athenian commander at Amphipolis.

[425] Lysias pro Polystr. p. 569.

[426] Thucyd. i. 115.

[427] Æschin. c. Timarch. p. 127. It is to archons of this description that the fragment of a law in Aristoph. Av. 1049, refers, *ἐὰν δέ τις ἐξελαύνῃ τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ μὴ δέχηται κατὰ τὴν στήλην.*

[428] Lex. Seg. p. 273. Κρυπτή: *ἀρχή τις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πεμπομένη εἰς τοὺς ὑπηκόους, ἵνα κρύφα ἐπιτελέσωσι τὰ ἔξω γινόμενα. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ κρυπτοὶ ἐκλήθησαν.*

[429] As the instance of Chios shows, Thucyd. viii. 9.

[430] This must not be inferred from the Delian decree in Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 2270. For although it is not of the time when Delos was under the rule of Hadrian, it is of late date, when Delos was no longer a separate community, but had been incorporated with Athens (whence the expression *ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν Δήλῳ*), and was under the protection of Rome. Moreover the application that is made in it by the Delians for the ratification of the decree by the Athenian senate and people is voluntary, and not compulsory. [See the author's notes to this inscription in his edition.—TRANSL.]

be incompatible with independence, nor indeed in later times was it the absolute criterion of dependence or subjection; but the independent allies of the Athenians were commonly free from tribute, and were only bound to provide ships and their crews (*οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς φόρου, ναῦς δὲ παρέχοντες: ναυσὶ καὶ οὐ φόρῳ ὑπήκοοι: νεῶν παροχῇ αὐτόνομοι*); while the subject allies paid a tribute (*ὑποτελεῖς, φόρου ὑποτελεῖς*)[431]; although the latter were sometimes, in spite of their tribute, also compelled to serve either in the fleet or by land. Independence, together with an obligation to pay a tribute to Athens, and without any alliance with the Athenians, was granted in the peace of Nicias, in Olymp. 89, 3 (B.C. 422), to the cities of Argilus, Stageirus, Acanthus, Scolus, Olynthus, and Spartolus, and the Athenians were only empowered to induce them to an alliance upon their own voluntary agreement. This qualified dependence, which was also extended to some other cities[432], was a perfect model of the original form of the Athenian confederacy. If these cities became allies of Athens, they were in that case independent, and yet tributary, although exempt from military service; which was the precise condition of those states which contributed money in the time of Aristides.

It should be also observed, that the difference of these conditions did not arise at successive periods of time: those states were subject which had either originally offered to pay a tribute instead of the obligation to serve in war, or had subsequently commuted their quota of troops and ships for a tribute, or had been conquered in using their forces in opposition to Athens. Those alone remained independent, without paying any tribute, to whom one of these three cases did not apply. Those states were independent, and at the same time liable to the payment of a tribute, which had before paid tribute and been subject, but had obtained their independence by a particular agreement between Sparta and Athens, without the Athenians being forced to take off the tribute which had been before received. Nor can it be fairly said that the Athenians had no excuse for exacting a tribute from those who did not perform

[431] Thucyd. vii. 57, ii. 9, vi. 85.

[432] Thucyd. v. 18.

any military service, and also for depriving them of jurisdiction; for the tribute they paid out of what Athens had maintained or procured for them[433], and of the latter privilege they were unworthy, if they refused to bear arms.

It is however an unquestionable stain in the character of the Athenians, that they gradually reduced many independent states to dependence, although the alliance would have been much sooner dissolved without this exertion of power. We should also remark, that independence is simply called freedom (ἐλευθερία), and subjection servitude (δουλεία)[434], which last must not be considered as identical with the conversion of the inhabitants into slaves (ἀνδραποδισμός); the cases in which the situation of servitude would be particularly mentioned, are when the citizens were not only deprived of independence, but when their property was also taken from them, and given to new colonists, to whom the ancient inhabitants, if they did not emigrate, stood in the relation of renters of their former lands; a state not much superior to the condition of the Helots or the Penestæ.

At the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war there were only three allied states of Athens which still preserved their independence, viz., Chios, Mytilene in the island of Lesbos, and Methymna[435]. Many others, which had formerly been independent, such as Thasos and Samos, had lost their fleets and their liberty. The first state which was reduced to a condition of servitude was Naxos, in consequence of its revolt, although it is probable that up to that period this island had paid no tribute, but had only furnished vessels, as it did at the battle of Salamis[436]. The other Cyclades were then reduced to

[433] Isocrat. Panath. 25.

[434] Thucyd. ii. 10, v. 9, 92, vi. 76, 77, 80, Isocrat. Συμμαχ. 16, Diod. xv. 19, and elsewhere frequently. Cf. Xenoph. de Rep Ath. 1, 18.

[435] Thucyd. ii. 9, iii. 10, vi. 85, cf. vii. 57.

[436] Herod. viii. 46. Concerning the subjection of this island Thucydides says (i. 98), ἐδουλώθη παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκός; by which I conceive that he does not mean slavery, but complete dependence, the Naxians being compelled to pay tribute, and also losing their independence, which till then had been unheard of. Thucydides intentionally makes use of the expression ἐδουλώθη to distinguish from the preceding word ἀνδραποδίσαι. It is possible that cleruchi had been already sent as a garrison to Naxos, to whom the inhabitants stood in the relation of tenants to landlords.

the same condition, with the exception of the Spartan Melos, and Thera, which was included by some among the Cyclades[437]. The centre of these islands was the sacred Delos, which was considered holy by all the Greeks, on account of ancient religious worship, and had once been the seat of an Amphictyonic confederacy. The Athenians appear to have laid claims to this island, or at least to the temple, in very early times; for Erysichthon, the son of Cecrops[438], is reported to have gone thither for the sake of some religious ceremonies, and Pisistratus made a purification of the island[439]. The possession of it was doubtless of the first importance to the Athenians, so soon as they aimed at obtaining the ascendancy of Greece, for which object religion was a powerful auxiliary. Athens also persuaded some prophets of Delos to foretel that she would once possess the dominion of the sea[440]. In Olymp. 88, 3 (B.C. 426), the Athenians took entire possession of the temple, made frequent purifications of the island; and in Olymp. 89, 3 (B.C. 422), expelled the ancient inhabitants upon the pretext of impurity, and settled the island with Athenians, as the Delians were suspected of being favourable to Sparta; but Athens was subsequently compelled to reinstate them at the command of the oracle[441].

In order to weaken the influence upon the minds of the Greeks, which the possession of this temple had or might have given to the Athenians, it would manifestly have been expedient for the Spartans to deprive them of it: and we can only attribute it to a want of political foresight that Pausanias, the son of Pleistoanax, king of Lacedæmon, while he held Athens in a state of blockade, should have given a scornful and contemptuous refusal to the petition of the Delians for the recovery of their temple[442]. The Athenians therefore remained in undisturbed possession, which they had not lost in the 107th or

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[437] Thucyd. ii. 9.

[438] Pausan. i. 18—31, Phanodem. ap. Athen. ix. p. 392 D.

[439] Herod. i. 64.

[440] Semus Delius ap. Athen. viii. p. 331 F.

[441] Thuc. i. 8, iii. 104, v. 1, viii. 108, v. 32, Pausan. iv. 27, Diod. xii. 73.

[442] Plutarch. Apophthegm. Lacon. with the emendation of Dorville de Delo Miscell. Observ. vol. vii. part i.

108th Olympiad (B.C. 352-45), when the Delians, in the Amphictyonic council of Pylæ, endeavoured to assert their rights against Athens, whose defence was conducted by Hyperides as advocate (*σύνδικος*) in the famous Delian oration, and which he mainly rested upon arguments derived from the fabulous history of the island[443].

Besides this insular group, all the other islands belonged to the subject allies, which are included in a line running from Byzantium along the coast of Europe as far as Cythera, near the promontory Malea, and from thence northwards from Crete over Carpathos and Rhodes as far as Doris, and proceeding northwards from thence along the coast of Asia to Chalcedon[444], except the independent states mentioned above, and the islands belonging to Lacedæmon, of which Cythera first came into the power of Athens in Olymp. 88, 4 (B.C. 425), and Melos in Olymp. 91, 1 (B.C. 416), after an obstinate defence[445]. Many were distinguished of old for their power and wealth, such as Paros[446] in the Cyclades, Thasos abounding in metals, the flourishing and powerful Samos[447], the inhabitants of which received their independence after the defeat in Sicily[448]; also Rhodes and Ægina, which was made tributary in Olymp. 80, $\frac{2}{3}$ (B.C. 458)[449], and Eubœa, whose five chief cities, Chalcis, Eretria, Carystus, Styra, and Histiæa, afterwards Oreus, were all under the dominion of Athens[450], were in part colonized with Athenians. Now although the smaller islands were unimportant when considered singly, their united resources amounted to a considerable power, if we reckon all those which lie within the circumference above-mentioned, as far as the distant islands of Carpathos, Casos, and Chalce[451], which were included among the allies.

[443] Demosth. de Corona, Vit. Dec. Orat. in Æschin. Apollon. in Vit. Æschin. Schol. Hermog. p. 389.

[444] This is the substance of the different accounts given by Thucydides in the passages already quoted.

[445] Concerning the former see Thuc. iv. 54, cf. vii. 57.

[446] Herod. vi. 132, Nepos Miltiad. vii. Steph. Byzant. from Ephorus.

[447] Thucyd. viii. 73, 76. This island once sent 60 vessels against Darius the son of Hystaspes, the Chians 100, the Lesbians 60, Herod. vi. 8.

[448] Thucyd. viii. 21.

[449] Diod. xi. 75, Thuc. i. 108.

[450] Thucyd. vi. 76, 80, vii. 57.

[451] Concerning the two latter see Schol. Thucyd. ii. 9.

Among the subject states Thucydides also enumerates the coast of Caria, the Dorians who bordered upon the Carians, Ionia, the Hellespont, and the Grecian territory in Thrace[452], which includes powerful and famous cities, such as Halicarnassus, Cnidos, Miletus, which had once sent out 80 vessels against Darius[453], and furnished infantry to the Athenians[454]; Ephesus, Colophon, celebrated for its equestrian forces, Teos, Priene, Erythræ, Smyrna, and the other Ionian cities. Ionia upon the whole produced a very considerable revenue to the Athenians[455]. To these may be added Antandros, Abydos, Sigeum, Lampsacus, Priapus, Parium, Cyzicus[456], together with Proconnesus, Chalcedon, Byzantium[457], Selymbria, Perinthus, Sestos, and the Thracian peninsula, the whole southern coast of Thrace, the coast of Macedonia with its projecting capes and promontories, where the important cities of Amphipolis, Olynthus, Acanthus, Stageirus, Menda, Scione, and Potidæa[458], were situated; the first of which towns was of the greatest moment to the Athenians on account of the revenues which they derived from it, and the large supplies of wood for ship-building which it furnished[459]; Macedonia is also mentioned in orations of a late date as having formerly paid a tribute[460]. Lastly, Oropus in Bœotia was also included among the tributary places[461], and for a time Nisæa in Megaris and Minoa.

Now although Athens even in the time of its greatest power could not have been always secure of each one of these many states, it is yet easily perceived that so large a number of subjects laid the foundation of no inconsiderable power; and although Jason is represented by Xenophon[462] as speaking contemptuously of the small islands which paid tribute to Athens,

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[452] Thuc. ii. 9, cf. vi. 77.

[453] Herod. vi. 8.

[454] Thuc. iv. 54.

[455] Thuc. iii. 31.

[456] Concerning the latter see Thuc. viii. 107, Diod. xiii. 40.

[457] For the latter see Thucyd. i. 117, Xenoph. Anab. vii. 1, 27, &c.

[458] Concerning the tributary state of this town there is a clear passage in Thuc. i. 56, before the revolt.

[459] Thuc. iv. 108. Concerning the Chalcidian cities see also Thuc. i. 57, 58, where the Bottiæans are still mentioned.

[460] Orat. de Halones. p. 79, 20, and thence in the spurious 5th Philippic, p. 156, 17.

[461] Thuc. ii. 23.

[462] Hellen. vi. 1, 4.

it is not true that this charge of insignificance can justly be applied to earlier times. Aristophanes in the comedy of the Wasps[463] (Olymp. 89, 2, B.C. 423), reckons 1000 tributary cities, and founds upon this computation a ludicrous proposal for the maintenance of the Athenian citizens, viz. that each city should be required to maintain 20 Athenians; a sufficient proof that 1000 cannot here mean merely a large number, as the Grecian Scholiast says in the beginning of his note. No one indeed would suppose that this was the precise number of the tributary cities, but it cannot have been far distant from the real amount, for a gross exaggeration would have been merely absurd. It would also be easy to enumerate some hundred cities, although we are ignorant of far the larger number.

It should indeed be remarked, that many small cities did not each pay a separate tribute, but sent it to Athens in one sum, and these Aristophanes probably reckons individually. Many small islands had several cities, which paid tribute either together or separately. Thus Icaros contained three[464], and Ceos four, tributary cities[465]. That several states paid in their contributions under one account, which they probably divided among themselves without any interference on the part of Athens, may be perceived from an inscription already quoted[466]; and if any increase was made in the amount of the tribute, it was natural that those cities which had previously been united should then be divided. The grammarians quote two speeches of Antiphon, the one concerning the tribute of the Lindians[467], the other concerning the tribute of Samothrace[468]. Antiphon was an opponent of Alcibiades, against whom he delivered an oration, and whose recal during the government of the 400 he endeavoured to prevent. Hence it may be conjectured that these orations were directed against the increase of the tribute

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[463] Vs. 795.

[464] See the notes to Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 158.

[465] Suidas in v. Βακχυλίδης.

[466] See note 590.

[467] Harpocrat. in v. ἐπίσκοποι, ἀπειπεῖν, ἅπτα, ἐπαγγελία, προσφορὰ, συνήγοροι, τριβωνεύομενοι, Ἀμφίπολις, where ΛΙΝΔΙΩΝ should be written with Valesius for ΛΗΝΑΙΩΝ.

[468] Harpocrat. and Suid. in v. ἀπόταξις, Harpocrat. in vv. ἐκλογεῖς, ἀεὶ, ἀποδιδόμενοι, συντελεῖς, Suid. in v. Σαμοθράκη.

made by Alcibiades; for the allies being discontented and oppressed may have applied to Antiphon as an enemy of Alcibiades. These speeches appear to have chiefly referred to the separation of several states, which had been previously united. Rhodes had paid tribute for a long period[469]; but perhaps Lindus, Ialysus, and Cameirus, made their payments jointly before the new arrangement of Alcibiades, and were then separated for the first time. This supposition may be proved more distinctly with regard to the oration concerning the tribute of Samothrace. A fragment of it still extant shows that Antiphon did not compose this speech in his own person, but that the Samothracians themselves were the speakers, who gave an account of the history of their island[470]: they are in this passage speaking against some burthen which was imposed upon them, as indeed is evident even from the name of the oration. Now in the same speech mention was made of those who paid the tribute together (*συντελεῖς*)[471], and also of their separation, by which they were compelled to pay singly (*ἀπόταξις*)[472]; and it was doubtless of this change and the accompanying increase of the tribute that they complained.

If any one should suppose that a tribute of 1200 or 1300 talents could not have been oppressive with so large a number of cities as Aristophanes states; it must on the other hand be observed that these cities had also to defray their own expenses, that for a length of time large sums of money went out of the country and never returned, and that at the time of the Peloponn-

[469] Thucyd. vii. 57.

[470] It is singular that no one has perceived that the passage in Suidas in v. *Σαμοθράκη* is a fragment of Antiphon: *καὶ γὰρ οἱ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἰκήσαντες* (l. *οἰκίσαντες*) *τὴν νῆσον ἦσαν Σάμιοι· ἐξ ὧν ἡμεῖς ἐγενόμεθα· κατῳκίσθησαν δὲ ἀνάγκῃ, οὐκ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῆς νήσου. Ἐξέπεσον γὰρ ὑπὸ τυράννων ἐκ Σάμου, καὶ τύχῃ ἐχρήσαντο ταύτῃ, καὶ λείαν λαβόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Θράκης ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὴν νῆσον.* With regard to the history comp. Heraclid. Fragment xxi. ed. Köhler, and Pausan. vii. 4, Lex. Seg. p. 305, 9, Eustathius and Schol. Villois. ad Il. N. 13, Ω. 78.

[471] Harpocrat. *Συντελεῖς· οἱ συνδαπανῶντες καὶ συνεισφέροντες· τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμα συντέλεια καλεῖται, ὡς ἔστιν εὑρεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἀντιφῶντος περὶ τοῦ Σαμοθρᾳκῶν φόρου.*

[472] Harpocrat. (Suidas, Zonaras,) *Ἀπόταξις· τὸ χωρὶς τετάχθαι τοὺς πρότερον ἀλλήλοις συντεταγμένους εἰς τὸ ὑποτελεῖν τὸν ὡρισμένον φόρον. Ἀντιφῶν ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ Σαμοθρᾳκῶν φόρου.*

nesian war, the quantity of coin circulating in Greece was inconsiderable. Two centuries and a half afterwards, Athens would have demanded much higher sums, for Rhodes alone derived a revenue of 120 talents a year from Caunus and Stratonicea[473].

CHAPTER XVII.

The Tributes and Allies of Athens after the Anarchy (B.C. 404).

ALTHOUGH the defeat at Ægospotamos had deprived the Athenians of all their allies, even of the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros[474], they yet continued gradually to acquire fresh confederates; for ten years afterwards (Olymp. 96, 2, B.C. 395), the alliance between Athens, Bœotia, Corinth, and Argos, excited the allies of Sparta, particularly Eubœa and the Chalcideans in Thrace, to revolt; Conon's victory at Cnidos procured them Samos, Methone, Pydna, and Potidæa, together with twenty other cities, including Cos, Nisyros, Teos, Chios, Ephesus, Mytilene, and Erythræ: Diodorus also mentions the Cyclades in general, and even the island of Cythera[475]; the conquest of the whole of Lesbos is ascribed to Thrasybulus: this general also reestablished the power of Athens in the Hellespont, and restored the transit-duties at Byzantium (Olymp. 97, 1, B.C. 392); the greatest part of the Grecian coast of Asia, most of the islands, and even Rhodes, distant as it was, were subjected to the dominion of Athens.

Now, although we have not any accurate information concerning the state of the Athenian allies at this period, there can exist but little doubt that the ancient arrangements were for the most part renewed, and that they again became tributary and dependent. Athens exercised its naval dominion anew, and the whole of Greece came under the power of the Athenians, as was subsequently the case after the campaigns of Timotheus[476]; but the disastrous peace of Antalcidas (Olymp. 98, 2, B.C. 387) only

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[473] Polyb. xxxi. 7, 12.
[474] Andoc. de Pace, p. 96.
[475] Dinarch. c. Demosth. p. 11, Diod. in Olymp. 96, 2, and his commentators.
[476] Isocrat. Areopag. 5.

left the Athenians their own ancient islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; Asia Minor, including Clazomenæ and Cyprus, fell into the hands of Persia; all the other cities and islands became independent[477]. The Chersonese even and the colonies did not remain in the power of Athens; the landed property in foreign countries belonging to her citizens and even their claims for debt were lost[478]. The Spartans indeed soon violated this treaty, but more to their own advantage than to that of the Athenians; for the Grecians still sided with Sparta. It was not until after Olymp. 100, 3 (B.C. 378), that the Athenians by means of a fortunate combination of events, and a prudent and disinterested policy, were enabled for a time to re-establish their power; of which however it would be inconsistent with my object to give more than a short account: for an accurate enumeration of all the facts connected with the Athenian confederacy, could only be expected from a detailed history of Greece.

Athens having in the above-mentioned year, in the archonship of Nausinicus, made the noblest exertions in order to support Thebes against the power of Sparta, and to liberate the Cadmea from its foreign garrison, and the plans of the Spartans having miscarried; in Olymp. 100, ¾ (B.C. 377), Byzantium, Chios, Mytilene, and Rhodes, revolted to Athens[479], and a new confederacy was formed, which gradually obtained fresh members. The whole of Eubœa, with the exception of Histiæa, which remained true to the Spartans, came over to the Athenians[480]; Chabrias subdued Peparethos, Sciathos, and other small islands[481]; the sea-fight of Naxos, which was gained by the same general (Olymp. 100, 4, B.C. 377), decided the maritime supremacy of Athens, while the Spartans were at the same time unsuccessful by land[482]. The Athenians soon reestablished themselves more firmly in Thrace, after the taking of Abdera; although the powerful state of Olynthus belonged to Lacedæ-

[477] Xenoph. Hellen. v. 1, 28, Diod. xiv. 110, Isocrat. Συμμαχ. 22. Cf. Andoc. de Pace pp. 95, 96.

[478] Andoc. de Pace p. 96, cf. p. 107.

[479] Diod. xv. 28.

[480] Diod. xv. 30.

[481] Diod. ibid.

[482] Diod. xv. 35, and his commentators.

mon; and to the west their power extended as far as Corcyra; the peace concluded between the states of Greece in Olymp. 101, 2 (B.C. 375), through the mediation of Artaxerxes, by which the independence of all the allies was again ensured, remained inoperative. The Spartans, even after the taking of Corcyra and the victory of Timotheus at Leucas, ceded to the Athenians the entire ascendancy (ἡγεμονία) by sea. The peace of Olymp. 102, 2 (B.C. 371), together with the subsequent battle of Leuctra, shattered still more the strength of the Spartans; and in Olymp. 102, 4 (B.C. 369), they yielded to the Athenians an equal share in the sovereignty by sea and land[483]. The taking of Torone and Potidæa, which ensued in Olymp. 104, 1 (B.C. 364)[484], gave to Athens a great preponderance in Thrace. Thus the power of Athens again extended from the Thracian Bosporus to Rhodes, and from thence over the islands and some of the maritime cities upon the main land.

The merit of having so greatly raised and benefitted their country chiefly belongs to the generals, Chabrias, Iphicrates, Timotheus the son of Conon, and the orator Callistratus. Timotheus in particular obtained great celebrity both by his military conduct and by his dexterity in acquiring allies[485]; for he even added the Epirots, the Acarnanians, and the Chaonians, although these nations were doubtless under no obligation to pay a tribute[486]; it is stated to have been owing to his measures, that a confederate council was held at Athens composed of seventy-five independent states[487]. His fame was enhanced by the eloquence of Isocrates, who (as Polybius and Panætius followed the fortunes of Scipio) accompanied him as a friend in his campaigns, and wrote his official letters and dispatches to the Athenians: the statue of this orator had also been offered up in the temple at Eleusis by Timotheus[488]. The newly dis-

[483] Diod. xv. 38, Nepos Timoth. 2, Isocrat. de Antidosi p. 69, ed. Orell. Concerning the treaty in Olymp. 102, 4, see Xenoph. Hellen. vii. 1, Diod. xv. 67.

[484] Diod. xv. 81, and the commentators.

[485] The most important passages are Xenoph. Hell. v. 4, 64 sqq. Diod. xv. 36, 47 sqq. and Nepos.

[486] Nepos and Diodorus.

[487] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 247. Diodorus (xv. 30,) incorrectly states that the number was 70.

[488] Vit. Dec. Orat. pp. 237, 241.

covered part of the oration concerning the exchange[489], raises a monument to the memory of this unfortunate warrior, by which the reader is in some measure recompensed for the great tediousness of the remainder. After his time no general ever made such important conquests as Timotheus, who subdued no fewer than twenty-four cities of sufficient importance to deliver the whole neighbouring country into the power of the Athenians, among which Corcyra, Samos, Sestos, Crithote, Potidæa, and Torone are particularly mentioned by Isocrates: Corcyra at that time had still a naval force of 80 triremes. He also recalled the attention of the Athenians to the Chersonese, which they had latterly neglected. Yet amidst all these conquests he was lenient towards the allies, and even to enemies and prisoners; the discipline which he maintained among his troops was exemplary; and while he bore the chief command, nothing was known of banishments, of massacres or expulsions of the inhabitants, of the dissolution of governments, or the devastation of cities.

The new alliance of the Athenians, as it existed after Olymp. 100, 4 (B.C. 377), was at first founded upon milder principles than the ancient confederacy. Those states which were by treaty independent, formed a confederate council at Athens (*συνέδριον*)[490], in which they had a seat and vote without any distinction, under the presidency and guidance of Athens: Thebes likewise joined this congress. The name of Synedrion, which obtained general notoriety through the influence of the Macedonian government, was unquestionably not used in this instance for the first time. Herodotus[491] indeed employs it in speaking of a confederate council of war; and although it may have been in accordance with the custom of later times that Diodorus[492] applies this term to the ancient council of the Athenian alliance, it is nevertheless certain that the council of Amphictyons and other confederate assemblies[493], and even the

[489] P. 66 sqq. ed. Orell.
[490] Diod. xv. 28.
[491] viii. 75, 79.
[492] xi. 70.
[493] Cf. Demosth. de Corona, p. 232, 19, Æschin. c. Ctesiph. pp. 445, 446, p. 513, p. 645, and elsewhere frequently. For the expression used I may also quote Lex. Seg. p. 302, *Σύνεδροι: οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων μετὰ τῶν*

Areopagus and the courts, were generally so called in the age of Demosthenes. The Athenians immediately abolished their cleruchiæ upon the establishment of this council, and passed a law prohibiting all Athenians from the cultivation of any land out of Attica[494], wishing by this measure to show the allies how greatly they repented of their former injustice. The tributes were also again introduced; but the Athenians, in order to soften this odious name, now called them *contributions* (*συντάξεις*)[495]; the merit of which invention belonged to Callistratus: hence it is manifest that this was the period at which it first came into use; for in Olymp. 100, 4 (B.C. 377), this orator filled the situation of general together with Timotheus and Chabrias[496], and subsequently also (Olymp. 100, 4, B.C. 373), together with Chabrias and Iphicrates, not so much on account of his military qualities as of his political dexterity[497], which at this time was an essential requisite in a general.

The leniency of the Athenians was not, however, of long duration, and the allies, with the exception of Thebes, whose connexion with Athens was altogether voluntary, relapsed into their former oppressed condition; the Athenians distributed garrisons among the several cities, and the tribute was again made compulsory. For this reason it was again known by its ancient name (*φόρος*), which occurs in some writers[498]; Isocrates expressly remarks[499] that the Athenians forced the allied cities to pay contributions (*συντάξεις*), which were as in ancient times collected by fleets sent out for that purpose[500], and also to send representatives to the council at Athens; the limits of

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Ἀθηναίων βουλευόμενοι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. [See Müller's Dorians, vol. i. app. 4. Engl. Transl.—TRANSL.]

[494] Diod. xv. 29.

[495] Plutarch. Solon. 15, Harpocrat. Phot. in v. *σύνταξις*, cf. Lex. Seg. p. 300, also Spanheim ad Julian. i. p. 166.

[496] Diod. xv. 29.

[497] Xenoph. Hellen. vi. 3, ad fin. who calls him *εὖ μάλα ἐπιτήδειον ὄντα*, as it should evidently be written.

[498] Ælian. V. H. ii. 10, uses this word in a story relating to the time of Timotheus. Isocrates Panath. 44, joins *συντάξεις καὶ φόρους*. The *συντάξεις* frequently occur in other places in Isocrates, Areopag. i. de Antid. p. 70, ed. Orell. where he mentions the *συντάξεις τὰς ἀπὸ Θράκης* in the time of Timotheus, and elsewhere. Concerning the garrisons see Isocrat. *Συμμαχ.* 6.

[499] *Συμμαχ.* 11, which oration falls about the end of the Social war.

[500] Plutarch. Phot. 7. This account of the *νησιωτικαὶ συντάξεις* belongs to the times of Chabrias.

their independence must therefore have been very confined. The Athenians also appear to have fixed the tributes arbitrarily, even in the later times, when their power had undergone a great diminution: to which point a very obscure passage in the oration against Theocrines refers. It is probable that some of the allies remonstrated on the severity of their burdens, and that this was the object of the decree, which Autemedon proposed in favour of the inhabitants of Tenedos, and which Theocrines attempted to overthrow in its first stage, on the plea that it was contrary to law. A similar decree was carried by Thucydides in favour of the Ænians in Thrace, who continued to pay a tribute from the period of the Peloponnesian war down to the times of Philip. This law of Charinus and Theocrines which referred to the contribution (*σύνταξις*) being also attacked as illegal, and having been in consequence rejected by the people, the Ænians were forced to pay the same amount of tribute as they had formerly given to Chares, on which account they revolted and took in a garrison of barbarians[501].

It is to these later tributes that the oration of Jason in Xenophon refers[502], where no notice is taken of the new appellation, although subsequently allusion is made to the ancient name; and thus it is better to refer to the time of the new imposts (between the 100th and 105th Olympiads, B.C. 380-57) the statement of Xenophon in his Essay upon the State of Athens[503], that the tributes were generally fixed every four years, although the new expression is not made use of; for we have no evidence that before the Anarchy the tributes were fixed every four years. It is indeed upon the whole more probable that the assessment of Aristides remained in force until

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[501] Orat. c. Theocrin. pp. 1333, 1334, where the words *ὁ Θουκυδίδης εἶπε* should be restored, and *Αἰνίους* should be written with Taylor for *ἐνίους*, the reading of the manuscripts. Concerning the tributary condition of the Ænians as well as the Tenedians in earlier times, see Thucyd. vii. 57.

[502] Hellen. vi. 1, 4, *Καὶ χρήμασί γε δήπου εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφθονωτέροις χρῆσθαι* (*i. e.* compared with the Athenians) *μὴ εἰς νησύδρια ἀποβλέποντας, ἀλλ' ἠπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη καρπουμένους. Πάντα γὰρ δήπου τὰ κύκλῳ φόρον φέρει, ὅταν ταγεύηται τὰ κατὰ Θετταλίαν.*

[503] 3, 5, *πλὴν αἱ τάξεις τοῦ φόρου· τοῦτο δὲ γίγνεται ὡς τὰ πολλὰ δι' ἔτους πέμπτου.* The expression *φόρος* also occurs there in chap. 2, 1. See above note 82.

the 89th Olympiad (B.C. 421), and that shortly afterwards the tributes were abolished and a custom duty levied in their place: so that there would be difficulties in referring this passage to the ancient tribute. It is also highly probable that the compulsory jurisdiction, which is mentioned in that Essay, was again forced upon the allies by the growing strength and insolence of the Athenians, this being the only means by which Athens could ensure the adherence of the allied states. Nor can our supposition be denied upon the authority of Isocrates, who in the Panathenaic oration mentions the compulsory attendance of the allies at Athens for the decision of their law suits among the ancient misdeeds of the Athenians[504]: for this speech was composed at a very late period (about Olymp. 109, 2, B.C. 343), at which time the prohibition of justice to the allied states, even if we suppose that it was again introduced after the battle of Cnidos and the 100th Olympiad, might have been spoken of as an ancient occurrence, if, as appears probable, it was abolished in the peace of Olymp. 106, 1 (B.C. 356).

Whatever may have been the arrangement with regard to this particular point, it is evident from the consequences which ensued, that the allies were deprived of their independence, and that this was replaced by an intolerable yoke, which the subject states soon endeavoured to shake off. In Olymp. 104, 1 (B.C. 364), Chios, Byzantium, and Rhodes, had entered into correspondence with Epaminondas[505]: at length, in Olymp. 105, 3 (B.C. 358), they formally revolted, together with the Coans, who had rebelled in Olymp. 103, 3 (B.C. 366)[506]; Byzantium even attempted to obtain a separate dominion, and after the Social war was still in possession of Chalcedon and Selymbria, both which towns were once under the dominion of Athens:

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[504] Chap. 23, 24, *τάς τε δίκας καὶ τὰς κρίσεις τὰς ἐνθάδε γιγνομένας τοῖς συμμάχοις*, and afterwards, *οἷον καὶ νῦν, ἣν μνησθῶσι τῶν ἀγώνων τῶν τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐνθάδε γενομένων, τίς ἐστιν οὕτως ἀφυὴς, ὅστις οὐχ εὑρήσει πρὸς τοῦτ' ἀντειπεῖν, ὅτι πλείους Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκρίτους ἀπεκτόνασι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, ἐξ οὗ τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦμεν, εἰς ἀγῶνα καὶ κρίσιν καταστάντων.*

[505] Diod. xv. 79, and there Wesseling.

[506] Diod. xv. 76.

and according to the conditions of the treaty, the one was to belong to the king, and the other to be independent[507]. This war, which lasted until Olymp. 106, 1 (B.C. 356), ruined the finances of Athens by its enormous expenses, the loss of the tributes, and the desolation of the Athenian islands, and ended with the independence of the revolted states. During this war several Thracian allies were also lost, of which some, as Amphipolis, became independent, and some were taken away from Athens by Philip, such as the cities of Pydna and Potidæa, which were given to the Olynthians. Thus the revenues received from the tributes were necessarily much diminished at the breaking out of the Sacred war (Olymp. 106, 2, B.C. 355).

The cities of Eubœa were afterwards detached from the Athenian alliance by the Macedonians; the remaining possessions in Thrace and in the Chersonese were taken, the state gradually lost the seventy-five cities which had been combined by Timotheus into the confederate council, together with 150 ships, and large sums of money[508]. Athens, however, up to the period of her complete downfall was never entirely destitute of allies: although in latter times she was unable either to protect them or to assert her own rights. Even pirates disputed for possession with the Athenians; and the contest was no longer confined to the independent states, but extended to the islands which had been the peculiar property of Athens, since Philip attacked even Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros[509].

Concerning the amount of the tributes in the times which succeeded the breaking out of the Social war, our knowledge is most imperfect. Without dwelling upon the erroneous statement, that in the time of Lycurgus they still amounted to 1200 talents, we may notice their inconsiderable amount at the time when after the Social war, and at the end of the 106th Olympiad (B.C. 353), Demosthenes came forward against Philip. At that time none but the weakest islands were attached to Athens, not Chios, or Rhodes, or Corcyra; the whole contribution (*σύνταξις*)

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[507] Demosth. de Libert. Rhod. p. 198.

[508] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 247.

[509] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 251.

amounted only to 45 talents, and even this small sum was raised in advance[510].

Demosthenes succeeded in acquiring more powerful allies, the Eubœans, Achæans, Corinthians, Thebans, Megarians, Leucadians, and Corcyræans; the contributions of the states must however have been less compulsory than they had been in more ancient times. Æschines speaks of the unfortunate islanders, who at the time of Chares were forced to pay a yearly contribution (*σύνταξις*) of 60 talents[511]. It is possible that these payments subsequently rose to 130 or even to 400 talents; although this fact does not admit of proof, and can only be assumed for the purpose of explaining a passage in the fourth Philippic, of which I will presently speak[512]. From this also we might explain the credit which Demosthenes obtained, for having procured from the allies contributions (*σύνταξεις χρημάτων*) of more than 500 talents.

Of the respective allotments we know nothing, except that, in the time of Philip, Eretria and Oreus in Eubœa paid 5 talents, each under the name of contribution, which, according to the account of Æschines, were lost through the fault of Demosthenes. This orator[513] states, upon the authority of a report of Callias the Chalcidean, which he himself disbelieved, that an Eubœan council (*συνέδριον*) existed at Chalcis, which produced a contribution (*σύνταξις*) of 40 talents; and also another of all the Achæans and Megarians, which supplied a contribution of 60 talents; that the same Callias had also stated that many other states were preparing for war, and that they all wished to form themselves at Athens into a common confederate council, and take the field against Macedon, under the command of Athens. He proceeds to mention, that in consequence of these proceedings the Athenians, at the insti-

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[510] Demosth. de Corona, p. 305.

[511] Æschin. de Fals. Leg: p. 250.

[512] See chap. 19. Concerning Demosthenes see the decree after the Lives of the Ten Orators, p. 276.

[513] C. Ctesiph. pp. 482—497. At the conclusion of this subject I may remark that the passage of Hyperides in the Delian oration in Harpocration in v. *σύνταξις*: *Σύνταξιν ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐδενὶ διδόντες, ἡμεῖς δέ ποτε ἠξιώσαμεν λαβεῖν*, is not to be understood of all the allies, but probably only refers to the Delians, who were independent at the time when that oration was composed.

gation of Demosthenes, had remitted the contribution to the Eretrians and the Oreitans, in order that both states might contribute to the Eubœan council at Chalcis, while Chalcis itself should cease to belong to the allied council of Athens, and pay to it any contribution; that by this means Callias had wished to make Eubœa independent, and had therefore urged the formation of the council at Chalcis; but that Demosthenes, having been bribed to support this measure, received 3 talents, 1 from Chalcis through the hands of Callias, and 1 from each of the other two cities. As the amount of the sums contributed was so considerable, it is quite possible that the receipts may at that time have equalled several hundred talents.

Chapter XVIII.

The Athenian Cleruchiæ, or Colonies.

I have as yet intentionally omitted a subject which is essential to a full understanding of the Athenian alliance, and which by reason of its influence upon the national wealth should on no account be wanting in a history of the public economy of Athens; I mean the Athenian cleruchiæ, in the consideration of which, I shall only touch upon some of those points which have escaped the notice of others, in the hope that some future writer will carry on the investigation.

It was always considered as a right of conquest to divide the lands of the conquered people into lots or freehold estates (κλῆροι); in this manner the Grecians peopled many cities and countries which had previously been in the possession of barbarians; thus, for example, Athens colonized Amphipolis, which she took from the Edoni. This sort of cleruchia had never any appearance of singularity or harshness, because none but barbarians, who seemed born for slavery, were injured by it.

This system of colonizing was, however, more rare between Greeks and Greeks. The principal example is afforded by the Dorians, who, on the return of the Heraclidæ into the Peloponnese, expelled the majority of the ancient inhabitants, and took possession of their lands, to which they had no other right than

that which was obtained by conquest. In like manner also the Thessalian knights appropriated to themselves the lands of the ancient inhabitants, the Penestæ; who became their bondsmen and the cultivators of their lands at a rent: and again in Crete and Lacedæmon the right of conquest had introduced a similar relation between the citizens and the Clarotæ, Messenians, and Helots, and in Rome between the patrons and the clients.

In these cases the proprietors of the new estates were no other than cleruchi, and their ownership was a cleruchia[514]; and it would be unjust to the Athenians, if we reproached them with the invention of this practice, which is to be considered rather as a remnant of the barbarous treatment of conquered enemies which prevailed in early times; although it appears more unnatural at a period when mankind had ceased to wander about in large bodies, and had adopted some settled habitation, and also when the severity was exercised towards nations of the same race. In other respects this practice differed so little from the establishment of other colonies, that Polybius, Dionysius, and others, call the Roman colonists cleruchi.

All motives of revenge and hatred against enemies being left out of the question, it may be said that excess of population and excessive poverty of the citizens were the immediate inducements which caused Athens to retain this ancient practice of conquerors. In later times, however, when the system of the Athenian alliance had taken a settled form, reasons of state policy were added to these inducements. The distribution of the land was employed as a caution against, and penalty for, revolt; and the Athenians perceived that there was no cheaper or better method of maintaining the supremacy, as Machiavelli has most justly remarked, than the establishment of colonies, which would be compelled to exert themselves for their own interest to retain possession of the conquered countries: but in this calculation they were so blinded by passion and avarice, as to fail to perceive that their measures excited a lasting hatred

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514 Concerning the term see Harpocrat. Phot. Suid. Lex. Seg. p. 267, &c.

against the oppressors; from the consequences of which oversight Athens suffered severely.

Isocrates[515] truly says that the Athenians established cleruchi in the desolated towns for the purpose of custody; but he forgets to mention that the Athenians had themselves been the authors of their desolation; and no one will suppose that they were actuated in those proceedings by disinterested motives. Or are we to call it disinterestedness when one state endows its poor citizens with lands at the cost of another? Now it was of this class of persons that the settlers were chiefly composed, and the state provided them with arms, and defrayed the expenses of their journey[516]. It is nevertheless true, that the lands were distributed by lot among a fixed number of citizens[517]: the principle of division doubtless was, that all who wished to partake in the benefit applied voluntarily, and it was then determined by lot who should and who should not receive a share. If any wealthy person wished to go out as a fellow-speculator, full liberty must necessarily have been granted him. The profitableness of the concern forbids us to imagine that all the citizens cast lots, and that those upon whom the chance fell were compelled to become cleruchi.

With regard to the first introduction of the Athenian cleruchiæ, it may be observed, that the earliest instance occurs before the Persian wars, when the lands of the knights (ἱπποβόται) of Chalcis in Eubœa were given to 4000 Athenian citizens, other estates being at the same time retained for the gods and the state[518]. In the Peloponnesian war, however, Chalcis had ceased to be a state of cleruchi, for it is mentioned among the tributary allies, separately from the Athenian colonies[519]. In what relation the ancient cleruchi stood to the natives, and whether the latter (who were partly common people, and partly descendants of the knights formerly liberated by the Athenians for a ransom) shared the governing power

[515] *Panegyr. p. 85, ed. Hall.*

[516] *Liban. Argum. ad Demosth. de Chersoneso.*

[517] Thucyd. iii. 50, Plutarch. Pericl. 11.

[518] Herod. v. 77, vi. 100, Ælian. Var. Hist. vi. 1, where the text is corrupt; for in Herodotus it is evident that no alteration can be made.

[519] Thucyd. vii. 57, cf. vi. 76.

with the Athenian cleruchi, or whether the cleruchi, who returned to the main-land upon the Persian attack of Eretria, were not restored to their cleruchiæ, are questions which I shall not attempt to determine. The next case of this kind was the enslaving of the Dolopes and Pelasgians of Scyros, in the time of Cimon, when the island was settled with cleruchi[520]: in like manner the islands of Lemnos and Imbros belonged to the Athenians.

The distribution of lands was of most frequent occurrence after the administration of Pericles. Pericles himself and his successors, Alcibiades, Cleon, and other statesmen, employed it as a means of gaining the favour of the needy citizens[521]; and the fondness of the common Athenians for this measure may be seen from the example of Strepsiades in the Clouds of Aristophanes, who, on the mention of the word geometry, is instantly reminded of measuring out the lands of cleruchi[522]. Thus in Olymp. 83, 4 (B.C. 445), Histiæa in Eubœa was given to cleruchi[523], and at a later period Potidæa, the inhabitants of which were expelled: the same course was also followed with Ægina, at the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, and the Dorian people were ejected[524]. Delos was indeed again depopulated, but not entirely surrendered to the Athenians until a subsequent period, when it had become nearly desolate. Lesbos however they divided, with the exception of Methymna, after the revolt of the Mytileneans: at Scione the adult men were put to death, the women and children made slaves, and the Platæans were established in possession of the city, as being Athenian citizens destitute of land[525]: the Melians were also reduced to slavery, and their property granted to cleruchi[526]. Many other cleruchi were also sent out upon the instigation of

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[520] Thuc. i. 98, Diod. xi. 60, Nepos Cimon. 2.

[521] Plutarch. ubi sup. cf. Aristoph. Vesp. 714.

[522] Nub. 203, and the Scholiast, with the notes of the commentators.

[523] Thuc. i. 114, cf. vii. 57, Diod. xii. 22.

[524] Thuc. ii. 27, Diod. xii. 44. [From a calculation founded upon the amount of diobelia the author conjectures that the colonists of Ægina were about 1400 or 1500. Corp. Inscript. No. 148, vol. i. p. 227.—TRANSL.]

[525] Thuc. v. 32, Diod. xii. 76. Cf. Isocrat. Panegyr. pp. 85, 86.

[526] Thuc. v. ad fin.

Pericles. This statesman sent 1000 men to the Chersonese, 500 to Naxos, 250 to Andros, 1000 to Thrace, without reckoning those that went to Ægina, Thurii, and other places[527]. In Eubœa, from which, on account of its proximity to Attica, the greatest advantages were reasonably expected, they manifestly seized upon much land[528]; hence Æschines[529] asserts, that at the time which immediately succeeded the peace of Nicias, Athens was in possession of the Chersonese, Naxos, and Eubœa; of the latter island more than two-thirds, as Andocides attests in his oration concerning peace[530].

There can be no doubt that all the cleruchiæ were lost by the battle of Ægospotamos[531]; but as soon as they had sufficient power, the Athenians established new colonies. In the 100th Olympiad the odium which they incurred on account of these settlements was so great, that they recalled them[532]: but the law which prohibited any Athenian from owning landed property out of Attica did not long remain in force. Demosthenes speaks of cleruchian property in the 106th Olympiad (B.C. 354)[533]. In Olymp. 106, 4 (B.C. 353), they again sent cleruchi to the Chersonese, who were admitted by some cities; the Cardiani however excluded them[534]. Samos was in Olymp. 107, 1 (B.C. 352), settled with 2000 cleruchi[535], not without the

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[527] Plutarch Pericl. 11.

[528] Cf. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 314, Demosth. Lept. 95, and there Wolf, Morus ad Isocrat. Paneg. 31.

[529] De Fals. Leg. p. 337.

[530] P. 93. Here actual possession, and not subjection only, is meant, as is evident from the circumstances of the case. Comp. also Aristoph. Vesp. 714.

[531] Cf. Xenoph. Mem. Socrat. ii. 7, 8.

[532] Diod. xv. 23, 29.

[533] In his speech concerning the Symmoriæ.

[534] Demosth. de Cherson. p. 91, 15, Philipp. Epist. ap. Demosth. p. 163, 5, Diod. xvi. 34, Liban. Argum. in Orat. de Cherson.

[535] Strab. xiv. p. 439, Heraclid. Fragm. de Repub. 10, where Köhler's long note contains nothing, Diog. Laert. x. 1, Diod. xviii. 8, Æschin. c. Timarch. p. 78, Zenob. ii. 28. For the date, I follow the statement of Philochorus (ap. Dionys. in Vit. Dinarch. p. 118, ed. Sylb.) in preference to the Scholiast of Æschines (p. 731, vol. iii. ed. Reisk.) who states that it was in the archonship of Nicophemus (Olymp. 104, 4, B.C. 361). Diodorus xviii. 18, does not agree with either, as he reckons forty-three years from the expulsion of the Samians until their restoration by Perdiccas in Olymp. 114, 2 (B.C. 323). There is however unquestionably some error in this passage, which has been well examined by Wesseling.

disapprobation of those who were under the influence of better principles[536].

But what was the relation which the states of the cleruchi bore to Athens? Did the cleruchi remain Athenian citizens, and if they did, were they at the same time citizens of a community composed of the cleruchi? If this was the case, are they to be considered as Athenian allies? and if so, in what manner, whether dependent or independent?

Of these questions some can only be answered by conjecture. That the cleruchi remained Athenian citizens cannot be a matter of any doubt, whether we look to the views of Athens in the establishment of cleruchi, or to the reasons by which individuals could be actuated in accepting cleruchiæ. The only objects which Athens could have had, were either to enrich the poor citizens, or to maintain important stations or countries for its own advantage. But if the cleruchi had ceased to be citizens of Athens, the benefit received by the parent state would have been lost. These establishments of cleruchi would in that case have become mere colonies, unconnected with Athens by any close relation, analogously to the Ionians in Asia Minor and the islands, who, although they had proceeded from Attica, soon broke off all connexion with the mother-country. And who would have sacrificed his rights of citizenship, which were so highly prized by the Greeks, for the possession of an estate, if he was moreover exposed to the risk, in case the former proprietors were reinstated either by war or treaty, of being left not only without property, but even without a country? Æschines speaks of a person who had gone with the cleruchi to Samos, as if he were merely an absent Athenian; and Demosthenes includes the property of the cleruchi among that of Attica. Aristophanes the poet possessed an estate in Ægina, during the time that he was an Athenian citizen[537]; Aristarchus, a person mentioned in Xenophon, who was a citizen and a pro-

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[536] Aristot. Rhet. ii. 6.

[537] Aristoph. Acharn. 652, according to the correct interpretation of one Scholiast. Cf. Aristoph. Vit. p. 14. The Callistratus mentioned by the other Scholiast, who also possessed a portion of land in Ægina, cannot be meant in this passage.

prietor of houses at Athens, and whose estates had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was both a citizen and a cleruchus; as also Eutherus, who had lost his foreign estates, and complains that his father had not even left him anything in Attica[538]. Demosthenes also appears to consider the inhabitants of Lemnos and Imbros as Athenian citizens[539]; and although Ariston the father of Plato went as a cleruchus to Ægina, and Plato himself was born there (Olymp. 87, 3, B.C. 430); although Neocles the father of Epicurus settled in Samos with the cleruchi[540], and his son was educated in that island; it is nevertheless certain that Plato and Epicurus were, as well as their fathers, Athenian citizens, the former belonging to the borough Collyttus, the latter to the borough Gargettus, and that after their return, they were considered as natives equally with citizens born in Attica.

But, notwithstanding this privilege of the cleruchi, in the states which were exclusively possessed by them they composed a separate community: this fact might indeed have been inferred from the general policy of the Greeks, according to which the inhabitants of each place formed themselves into a separate community, administering its own government. Again, as the cleruchiæ must be considered as colonies (with this one exception, that they were more closely dependent upon the mother country than the early settlements), it was indispensable that they should compose a separate state: hence they are called by a new appellation, as Amphipolitans, Istiæans, Chalcideans, Æginetans[541]; although they are sometimes also called Athenians; for by the international law of Greece it was permitted that one person should at the same time be a citizen of several states, and even all the citizens of one state frequently received the rights of citizenship in another.

It sometimes however happened that the cleruchi, as was the

[538] See the passages of Æschines, Demosthenes, and Xenophon, in notes 535, 533, 531.

[539] Demosth. Philip. i. p. 49, 26.

[540] Phavorin. ap. Diogen. Laert. iii, 2, Heraclid. ap. eund. x. 1.

[541] Thucyd. iv. 104, vii. 47, Herod. viii. 1, 46, Pausan. v. 23. The Athenians in Delos in later times indeed called themselves "the People of the Athenians in Delos;" but from a period so recent no conclusion can be drawn which will apply to earlier times. See above note 430.

case in Mytilene, did not personally occupy the property, but held it as landlords. In this case then are we to imagine that they composed a separate colony? After the revolt and reconquest of Mytilene, more than 1000 of the chief persons were executed, the small cities of the Mytileneans were separated from Lesbos, and reduced to the condition of subject allies of Athens. No tribute was imposed upon the Mytileneans themselves, but the country was divided into 3000 lots, of which 300 were reserved as tithes for the gods, and the others were given to the cleruchi who were sent to Lesbos: the cultivation of the land was then permitted to the Lesbians themselves, in consideration of a rent of 2 minas for each lot[542]. Now although Thucydides undoubtedly states that the cleruchi were sent thither, it is impossible to believe that 2700 Athenians remained in this island, as in that case the whole country would hardly have been granted in lease to the Lesbians. There can be no doubt that many Athenians returned home; but a part of the settlers must have stayed behind as a garrison, and probably these, together with the former inhabitants, composed the commonwealth.

Lastly, from the nature of the cleruchian communities it may be inferred, that although their citizens were also citizens of Athens, they nevertheless remained in the most entire dependence upon the mother country. In the first place the religious institutions of the cleruchi were, as well as their priests, connected with those of Athens, the religion of all colonies having been originally derived from the mother state. Again, there was no obstacle which could prevent the government of Athens from retaining large estates in those countries as public property, either as consecrated to the gods, as in Chalcis and Lesbos, or as belonging directly to the Athenian state, as was the case in Chalcis, and probably with the Thracian mines[543]. A community of such colonists was evidently debarred from the privilege of maintaining a separate military force, in which

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[542] Thucyd. iii. 50. Antiphon de Herod. cæde p. 744. Concerning the towns upon the main-land see Strab. xiii. p. 412, and there Casaubon, Thuc. iv. 52, Herod. v. 94 sqq.

[543] See book iii. ch. 2 and 3.

respect it must have been wholly dependent upon Athens. Hence we find that the Chalcidean cleruchi had no vessels of their own at Artemisium and Salamis, but they manned 20 Athenian triremes[544], for which the 4000 cleruchi were exactly sufficient; and they received from Athens instructions for military undertakings[545]. Their generals were doubtless nominated by Athens; and although perhaps they had the privilege of appointing to many public offices, they were yet subject to the control of inspectors sent from Athens, and indeed in many other colonies the mother state had the right of nominating to certain situations. It must also have been considered by the cleruchi as a right allowed to them and not as an obligation, that they were under the jurisdiction of the Athenian courts; for otherwise the cleruchus would have renounced an essential privilege of the Athenian citizen.

And what we have already said upon the authority of Antiphon concerning the limited jurisdiction of the Mytileneans after their revolt, proves that the supreme jurisdiction in the cleruchian communities belonged to Athens, and extended not to the cleruchi only, but also to the ancient inhabitants, who might in the first instance have resorted to courts of the Athenian cleruchi. In this manner such states as we have been speaking of fell (although by a path wholly different) into a state of dependence as degraded as that of the subject allies; with this difference only, that they were inhabited by citizens, who would have been entitled to exercise all the rights of citizenship in Athens itself.

The only point as to which any doubt can exist is, whether or not they paid a tribute? Thucydides is silent with regard to them, although in speaking of the other communities he invariably mentions whether they paid a tribute or furnished a military force. The cleruchi, as being Athenian citizens, must necessarily have performed military service for their country: but it is nevertheless possible that particular states were also subject to the payment of a tribute, which perhaps arose from the transfer of the obligations, together with the

[544] Herod. ubi sup. [545] Herod. vi. 100.

transfer of the property which had belonged to the former inhabitants. Mytilene before its revolt paid no tribute; from which, as is manifest, the cleruchi were equally exempt; for Thucydides, having expressly stated that no tribute had been imposed upon the Lesbians, would not have omitted to mention that the Athenians were subject to this burthen. Ægina had been subject to a tribute from the 80th Olympiad; and it seems to me probable that the cleruchi who in the 87th Olympiad were sent in the place of the ancient inhabitants paid the same tribute. At least this enables me to comprehend why in the 93rd Olympiad we should meet with an eicostologus in Ægina; the custom duty of a twentieth having succeeded in place of the tribute. I have already remarked, that Chalcis, which Thucydides calls a tributary state, had ceased to be a community of cleruchi in the time of the Peloponnesian war, and therefore that city is unconnected with any discussion upon this point.

CHAPTER XIX.

Total Annual Amount of the Public Revenue of Athens.

FROM the regular revenues, of which an account has been already given, independently of the liturgies and the extraordinary taxes, the sum of the annual income of the Athenian state might be computed, if each single item could be determined for the different periods. But as this is not in every case possible, we must be contented with collecting and passing judgment upon the few statements which the ancients furnish us with.

I do not stay to consider the absurd assertion made by Petit, Salmasius, Meursius, and others, that the revenue of Athens amounted to 6000 talents a year, but shall immediately turn to the statement of Xenophon, who informs us that on the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war not less than 1000 talents were received from domestic and from foreign sources, *i. e.* from the allies[546]. Xenophon evidently considers this sum

[546] Cyr. Exped. vii. 1, 27.

as extraordinarily large; and if we reckon the tributes at 600 talents, which was their amount at that period, 400 talents remain for the domestic revenue, which corresponds sufficiently well with the resources of the country, and with the necessary regular expenses. The account of the historian is, however, contradicted by the poet Aristophanes, who in the comedy of the Wasps[547] (Olymp. 89, 2, B.C. 423) estimates the total sum of all the revenues at nearly 2000 talents, exclusively of the liturgies, which were not paid into any public fund. Aristophanes indeed reckons many things which Xenophon perhaps might pass over, such as justice fees and fines, together with the proceeds of confiscated property. This, however, is not sufficient to occasion so large a difference in the statements, nor can it be supposed that Aristophanes would have made any gross exaggeration. Nothing therefore remains but to suppose that the enhancement of the tributes, which is mentioned in the orators as if it had been a consequence of the peace of Nicias, had in fact taken place a short time before, that is to say, about Olymp. 89, 1, or 2 (B.C. 424—3). If the increased tribute, as has been already shown, alone amounted to 1200 talents, and if we add the items which Xenophon, as has been said, perhaps omitted, the sum obtained would be about 1800 talents.

How great must have been the falling off in this large amount of revenue, when the ascendancy of Athens no longer existed, it is superfluous to point out. After the battle of Ægospotamos all payment of tribute ceased, the traffic was inconsiderable, many houses in Athens were unoccupied, the state was unable to pay off the smallest debts, and was forced to submit to reprisals from the Bœotians for the sake of a few talents. We have not however any determinate statements until the time of Lycurgus, excepting in the fourth Philippic, which, although not the production of Demosthenes, ought not therefore to be neglected; for definite statements must have some foundation even in a spurious oration. "It was once our case," we are there told[548], "and that not long ago, to be pos-

[547] Vs. 657 sqq.

[548] P. 41, 9.

sessed of a public revenue which did not exceed 130 talents;" and the orator presently adds, that good fortune had afterwards increased the public income, and that the receipts amounted to 400 instead of 100 talents. It is hardly conceivable that the national income should ever have sunk so low as 130 talents, especially as Lycurgus in the age of Demosthenes is stated to have again succeeded in raising it to 1200 talents. It is however possible that the author of this speech had some passage before him which he misunderstood, and in which the tributes were alluded to. These payments might have amounted to 130 and afterwards to 400 talents, and the latter have been in the time of Lycurgus; it would otherwise be incomprehensible to us by what means he could have so much augmented the revenue without the aid of considerable tributes. We must however be satisfied not to pass any decided judgment upon this subject, so many points of it being obscure, as they must always remain. Nor indeed will the statements of Demosthenes and Æschines, concerning the tributes in later times, agree with my hypothesis, unless, as is probable, they relate to other years. For what Demosthenes and Æschines say, may be referred to the time of the social war, and then the account of the 130 talents may have reference to the years immediately following, and of the 400 talents to the time beginning in Olymp. 109, 4 (B.C. 341), or Olymp. 110, 1 (B.C. 340), the date assumed by the author of the fourth Philippic for its composition.

The revenue appears to have suffered the greatest falling off in the 105th and 106th Olympiads (B.C. 360—53)[549], from the conjoint influence of the defection of the allies, and the interruption of trade. It is to this latter evil that Xenophon alludes in his Essay on the Revenues[550], when he complains of the failure of several branches of the public income in time of war. According to Isocrates[551] the Athenians were at that time in want of the common necessaries of life, and by extorting money for the

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[549] See Demosth c. Leptin. § 21, 95, spoken in Olymp. 106, 2 (B.C. 355).

[550] 5, 12. Concerning the time see book iv. ch. 21.

[551] Συμμαχ. 16, written in Olymp. 106, 1 (B.C. 356).

payment of the mercenaries, utterly ruined their allies: so that, in his opinion, peace was the only means of recovering their prosperity, of putting an end to war taxes, and to the trierarchy, of promoting agriculture, trade, and shipping, of raising the revenues, and increasing the number of merchants, foreigners, and resident aliens, of which the state was absolutely destitute. Demosthenes[552] indeed not long afterwards (Olymp. 106, 3 (B.C. 354), estimates the wealth of Athens as nearly equal to that of all the other states; but in this comparison he refers only to the national wealth, and not to the public revenue.

The orator Lycurgus appears to have been the only one amongst the statesmen of ancient times who had a real knowledge of the management of finance. He was a man of the strictest integrity, and so hardy that he went barefoot, after the manner of Socrates; at the same time judicious, active, economical without parsimony, in all respects of a noble disposition, and so inflexibly just, that he was more willing to give than to take: thus we are told, that he bestowed a talent upon a sycophant, to prevent an information being laid against his wife, for the transgression of a law passed by himself; although it is true that he thus deprived the state of a fine[553]. Although the administration of finance engaged the largest share of his attention, he also attended to other public duties, and in the latter part of his life to foreign affairs[554]. The public revenue was under his management for three periods of five years (πενταετηρίδες[555]), that is, according to the ancient idiom, twelve years[556]: the first four years for himself, and the others under the name of another person; but in such a manner, that it was known that he was properly the manager of the public revenue. When this administration began, and when it ceased, we are

[552] De Symmor. p. 185, 2.

[553] Taylor ad Lycurg. p. 114, vol. iv. Reisk. The defence of Lycurgus in the assembly may be seen in Plutarch's Comparison of Nicias and Crassus, chap. 1.

[554] Pseudo-Demosth. Epist. 3.

[555] Decret. in Vit. Dec. Orat. p. 278, Vit. Lycurg. ibid. p. 250, Photius cclxviii. p. 1483, whose account is chiefly derived from the spurious Plutarch, and therefore will not always be quoted separately.

[556] Diod. xvi. 88. Wesseling (ad Diod. et ad Petit Leg. Att. iii. 2, 33) assumes fifteen years, which appears to me impossible. Comp. above, book ii. ch. 6.

not indeed informed; nor can the question be settled by the testimony of Diodorus, who mentions it as past, in speaking of the battle of Chæronea: for it is evident that he only took this opportunity of stating that Lycurgus had distinguished himself by his financial measures. I have however some reasons for supposing that he did not enter upon that office before the 109th Olympiad[557].

He passed through with honour on the several occasions when he rendered an account of his financial administration[558]. The loss of the accounts which he fixed up previously to his death (a fragment of which is probably still extant*), of his oration concerning the administration (*περὶ διοικήσεως*[559]), and of his defence against Menesæchmus (*ἀπολογισμὸς ὧν πεπολίτευται, ἀπολογία ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐθυνῶν*[560]), in which he justified the accounts that he had set up against the attacks of his[561] adversary, and in which he entered into minute details, such, for example, as the hide money; the loss of these documents is irreparable for the history of the Athenian finances. When the military preparations were committed to Lycurgus, he built 400 vessels, of which some were new and some old vessels repaired; provided a large store of arms, and also 50,000 darts, which were brought to the Acropolis; procured gold and silver instruments for processions, golden statues of victory, and golden ornaments for 100 canephoræ; he also built and planted the gymnasium in the Lyceum, founded the wrestling school in that place, completed many unfinished works, such as the docks, the armoury, the theatre of Bacchus, the panathenaic course, and adorned the city with many other works of art[562]. He also raised the revenue[563] (and not the tributes, as Meursius and his followers suppose[564]) to 1200 talents. The author of

[557] Corp. Inscript. No. 157, and notes.

[558] Decret. ut sup. p. 279.

* See note 557.

[559] Suid. in vv. Λυκούργος, Ἐπικράτης, ὀχεῖον, σείριον, Harpocrat. in vv. Ἐπικράτης, ὀχεῖον, σείρινα.

[560] Concerning which see Meurs. Bibl. Att. This must not be confounded with the Eisangelia against Menesæchmus.

[561] Vit. Dec. Orat. p. 255.

[562] Decret. in Vit. Dec. Orat. Phot. ubi sup. Pausan. i. 29.

[563] Vit. Dec. Orat. p. 254.

[564] Meurs. Fort. Att. p. 55, Barthel. Anarch. vol. iv. p. 331, Manso, Sparta, vol. ii. p. 498.

the Lives of the Ten Orators adds to this statement, singularly enough, that they formerly amounted to 60 talents; for which number it has been proposed by some to read 600; Meursius however prefers 460, who again refers it to the tributes, and indeed to the assessment of Aristides. It appears to me most probable, that either the ignorant compiler himself, or some commentator who wished to supply the deficiency of his author, had in his mind the 60 talents contributed by the allies, of which Æschines speaks.

With regard to money stored up for future use, I am upon the whole convinced that Lycurgus did not collect any treasure. Pausanias indeed thought that he had done so, and the decree in favour of Lycurgus states that he brought much money to the Acropolis; but there can be no doubt that it was soon consumed. Distributions were made among the citizens from the surplus money, and nothing remained but what was worked up in ornaments for processions, or in works of art and sacred offerings. Of the measures which he adopted for increasing the public income we are wholly ignorant: it should at the same time be borne in mind, that at this period, when the quantity of money in circulation was considerable, the value of 1200 talents was not so great as in the age of Pericles. On account of the extreme honesty of Lycurgus, many private individuals had confided large sums of money to his custody, which in time of need he advanced to the state without requiring any interest. In the decree it is stated that this money amounted to 650 talents, but, according to the Lives of the Ten Orators, it was only 250 talents[565]: the former is the more probable statement.

The amount of all the monies, for the receipt and disbursement of which he accounted, is stated differently. The decree of Stratocles, which was brought forward in the archonship of Anaxicrates (Olymp. 118, 2, B.C. 307), and to which we have

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[565] The origin of this difference probably was, that it was written in the decree $\overline{\text{IH}}$ H $\overline{\lceil\Delta\rceil}$ *τάλαντα*, which the author of the Lives of the Ten Orators read as if it were H H $\lceil\Delta\rceil$. This is more probable than that the mistake should have been the contrary way.

so often referred, mentions 18,900 talents[566]; but in the Lives of the Ten Orators only 18,650 talents are quoted from the same source. Upon which side the error lies may appear doubtful. The passage in the Lives of the Ten Orators is, however, evidently interpolated by some other hand, and is therefore less worthy of credit than the text of the decree, which is the original of that statement; and it is possible that the number 650 instead of 900 arose from a confusion with the amount of money advanced by private individuals, which occurs immediately afterwards in the decree, and amounts to the very same number. The safest course therefore is to abide by the statement of the decree.

The whole sum is in another place stated at only 14,000 talents[567]: this number appears however to have been arrived at by a mere process of approximation, viz., by multiplying 1200 talents, the amount of the annual receipts, by twelve, which gives 14,400 talents, and inaccurately omitting the other 400; whereas the decree of Stratocles must have been founded upon official documents, and doubtless upon the account rendered by Lycurgus himself, and fixed up in public. For it would be absurd to suppose that in so ancient a document, and one which was drawn up for the express use of the state, the number should have been ascertained by an approximate estimate, merely by multiplying 1200 talents by 15, on the assumption that Lycurgus administered the finances for fifteen years. Now it is true that the record of the decree does not agree with the account which states that in the time of Lycurgus the revenue amounted annually to 1200 talents, if, as has been assumed, he was only at the head of this department for twelve years; but since he accounted for the money of private individuals, which was afterwards repaid, the sum of the disbursements might have been considerably increased, if the money advanced was included among the payments, and afterwards the money with which these loans were replaced.

The statement of Pausanias[568] on this subject is also worthy of consideration. This author, in his ambiguous Herodotean

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[566] P. 278. [567] Vit. Dec. Orat. p. 251, Phot. ubi sup. [568] i. 29.

style, informs us that Lycurgus brought into the public treasure 6500 talents more than Pericles; by which he means, the whole amount of what Lycurgus had received and disbursed. According to Isocrates, the sum collected by Pericles was 8000 talents: if we suppose that Pausanias followed some more accurate authority which stated 7900 talents as the amount collected by Pericles, 14,400 talents would be the sum which he meant to say was amassed by Lycurgus, a number which would upon this hypothesis have merely been obtained by an approximate estimate, as has been remarked above. The statement of Pausanias cannot be well understood in any other manner.

Lycurgus was succeeded in the administration by his adversary Menesæchmus, and Dionysius is also stated to have been treasurer of the administration (ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως) at the same period, to both of whom Dinarchus was opposed[569]. Demetrius Phalereus is also praised for having increased the revenue of the state[570] after Olymp. 115, 3 (B.C. 318), at a period when Athens had already sunk into comparative insignificance. Nor is it easy to determine what amount of credit should be given to Duris of Samos[571], when he states that the annual revenue of Athens amounted to 1200 talents in the time of Demetrius. In the later times of the republic the management must have been more economical, in order to carry the state through its difficulties. We are informed by a decree[572] that Democharès, the son of Laches, was the first person who curtailed the expenses of the administration, and made an economical use of the current revenues. The same person also procured gifts for his country from foreigners: 30 talents from Lysimachus, and on another occasion 100 from the same person, 50 from Ptolemy, and 20 from Antipater. Thus was this once great nation forced to beg of kings.

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[569] Concerning these two see Dionysius Halicarnassensis in the Life of Dinarchus.

[570] Diog. Laert. v. 75.

[571] Ap. Athen. xii. p. 542, C.

[572] Ap. Vit. Dec. Orat. p. 276.

Chapter XX.

History of the Public Treasure.

From the overplus of the national revenue there arose in ancient times the Public Treasure, which at its first formation was exclusively, and afterward in a great measure, applied to the uses of war.

It was preserved upon the Acropolis, in the posterior cell (*ὀπισθόδομος*) of a temple of Minerva[573]; but of what temple we are not informed. The scholiast to the Plutus of Aristophanes assures us that it was the temple of Minerva Polias; that is to say, the threefold temple which belonged to Erectheus, Minerva, and Pandrosus. But this, according to the certain testimony of Herodotus and Pausanias, was burned down by the Persians under Xerxes; in Olymp. 92, 4 (B.C. 409), and even in Olymp. 93, 1 (B.C. 408), it had not been rebuilt[574]; and in the third year of the same Olympiad, in the archonship of Callias (B.C. 406), it was again burned down[575] for the second time. The temple which was afterwards built, as Stuart remarks[576], had not any opisthodomus, and this is evidently true of the temple which was in course of building in Olymp. 92, 4, from its similarity with that of which the remains are still extant, which have been compared by Wilkins with the inscription relating to the unfinished temple just mentioned. At no time therefore can the treasure have been deposited in a posterior cell of the temple of

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[573] Harpocrat. Suid. Hesych. Etymol. Phot. (twice) in v. *ὀπισθόδομος*. Aristoph. Plut. 1194, Orat. *περὶ συντάξ.* p. 170, Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 743, 1, and there Ulpian. p. 822, Lucian. Tim. 53, also Lex. Seg. p. 286, although in the latter the sacred money alone is mentioned.

[574] Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 160, in his notes to which inscription the author makes the following remark: "Quod vero templum adhuc superstes idem est atque illud, de quo nostra inscriptio, inde non colligitur id templum Olymp. 93, 3, non esse incensum. Non enim absumptum igne dicitur, sed correptum (ad quod non satis attendi Œc. Civ. Ath. iii. 20,) et recte Viscontus (de Elgin. p. 113,) judicat, in opere lapideo non potuisse nisi supellectilem et tectum incendio deleri, ut Pantheon Agrippæ post incendium adhuc manet."—Vol. i. p. 264.

[575] Xenoph. Hellen. i. 6, 1.

[576] Antiquities of Athens, vol. ii. p. 4 sqq.

Minerva Polias; nor indeed was any treasure laid by before the Persian war, for the first time at which any such deposit was made was after the transfer of the office from Delos; unless we give this name to the sacred possessions under the management of the treasurers, which were preserved at Athens before it was taken by Xerxes. It is therefore necessary to suppose that the opisthodomus of the Parthenon is meant, in which the treasure was deposited ever after the building of that temple. The opisthodomus as the place of custody for the treasure occurs in an inscription[577], which I cannot err materially in assigning to the 90th Olympiad; and at this time the Parthenon alone was in existence, the temple of Minerva Polias not having been as yet built. It should also be remarked, that in addition to the public monies, treasure belonging to temples was deposited in this building[578], and also many valuables: others were kept in the body of the Parthenon itself, as is proved by several inscriptions[579].

Other precious articles were preserved in different temples; among which was perhaps the temple of Diana upon the Acropolis, if the opisthodomus mentioned in an inscription[580] can be referred to this temple. The separate treasure of Minerva Polias[581] was a portion of the public treasure, which name may have given occasion to the error of the Scholiast to Aristophanes. It is unnecessary to inquire in what place the public monies were kept, when the opisthodomus of the Parthenon was burned down in the age of Demosthenes, for there can be no doubt that it was soon afterwards restored[582]. The key of the public treasure and the superintendence of all the monies of the state, belonged to the daily epistates of the prytanes[583].

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[577] Corp. Inscript. No. 76.

[578] Ibid.

[579] Ib. Nos. 139, 141, 150, 151.

[580] Ib. No. 150, § 45, cf. § 27. In the temple of Minerva Polias there were also certain precious articles, *e. g.* in the time of Pausanias the silver-footed stool of Xerxes and the golden sabre of Mardonius (Pausan. i. 27).

[581] Corp. Inscript. No. 147, Pryt. i. which inscription is of Olymp. 92, 3, (B.C. 410).

[582] Demosth. c. Timocrat. ubi sup. and Ulpian.

[583] See the passages of Pollux, Suidas, and Eustathius ap. Meurs. Cecrop. 26. The argument to Demosth. c. Androt. p. 590, 21, speaks of the keys of the Acropolis. The following arti-

But the treasurers of the goddess and of the gods had also the right of opening and shutting the doors of the opisthodomus[584].

It cannot be proved that any treasure was ever laid by at Athens before the time of Pericles; and as prior to the period of Themistocles all the money received from the mines was divided among the citizens, it is manifest that they never thought of making any deposit: besides which it would have been impossible for Athens to collect any large amount of treasure without the aid of tributary allies. We do not hear of the public treasure until after the transfer of the funds of Delos to Athens; but when formed, its amount was very large as compared to the price of commodities, and it produced considerable benefit to the state. Although its operation may have been so far mischievous, that it took a large quantity of coin out of circulation, this evil was more than compensated by the consequent lowness of prices, and the power of procuring much with a small outlay of money. At the time when the treasure was brought to Athens, this fund had been in existence about ten years; consequently the sum paid into it could not have exceeded 4600 talents; a considerable portion of which must have been again disbursed in time of war. Diodorus[585] is therefore undeserving of any credit, when he states that nearly 8000 talents were transferred from Delos to Athens: and speaks more absurdly in another place of 10,000 or more[586]; in forming which statements he has evidently confounded other data which were alien to the subject. According to Isocrates[587], Pericles brought 8000 talents into the Acropolis exclusively of the sacred money. The number 7900, which Pausanias appears to adopt[588], is perhaps more accurate. If this statement is correct, the sum which was transferred from Delos to Athens cannot have exceeded 1800 talents. For there can be no doubt that the public treasure in the time of Pericles, which was formed of

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cle also belongs to this subject, Lex. Seg. p. 188, 22, *ἐπιστάτης: φύλαξ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἐπιτηρητὴς τῶν δικαστῶν.*

[584] Corp. Inscript. No. 76.

[585] xii. 38.

[586] xii. 54, xiii. 21.

[587] *Συμμαχ.* 40.

[588] See note 568, chap. 19.

the funds transferred from Delos, and whatever was subsequently added to these, amounted, when at the highest, to 9700 talents of coined silver[589]; which number is inaccurately stated by Isocrates and Diodorus to have been 10,000[590]. Demosthenes[591] reckons that during the forty-five years' ascendancy of Athens before the Peloponnesian war, more than 10,000 talents were brought into the Acropolis: and his statement is perfectly accurate, for he includes the uncoined gold and silver, of which we will presently speak. At the beginning of this war, the treasure had undergone a considerable diminution from the expenses incurred in building the propylæa and the siege of Potidæa: and according to Thucydides there was only a surplus of 6000 talents, from which in Olymp. 87, 2 (B.C. 431), a separate treasure of 1000 talents was laid by, together with 100 vessels which were only to be made use of in case that Attica was threatened by a hostile fleet[592]. The large expenses of the following years until Olymp. 88, 1, evidently consumed the whole treasure with the exception of this deposit; especially the enterprises of the last-mentioned year[593]; and hence about the winter of this same year it was found necessary to levy a war tax of 200 talents for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the siege of Mytilene[594]. It was not until after the peace of Nicias that the Athenians re-commenced the formation of a treasure, the tributes having at that time been considerably increased, and

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[589] Thucyd. ii. 13.

[590] Isocrat. Symmach. 23, Diod. xii. 40.

[591] Olynth. iii. p. 35, 6, and thence in the spurious oration περὶ συντάξεως, p. 174, 2. He reckons from Olymp. 75, 3, until Olymp. 87, 1, since he speaks of their hegemonia while recognised by the Greeks, which did not last longer. Isocrates in the Panegyric reckons 70, and in the Panathenaic 65 years; Demosthenes in the third Philippic 73 years for the duration of the ascendancy of Athens, all according to different views. 73 years intervened between the battles of Salamis and Platæa in Olymp. 75, ½, and Olymp. 93, 4, which is 70 years in round numbers. Andocides (de Pace, p. 107) reckons 85 years for the growing power of Athens, *i.e.* evidently from the battle of Marathon in Olymp. 72, 3, until Olymp. 94, 1, which is not indeed what one would expect from the context of his narration. 65 years is the most correct statement; see Dodwell Annal. Thucyd. under Olymp. 77, ⅘. [See Clinton, Fast. Hell. vol. ii. Append. vi.—TRANSL.]

[592] See book ii. ch. 23.

[593] Thucyd. iii. 17.

[594] Thucyd. iii. 19.

such extraordinary preparations for war having ceased to be necessary.

Andocides in the speech περὶ εἰρήνης and Æschines[595], wishing to recommend the adoption of peace, exhaust themselves in the enumeration of the advantages which Athens had always derived from it: and either with intentional perversion or from ignorance of the ancient history of their country, they so mix together all facts and seasons, that it is no easy task to elicit the truth from such a tissue of confused statements. The following is the substance of what they say on the subject of the public treasure, which is given with no alteration except in the chronological arrangement.

In the thirty years' armistice or peace between Athens and Sparta, which was only kept for the fourteen years between the Æginetan (Olymp. 83, 3, B.C. 446) and Peloponnesian wars[596], 1000 talents were deposited in the treasury, which according to law were to be laid by separately (ἐξαίρετα): 100 triremes were added to the navy[597], and several other preparations made: this however manifestly took place in the first part of the war, and not in the beginning of the peace, as has been already shown[598]; which makes it more singular that this point should have been dwelt upon by the orators, as it would have far better suited their purpose to mention how much Pericles had collected during that time. They also state that during the peace of Nicias (which was concluded in Olymp. 89, 3, B.C. 422, for fifty years, but was never regularly kept, and in the seventh year, Olymp. 91, 1, B.C. 416, was completely broken by the invasion of Sicily), until Athens upon the persuasion by the Argives again commenced the war, the sum paid into the Acropolis amounted to 7000 talents[599]. Nothing farther is known with regard to the exact amount of the sum, but the statement

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[595] Andocid. p. 91 sqq. Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 334 sqq.

[596] Diodorus in this year, and there Wesseling, Thucyd. ii. 2, Plutarch. Pericl. 24.

[597] See Andocid. p. 93.

[598] Petit iv. 10, 8, is also correct in his statement of this point. The alteration of 1000 into 2000 talents proposed by Scaliger is equally arbitrary and false.

[599] Reiske proposes to substitute 700 for 7000.

appears nevertheless to be deserving of credit. It is not impossible that about 1000 talents might have been laid by every year, as the amount of tribute received was so considerable. Thucydides[600] moreover remarks, that during this truce the state had both increased its numbers of men fitted for bearing arms, and again begun to amass treasure.

Lastly, there can be no doubt that the inscription belongs to this period, in which it is stated that the sacred monies were to be repaid; the 3000 talents which it had been decreed to raise, having been again returned to the Acropolis. Pericles had proposed to the Athenians to make use of the sacred treasures in time of necessity, but to replace whatever was borrowed. This perhaps occurred between the 87th and 89th Olympiads: In Olymp. 89, 3, they again began to amass a treasure, and about Olymp. 90, ½, 3000 talents had possibly been collected, which sum they then began to think of devoting to the payment of their debts. It is not possible to fix upon any other moment previous to the Anarchy which will accord with this inscription, and it is evident that it belongs to some period before the Anarchy. Those 7000 talents were consumed in the two first years of the Sicilian war, the expenses of this expedition being so enormous that this sum could scarcely have been sufficient to defray them[601]. In the third year of this war there was a most urgent want of supplies; and when subsequently after the defeat in Sicily the revolt of Chios took place (Olymp. 91, 4, B.C. 413), contrary to their law they seized the 1000 talents which had been laid by as the last resource of the state[602]. There can be little doubt that some money must subsequently have been set apart for the public treasure, but it was again immediately disbursed; a subject which might be followed up in all its details, if we were in possession of more complete accounts rendered by the treasurers than the four fragments of inscriptions which still remain*. One of these, of which only a

[600] vi. 26, *ἀνειλήφει ἡ πόλις ἑαυτὴν— ἐς χρημάτων ἄθροισιν.* [Nicias in Thuc. vi. 12, says, *ἀπὸ νόσου μεγάλης καὶ πολέμου βραχύ τι λελωφήκαμεν, ὥστε καὶ χρημασι καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ηὐξῆσθαι.*—TRANSL.]

[601] See book ii. ch. 22.

[602] Thucyd. viii. 15.

* See class ii. of the Attic Inscriptions in the Author's Collection, Nos. 137 sqq.—TRANSL.

few words are wanting, belongs to Olymp. 92, 3 (B.C. 410); another probably to Olymp. 91, 3 (B.C. 414); and the other two are also more ancient than the archonship of Euclid. Aristophanes complains in Olymp. 92, 4 (B.C. 409), that the ancient contributions from the spoils of the Persians were consumed, without being replaced by property taxes[603]. The history of the public treasure concludes with the battle of Ægospotamos; subsequently to this engagement Athens appears to have lived chiefly, according to the common saying, from hand to mouth. The passion for the theorica wasted the money that might have been laid by for future wants, and the frequency of property taxes proves that the regular revenues were not sufficient. Whoever therefore can suppose that there existed a large treasure at Athens in the time of Lycurgus, must be ignorant of the resources and political condition of Athens at that period.

It is well known that the public treasure and the temples also contained uncoined gold and silver, of which part was in bars[604], and part worked up either as vessels or ornaments of the statues. Pericles, as mentioned by Thucydides[605], states that in the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, there were upon the Acropolis no less than 500 talents of uncoined gold and silver, in public and private offerings, in sacred vessels for the processions and games, in Persian spoil and other similar articles; and he adds, that there was a considerable quantity in the other temples. There were 40 talents of pure gold upon the statue of Minerva, which could be taken off: the value of this, according to the lowest estimate, amounted to 400 talents of silver: for it cannot be supposed that these 40 talents were merely estimated in silver[606], as Thucydides expressly speaks of

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[603] Lysist. 655.

[604] For which point see Corp. Inscript. No. 145.

[605] ii. 13.

[606] This notion has been brought forward by Heyne (Antiquarische Aufsätze, vol. i. p. 192) as a conjecture, but after the expression of Thucydides it appears to me that no doubt can exist. Passing over the Commentators upon this historian, and others who have treated this point in greater length than was required, I only remark that Quatremère de Quincy in his valuable work upon the Olympian Jupiter is of the same opinion which I have adopted.

gold. Philochorus however appears to state the quantity of gold more accurately than Pericles as represented by Thucydides, for he mentions the number of 44 talents; which, according to the proportion of 1 to 13, amounts to no less than 572 talents of silver. The loss of Polemon's work upon the sacred offerings in the Acropolis[607] is much to be lamented: in the mean time the catalogue of valuables collected by Meursius[608] may be much increased from the accounts preserved in different inscriptions. Lycurgus added many ornaments of this nature, and others were melted down and altered, as for example, crowns and phialæ, of which there were many upon the Acropolis[609]. In later times, however, profuse distribution and plunder were not unfrequent: thus we read that Lachares the tyrant stole the ornaments of Minerva and the golden shields.

Chapter XXI.

Of the Liturgies in general, and of the Ordinary Ones in particular.

Hitherto we have only considered what may be strictly called the revenues (*πρόσοδοι*) of the state. The community likewise derived an indirect benefit from the public services or liturgies (*λειτουργίαι*), which saved the state great expenses; although Demosthenes[610] in speaking of another subject observes that the liturgies were not in connexion with the revenue.

This is the only question within the circle of financial affairs, which has been subjected to an accurate investigation, (viz., by Wolf in his preface to the Oration of Demosthenes against Leptines[611],) founded upon the testimonies of ancient

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With the statements of Thucydides compare also Plutarch. Pericl. 31, and de vit. aer. alien. 2. Diodorus (xii. 40), according to his custom, mentions a higher number, viz. 50 talents, as the weight of the gold in the statues, and compare with this, Suidas in v. *Φειδιάς*. The passage of Philochorus is in Schol. Aristoph. Pac. 604, which is the authority upon which Scaliger proceeds in *Ὀλυμπ. Ἀναγρ.* Olymp. 87, 1.

607 See Meurs. Cecrop. 2.

608 In the same treatise.

609 Cf. Demosth. c. Androt. p. 616.

610 C. Leptin. § 21.

611 Pp. lxxxv—cxxv.

writers. To several points in this dissertation I shall have occasion to refer; but shall for the most part follow my own course. The errors of my predecessors I shall generally pass over in silence, or only notice them with a few words; and in this I feel less embarrassment with regard to the editor of the Oration against Leptines, as he has subsequently admitted that he has misconceived some parts of this subject[612].

The liturgies, as I have already shown*, were not peculiar to the Athenians, and they existed among this people from remote times. As early as in the history of Hippias the Pisistratid we meet with choregia and hestiasis, the latter under the name of phylarchia; and also the trierarchy[613], which is moreover the foundation of the account of Themistocles having provided ships out of the money received from the mines[614], although the ancient writers do not mention it by name: and the establishment of the Exchange by the law of Solon proves that the liturgies had been introduced even at that early period.

The word liturgy signifies a service for the community (λήιτον, λῆτον, λεῖτον[615]), and also a service performed by a hired servant, or a servant belonging to the state (ὑπηρέτης, δημόσιος); from which it may be inferred, that only services performed in person, such as choregia, trierarchy, &c., were included under the term liturgy, and not the property-tax (εἰσφορὰ), as Heraldus has already remarked[616]. The ancient writers, wherever they speak accurately, distinguish between the liturgies and the property-taxes[617]. Orphans were exempted

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[612] Analect. Part i. ad Fin. It is proper that I should remark that my investigations had been long terminated before this confession and promise to correct the errors committed were made known.

* B. iii. c. 1.

[613] See Wolf, p. lxxxviii.

[614] See book iv. ch. 12, also b. i. ch. 19, and the dissertation on the Laurian mines.

[615] Wolf, p. lxxxvi. cf. Lex. Seg. p. 277. Λειτουργεῖν is explained by the grammarians εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐργάζεσθαι, τῷ δημοσίῳ ὑπηρετεῖν.

[616] Anim. in Salmas. Observ. ad I. A. et R. vi. 1, 7.

[617] Orat. c. Euerg. et Mnesib. p. 1155, 22, where the trierarchy is included among the liturgies; cf. p. 1146, sup. The same distinction is clearly made by Isocrates Symmach. 40, ad fin. and de Antid. p. 80, ed. Orell.

from all liturgies, but not from the property-tax[618]. This then is quite sufficient to show that these two expressions are totally different. Property-taxes were only considered as liturgies when advanced for some other person (*προεισφορά*), this being a contribution essentially different from the property-tax itself. Hence Demosthenes' client in the speech against Polycles states that he was not compelled to pay the advance of the property-tax, as he was trierarch, and the law exempted any person from performing two liturgies at the same time[619]. If however the property-tax itself had been considered as a liturgy, all choregi, trierarchs, gymnasiarchs, and other persons serving liturgies, would have been exempted from it, which was evidently not the case. But as the property-taxes have always been included among the liturgies, even after Heraldus, the explanation of these contradictions has been rendered impossible, and therefore no writer has willingly touched upon the subject. The ignorant Ulpian[620] is the only witness who can be adduced in favour of their identity, and there are some ambiguous expressions in the ancient writers which might make it appear that the property-taxes were called liturgies; but these cannot establish this position; for where there is no precise limitation of the meaning, the word is used to denote every service and every performance of a duty; thus every species of pecuniary aid or expenditure was by an extension of the term called choregia[621].

With regard to the nature of the liturgies, they may perhaps upon the whole be most aptly compared with the personal services or contributions in kind of modern days, although the objects were very dissimilar, and the parallel fails also in many other points. The liturgies of the Greeks were likewise considered as a mark of distinction[622]; and they were thus productive of public benefit to a degree which could only have been

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[618] See book iv. ch. 1 and 11.

[619] Demosth. c. Polycl. p. 1209, 2, see also Orat. c. Phænipp. p. 1046, 20—24.

[620] Ad Leptin. § 24, and elsewhere.

[621] Thus it may be said in reference to any object, *χορηγῆσαί τινι δαπάνας*, &c.

[622] Aristot. Eth. Nicom. iv. 5. Xenoph. Off. Mag. Eq. i. 26, Isocrat. Areopag. 20. See Wolf, p. cxvii. note.

possible in the ancient democracies, in which the effects of emulation were so powerfully felt; we find indeed that these public servants usually performed more than the law prescribed; and any person who was parsimonious in his expenses exposed himself to popular censure. Another advantage was that the state thus dispensed with the services of many paid officers and contractors; so that the profit obtained by the latter of these was saved to the nation, and neither class received the unfair privileges which are enjoyed by the public functionaries and mercantile speculators of modern days. One disadvantage of the system of liturgies, viz., the tardiness in the naval equipments which it occasioned, did not make its appearance until the patriotism of the Athenians had much abated. In the better times all impediments were speedily overcome. But an equable distribution of the burdens was unquestionably a matter of great difficulty; and it frequently happened, that while one person exhausted his means, another made little or no sacrifice, although his property was equally large. And, finally, it furnished the citizens with an occasion for ambitious and useless expenditure, and excited them to aim after a pernicious popularity[623]. Aristotle[624] justly recommends that expensive and useless liturgies, such as the choregia, lampadarchy, &c., instead of being encouraged, should be not even permitted to those persons who voluntarily undertook to perform them.

The majority of the liturgies were the ordinary liturgies, as they were called, *i.e.* returning in a regular succession (*ἐγκύκλιοι λειτουργίαι*[625]). The trierarchy and the advance of the property-tax furnish instances of extraordinary liturgies, although we shall not consider the latter in this place, but combine it with the investigation of the tax to which it belongs. There is not any separate name for the extraordinary liturgies; Reiske

[623] Thus the expense of the choregia, gymnasiarchy, and trierarchy, was carried to a great extent by Alcibiades. Isocrat. *περὶ τοῦ ζεύγ.* 15. This is the meaning of *καταλειτουργεῖν*, *καταχορηγεῖν* one's property; but a person might *καταζευγοτροφεῖν* and *καθιππο-τροφεῖν* his estate without performing any public service.

[624] Polit. v. 8.

[625] This expression is thus explained in Lex. Seg. p. 250: *αἱ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν γινόμεναι, οἷον χορηγίαι, γυμνασιαρχίαι καὶ ἱερῶν περίοδοι* (the architheoria).

invented the appellation of compulsory liturgies (προστακταὶ λειτουργίαι), in order to correct a passage in a Byzantine decree which confers upon the Athenians an exemption from certain liturgies in Byzantium[626]: it is, however, highly improbable that the extraordinary liturgies are intended, for at Athens the extraordinary liturgies were the only ones from which an exemption was allowed; and moreover the alteration, even if the extraordinary liturgies were meant, must necessarily remain doubtful.

The most important of the regular liturgies, which we are now about to consider, are the choregia, gymnasiarchy, and feasting of the tribes (ἑστίασις[627]); the archetheoria[628] is a fourth, but it is too unimportant to be entitled to a separate discussion, and therefore I may with Wolf pass it over. I need only remark that the latter liturgy was, as well as the trierarchy, considerably lightened by contributions from the public[629] or sacred treasures[630], which is also asserted by an insignificant writer, of the gymnasiarchy and choregia[631]. There were also other liturgies of more rare occurrence, such as the arrephoria and the trierarchy for mock sea-fights, which probably existed only upon extraordinary occasions. And lastly there were certain degrading services performed in the processions by the resident aliens, which belonged to the liturgies.

The obligation to render these several services, with the exception only of those last mentioned, was founded upon property. An estate of 46 minas, or even of 1 or 2 talents, did not entail upon the possessor the performance of any liturgy[632], although it was sufficient for his maintenance, and made him liable to the payment of property-taxes. The smallest amount of property which obliged the owner to the performance of liturgies, was about 3 talents, unless a person of less wealth voluntarily consented to undergo this burden[633]. Companies

[626] Demosth. de Corona, p. 256, 10.

[627] Wolf, p. lxxxvii.

[628] See the passages quoted by Wolf, p. xc. and frequently in inscriptions.

[629] See book ii. ch. 6.

[630] See Corp. Inscript. No. 158.

[631] The anonymous author of the argument to the speech against Meidias, p. 510, ed. Reisk.

[632] Isæus de Hagn. Hered. p. 292, (concerning which passage see book i. ch. 20,) Demosth. c. Aphob. i. p. 833, 22.

[633] Cases of this kind see in book iv. ch. 15, of the trierarchy, if they are really correct.

(συντέλειαι) did not exist in the regular liturgies[634]; except that in Olymp. 92, 1, in the archonship of Callias (B.C. 412), after the national wealth had been exhausted by the Sicilian war, a decree was passed to give permission that two persons might perform the choregia together[635]. The performer of the liturgy was appointed by his tribe; which shared the fame of victory with the individual, and was therefore inscribed as conqueror upon the tripod. This appointment must have been made according to some regular succession; yet, if persons willing to undertake the office of choregus were wanting, one individual could serve for two tribes at the same time[636]. The liturgies of the resident aliens were wholly distinct from those of the citizens. According to Demosthenes[637] the ordinary liturgies only required about sixty persons a year; a statement which is hardly credible, since ten hestiatores were necessary for a single feasting of the tribes, while for the provision of every kind of chorus there was always the greatest emulation, and every tribe used commonly to furnish a choregus for the sacred feasts[638], which is equally true of the gymnasiarchy.

It may be also observed, that if any one who was returned to the state as the performer of a liturgy thought that some other person should be appointed in his stead, he could resort to the legal remedy of the Exchange, as in the case of the trierarchy. In order too that no person might be burdened beyond his means, it was enacted by an ancient law, that no one should be bound to perform liturgies for two successive years[639]. Neither was any person forced to perform two liturgies at the same time[640]: whence it is evident (as indeed is stated by the orators[641]), that the trierarchs were free from the regular litur-

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[634] Demosth. c. Lept. § 19.

[635] Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 406, to which may be joined Platonius in Küster's Aristophanes, p. xi.

[636] Antiphon de Choreuta, p. 768, Corp. Inscript. No. 216, Demosth. c. Lept. p. 467, 27, and the ancient commentators quoted there by Ulpian.

[637] C. Lept. § 18, and there Wolf.

[638] This may be even inferred from the passages collected by Sigon. R. A. iv. 9, and is expressly stated by the authors of the arguments to the oration against Meidias, and by Ulpian ad Lept. § 24, in reference to the great Dionysia.

[639] Demosth. c. Lept. § 7 (p. 459, 12, ed. Reiske).

[640] Demosth. c. Polycl. p. 1209, sup.

[641] Demosth. c. Lept. § 16 (p. 462,

gies during the time of their trierarchy. Orphans were exempt (*ἀτελεῖς*) from all liturgies for the period of their minority and one year over[642]. Besides this exemption, an immunity from the regular liturgies was also given as a reward or testimonial of honour; and it is to this that Demosthenes refers[643], when he asserts that there were about five or six citizens, and less than that number of resident aliens, exempted, and that he went to the utmost limit in stating ten. Leptines in Olymp. 106, 1 (B.C. 356), carried a law against citizens as well as resident aliens and isoteles possessing an immunity from liturgies, and even prohibiting that it should ever again be either sought for or granted: but the oration of Demosthenes, which was delivered in the following year, completely put an end to this project[644].

CHAPTER XXII.

The Choregia, or furnishing of a Chorus.

AMONG the ordinary liturgies which were appointed for the celebration of festivals and the diversion of the people, the choregia must be considered as the most important.

The office of the choregus was to provide the chorus in all plays, tragic as well as comic (*τραγῳδοῖς, κωμῳδοῖς*) and satyrical, and also for the lyric choruses of men or boys, pyrrhichistæ, cyclian dancers and flute-players (*χορηγεῖν ἀνδράσι* or *ἀνδρικοῖς χοροῖς, παιδικοῖς χοροῖς, πυρριχισταῖς, κυκλίῳ χορῷ, αὐλητῇς ἀνδράσιν*), and others. But there is not the least reason for supposing that the choregus defrayed the whole expense occasioned by the play; an error which ought not to

23), which passage however, according to the correct interpretation of Wolf, cannot be any longer taken as a proof, and c. Mid. p. 565, 3. That those who served the trierarchies, when they were no longer in the performance of this duty, might be called upon to serve other liturgies, is evident, and many instances occur which cannot all be attributed to voluntary performance.

[642] Concerning the ateleia in general see Wolf, p. lxxi. sqq., book i. ch. 15, and where this subject is incidentally mentioned, as book iii. ch. 4, book iv. ch. 1, 10, 11.

[643] Lept. § 17.

[644] Dio Chrysost. Or. Rhod. xxxi. vol. i. p. 635, ed Reiske.

have been revived, as it has been lately, after the truth had been pointed out by Heraldus[645]. The state itself contributed largely to the plays, as is proved by several passages in ancient writers; and the lessee of the theatre was also bound to provide for several expenses, in consideration of which he received the entrance-money. If the actors had been provided by the choregi, the state would have allotted them to the choregi; but they were allotted to the poets, and not to the choregi[646]; consequently the choregus had no concern with them. It is also frequently mentioned that this or that player acted in particular for a certain poet; and moreover the poet taught the actors independently of the choregus; whereas the case was exactly reversed with the teaching of the chorus. The choregi appointed by the tribes were assigned by the archon to the poets, which was called *giving a chorus*[647].

The first duty of the choregus, after he had assembled his chorus, was to provide a teacher (χοροδιδάσκαλος) to instruct

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[645] Anim. in Salmas. Observ. ad I. A. et R. vi. 3, 2 sqq.

[646] Hesychius, Suidas, Photius in v. νεμήσεις ὑποκριτῶν. Each poet received three actors by lot; and whichever of them obtained the victory was taken for the next time without a fresh decision. The passage of Plutarch. Phoc. 19, from which it might seem that the choregus provided the actors and their dresses, I have not noticed in the text, as in the first place it is so confused that it is impossible to form any clear notion of the story related there, and secondly because the τραγῳδὸς is represented as demanding of the choregus what could only have been demanded by the ποιητής, and the τραγῳδὸς was never the ποιητής, except when the poet appeared as an actor and singer in his own play; and lastly the whole passage shows that the demand of the tragodus did not refer to the character of a queen, which would necessarily be present in the play, but only to the κεκοσμημέναι πολλαὶ πολυτελῶς ὀπαδοί, which the choregus is supposed to have refused; these however might have been considered by the poet as a chorus, and therefore he may have required the choregus to furnish them with dresses in addition to the chief chorus, and the choregus might refuse to comply, not allowing that these female attendants were a chorus, and being only willing to furnish that which he was bound in strictness to supply. Even then if the story is considered as true, it does not prove anything against the supposition of Heraldus. With the exception of this passage it has not however happened to me to meet with anything in favour of the notion that the actors were provided by the choregus.

[647] Χορὸν διδόναι, with which χορὸν λαβεῖν on the part of the poet corresponds. Cf. Plat. de Repub. ii. ad fin. and the Scholiast, and de Leg. vii. p. 817, D. Aristoph. Ran. 94, Casaub. ad Athen. xiv. p. 638, F.

them in their parts, whom he paid for his trouble. The teachers themselves were proposed, and the choregi received them, as we learn from Antiphon, by lot; which doubtless only means that these lots decided, as was the case in the selection of the flute-player, the order in which the competitors were to choose, as every tribe and choregus would naturally be desirous of having the best[648]: an instance, however, occurs in which the choregus chose a chorodidascalus who was not proposed[649]. Another duty of the choregus was to provide the singers or musicians who were to receive instruction. In the choruses of boys this service was often connected with great difficulties, the parents being unwilling to give up their children, so that the choregi threatened to punish them, or sometimes had recourse to violence[650]; a license which was necessary in other places as well as Athens: even in the Augustan age the choregi in Stratonicea of Caria were allowed full power of forcing children from their parents[651]. The apprehension of seduction was the cause of this refusal; for which reason the age prescribed in the laws of Solon for the choregi was upwards of forty years[652]; but this regulation had before the Anarchy become a dead letter, even for the choruses of boys. Moreover, the chorus received pay for their services equally with the actors, although it has been supposed without any reason, that the native artists obtained no remuneration[653]. The Athenian people were as well paid as foreigners for dancing, singing, and running[654]. The choregus was bound to provide such liquid and solid foods as had the effect of strengthening the voice[655], as long as his chorus continued in existence, and generally he had to maintain

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[648] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 519, Aristoph. Av. 1404, Antiphon de Choreuta, p. 767, 768, cf. Petit iii. 4, 2.

[649] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 533.

[650] Antiphon ut sup.

[651] Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 2715.

[652] Æschin. c. Timarch. p. 391.

[653] Wolf, p. xciii. note.

[654] Xenoph. de Republ. Ath. i. 13.

[655] Plutarch de Glor. Ath. 6. Antiph. de Choreuta, and the argument of the same speech. Concerning the maintenance of the chorus see also the anonymous author of the argument to Demosthenes against Meidias, and Ulpian ad Lept. § 24. In Corcyra also (and it was no doubt the same everywhere) the chorus and the musicians were provided with maintenance in money or in kind (*σιτηρέσια*); see Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 1845.

the chorus during the period of their instruction. For the representation itself he furnished (in the same manner that the archetheori provided the ornaments) the sacred clothes adorned with gold for the use of himself and of the chorus, golden crowns[656], and the masks of the chorus, and any articles of a similar description which were required at the performance of the play. The choregus was also bound to supply a place for the school either in his own house or elsewhere[657]. Additional persons were required for subordinate offices. Thus Antiphon's client provided four men for the management of the chorus, of whom one was appointed solely for the purchase of whatever the teacher considered useful for the boys. Any person who did not supply the legal amount was reprimanded by the proper authorities[658].

From this account it is manifest that the choregia must have occasioned a considerable expense, though differing according to the nature of the representation. The chorus of flute players cost more than the tragic chorus[659]; whence it is evident that the choregus did not defray the expenses of the whole play: and the comic chorus cost less than the tragic; it was indeed considered vulgar to provide expensive dresses of gold, purple, and ornaments of a similar kind for the former[660]. Demosthenes[661], mentioning the donation which the people had made to Lysimachus the son of Aristides, says, that any person would sooner receive the third part of it than immunity from the liturgies. The gift was considerable; but we are too little acquainted with the value of landed property in Eubœa to determine with certainty what amount of income he derived from it. At the same time I do not imagine that the third part of his income accruing from this donation amounted to more than 1200 drachmas; and consequently the average yearly expense of the ordinary liturgies could scarcely have amounted to so large a sum, on the supposition that the person serving

[656] Demosth. c. Mid. pp. 519, 520, 531, Antiphanes ap. Athen. iii. p. 103 F. Ulpian ut sup. cf. Herald. ut sup. 5.

[657] Antiphon in the above-cited speech.

[658] Xenoph. Hier. 9. 4.

[659] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 565, 6.

[660] Herald. vi. 8, 5.

[661] Demosth. c. Lept. § 95.

them only expended the precise sum required, or a little over. Aristophanes[662], as we learn from Lysias, had in the space of four or five years, for himself and his father, spent 5000 drachmas upon two tragic choregias, three years of which time he was also trierarch. This evidently exceeded the standard fixed by law.

A brilliant example of an excessive expenditure is also afforded by another client of the same orator[663]. This person had been choregus in his eighteenth year, in the archonship of Theopompus (Olymp. 92, 2, B.C. 411) after the scrutiny (*δοκιμασία*), and had given 3000 drachmas for a tragic chorus. In the same year, after an interval of three months, he paid 2000 drachmas for a chorus of men, with which he was victorious. In the year which immediately followed, in the archonship of Glaucippus (Olymp. 92, 3, B.C. 410), he gave 800 drachmas for a chorus of beardless pyrrhichistæ at the great Panathenæa; and in the same year, at the great Dionysia, 5000 drachmas for a chorus of men, with which he again obtained the victory; and was thus exposed to the farther expense of consecrating the tripod, which was commonly set up in a cell distinguished by an inscription. Immediately afterwards in the archonship of Diocles (Olymp. 92, 4, B.C. 409), he paid 300 drachmas for a cyclic chorus at the little Panathenæa; data from which we also get the proportion between the expenses of the different performances. This same individual was trierarch for the seven years from Olymp. 92, 2, to Olymp. 93, 4 (B.C. 411—405), at an expense of 6 talents; and at this same time, although absent on his duties as trierarch, he paid two property-taxes, one of 3000, the other of 4000 drachmas: in the archonship of Alexias (Olymp. 93, 4, B.C. 405) he was gymnasiarch at the Promethea, and was the victorious competitor, at an expense of 1200 drachmas: a chorus of boys cost him soon afterwards more than 1500 drachmas: and in the archonship of Euclid (Olymp. 94, 2, B.C. 403) he conquered with a comic chorus, upon which he

[662] Lysias pro Aristoph. bon. p. 642, cf. p. 633.

[663] *Ἀπολ. δωροδ.* p. 698 sqq. Petit Leg. Att. iii. 4, 1, has treated this passage with his usual ill luck, for which he has been sufficiently censured by others.

expended 1600 drachmas, including the ornaments and dresses which were consecrated; in addition to which he paid 700 drachmas for a chorus of beardless pyrrhichistæ at the little Panathenæa. He conquered with his trireme in a mock sea fight off Sunium, at an expense of 1500 drachmas: and moreover he consumed above 3000 drachmas upon arrhephoria, architheoria, &c. The sum of his expenses in nine years amounts precisely to 10 talents 36 minas.

This person unquestionably made great sacrifices; but, in order to avoid making any false estimate of the public burthens, it must be clearly understood that, whatever was his motive, whether ambition, or a desire of obtaining distinction by the liberal application of a large fortune, he performed more than was required of him: the possibility of any exaggeration in the sums I will leave entirely out of the question. In the first place he was not bound to serve any liturgies in the first year after the scrutiny: he was not bound to perform several ordinary liturgies in the same year: he was not bound to devote himself to them several years without interruption: he was not bound to perform ordinary liturgies at the same time with a trierarchy, the latter being a ground of exemption from the former: nor was he bound to be trierarch for seven years, a service to which no person was oftener liable than once in three years[664]: and indeed after the trierarchy he was for one year allowed an exemption from all liturgies. In short, this person does not in the least exaggerate when he asserts, that legally he need not have subjected himself to a fourth part of the expenses which he actually incurred. Assuming however that he was legally liable to the fourth part, which amounts to nearly 160 minas, it must not be forgotten that out of the nine years seven were burthened with the current expenditure of a war, for which two property-taxes were raised, amounting alone to more than 70 minas; and that the years of peace were still more unpropitious; and again, that his property must have been very considerable, as may be seen from the amount of his expenses, and above all from the long duration of his trierarchy. We

[664] Δύο ἔτη καταλιπὼν, Isæus de Apollod. Hered. p. 184.

may therefore fairly assume, without any danger of exaggeration, that his estate amounted to 20 talents: the inheritance of Demosthenes, by which the possessor was bound to perform the trierarchy, amounted to 15 talents: many other persons were however possessed of double, triple, or many times that sum. If then we assume this amount, Aristophanes must upon an average have paid 17¾ minas a year from an estate of 20 talents; or, reckoning in our money, 71*l.* from a property of 4833*l.*

If this should appear a heavy taxation, I answer that it is precisely the same as if a citizen in modern days were not only to pay nothing in the shape of taxes, but were to receive in addition to this property an annual donation of about 200*l.* For if we only reckon 18 (4350*l.*) out of the 20 talents as productive capital, the average rate of interest being 12 per cent., the possessor must have had an income of rather more than 2 talents or 120 minas (483*l.*) a year; of which he did not pay the seventh part to the public: whereas at the present time an estate of 4350*l.* bearing interest does not produce on an average more than an income of 215*l.*, and from the excessive lowness of prices the means of enjoyment which the remaining six-sevenths of his income would have afforded would have been very great. Thus the marvel of the enormous taxes paid by the Athenian citizens is readily accounted for; in order to show which I have taken into consideration the whole passage of Lysias, including that part which does not relate to the choregia. Every age must be judged from itself; what appears incomprehensible in one, is in another perfectly natural*.

By the unfortunate termination of the Peloponnesian war (Olymp. 93, 4, B.C. 405), and the dominion of the thirty tyrants, the internal prosperity of Athens received as severe a shock as her foreign power, through the decline of house-rent and trade, and the loss of all foreign landed property. It is therefore easy to understand why, when Aristophanes represented the Æolo-

* Compare the passage of Antiphanes Athen. iii. p. 103, where the expenses of the choregus are thus described:

*Ἡ χορηγὸς αἱρεθεὶς
Ἱμάτια χρυσᾶ παρασχὼν τῷ χορῷ
ῥάκος φορεῖ.—TRANSL.

sicon and the second Plutus (Olymp. 97, 4, B.C. 389), there should have been no choregi for the comic chorus[665], although persons were found to fill this office in the archonship of Euclid (Olymp. 94, 2, B.C. 403). The parabasis disappeared from the comedy from another reason: after which the chorus only remained as an acting or interlocutory character, as it appeared in the second Plutus and in the new comedy, particularly in Menander. This is doubtless the abolition of the choregia, which the Scholiast to Aristophanes[666] states to have been effected by Cinesias, on account of the censure he had received from comic poets. Comedy however did not cease with the cessation of the chorus, which is a fresh proof that the choregus provided no part of the performance but the chorus. Demosthenes in the oration against Leptines[667] does not apprehend any want of choregi: but his own speeches, and even some circumstances of his own life, prove that in the 106th Olympiad (the effects of the social war having probably been still in operation), the full number of choregi could not be procured. The tribe Pandionis had supplied no choregus for three years, until a dispute having arisen between the archon and the managers of the tribes, Demosthenes voluntarily undertook the choregia[668]. In Olymp. 127, 2 (B.C. 271), we even find the state performing the part of choregus for the tribes Pandionis and Hippothontis, and it was moreover victorious in both instances, in the chorus of boys and men[669].

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Gymnasiarchy, or Provision of Sacred Games: the Hestiasis, or Feasting of the Tribes.

THE gymnasiarchy was, in the time of the Roman emperors, performed at Athens by gymnasiarchs, whose office sometimes lasted for a year, and sometimes for twelve or thirteen months,

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[665] Ἐπέλιπον οἱ χορηγοὶ, Platonius de Comœdia, p. 11, Aristoph. Vit. p. 14, with regard to the expression see Demosth. in Lept. § 18.

[666] Ran. 406.

[667] Ubi sup.

[668] Demosth. c. Mid. pp. 578, 579. Decree i. at the end of the Lives of the Ten Orators.

[669] Corp. Inscript. Gr. Nos. 225, 226.

who had the superintendence and care of the training schools, and the exercises performed under the instructions of the teachers (γυμνασταὶ, παιδοτρίβαι)[670]. With the later gymnasiarchy we are only acquainted from inscriptions. The annual gymnasiarchs, however, at that time provided for the sacred games which were performed by the gymnasts, the lampadephoria for example[671]. There is no reason for supposing that the ancient gymnasiarchs, with whom alone we have any concern, ever had the superintendence of the training schools. Ulpian[672] alone asserts that the gymnasiarchs were bound to supply a full crater of oil to such persons as wished to anoint themselves at the public expense: but it may be at once perceived with what ease this negligent writer may have seized upon some fact, and generalized what only held good of later times. Or even if the statement did refer to an earlier period, it was perhaps limited to those who were training for the sacred games. We therefore make a distinction, which has not always been sufficiently attended to, between the modern and ancient gymnasiarchy, and limit the latter to the superintendence of the sacred games.

We have now to ascertain what were the expenses of the gymnasiarch. He provided the oil, we are told upon the authority of Ulpian, a statement which I do not object to, although we learn from inscriptions that the oil was furnished to the gymnasiarchs in several places in ancient Greece, and even in Athens at the time of Hadrian; and that in many periods none but particular gymnasiarchs supplied the oil voluntarily[673]. Wolf conjectures that they also furnished the dust, and it is very possible that such was the practice. There is however another more important fact which we know without

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[670] Van Dale, Dissert. ad Marm. p. 584 sqq.

[671] Inscript. ap. Gruter, p. 317, 3 (Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 243), 79, 6 (and elsewhere in single passages), concerning which comp. Biagi Monum. Gr. et Lat. ex Mus. Nan. p. 43 sqq.

[672] Ad Lept. § 24.

[673] Instances of which are furnished by the well-known Sicilian inscription concerning the oil for the gymnasia, the ordinance of Hadrian with regard to the duty upon and the exportation of oil (Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 355), and the decree of the Salaminians, ibid. No. 108.

the aid of conjecture, viz., that the gymnasiarchs were bound to maintain and pay those persons who were training for the celebration of the festivals[674]: a burthen by no means inconsiderable, as the combatants required the most nourishing foods. The cost of ornamenting the place of combat for the festival, together with many other expensive preparations, doubtless also fell upon the gymnasiarch.

The lampadarchy, as being a particular species of the gymnasiarchy, deserves to be mentioned[675]. The lampadephoria on foot was a common solemnity; it was performed on horseback in the time of Socrates for the first time at Athens[676]. The art consisted in running fastest without extinguishing the torch: a feat in which there is no difficulty with the pitch-torches of modern days, but not easily performed with the waxen lights borne by the competitors, which were secured in a species of candlestick protected by a shield, as we learn from monuments of ancient art now extant. It is possible too that it was necessary to illumine the course, as the race took place at night. Games of this kind were only celebrated to the gods of fire; and five of them were held at Athens, one at the Hephæstea, the presiding deity of which was also worshipped at the Apaturia by men in sumptuous dresses, holding in their hands torches which they lighted at the sacred hearth in token of thanks for the use of fire; another at the Promethea in the exterior ceramicus in the Academy; another at the Panathenæa, perhaps however only at the great Panathenæa; manifestly because Minerva, as being the goddess of arts and companion of Vulcan, was also goddess of fire; she was also honoured at Corinth with the lampadephoria[677]; at the Bendidea, in which

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[674] Xenoph. de Rep. Ath. 1, 13, de Vectig. 4, 52.

[675] Aristot. Polit. v. 8.

[676] Plat. de Rep. init. Its different names are λαμπάς, λαμπαδηδρομία, λαμπαδηφορία, λαμπαδοῦχος ἄγών. See Meurs. Græcia Feriata, Castellan. de Fest. Græc. Van Dale ut sup. p. 504, Caylus Recueil d'Antiq. T. I. p. 17 sqq. Schneider ad Xenoph. de Vectig. p. 170.

[677] Harpocration in v. λαμπάς, and there Valesius, Suidas in v. λαμπάδος, Lex. Seg. p. 277, Aristoph. Ran. 1119, and the Scholiast, also Schol. Ran. 131. Concerning the lampadephoria in honour of Vulcan as a Grecian custom, see also Herod. viii. 98, of Prometheus

Diana Bendis appears in the character of goddess of the moon[678]: and lastly, at the annual games of Pan the god of fire[679].

For all these spectacles the gymnasiarchs had to provide: and, as considerable emulation existed, one person was appointed from each tribe for every game, whether accompanied or not with lampadephoria[680]. The gymnasiarchy was not by any means one of the inferior liturgies. A cyclic chorus, or a chorus of pyrrhichistæ, appears to have been generally less expensive. An inscription of the tribe Pandionis, of the time immediately succeeding the thirty tyrants, mentions the conquerors in the gymnasiarchy for the Promethea and the Hephæstea, together with those who had conquered at the Thargelia and Dionysia with a chorus of men or boys. The tribe confers the same honour upon the one as upon the other[681]. Isæus[682] classes the gymnasiarchy for lampadephoria with the trierarchy, the property-taxes in the class of the three hundred, and the tragic choregia. Aristotle includes it, together with the choregia, among the expensive and useless liturgies: Alcibiades and Nicias, who were distinguished for their great expenses upon public liturgies, performed the gymnasiarchy[683].

Pausan. i. 30, at Corinth in honour of Minerva Schol. Pind. Olymp. xiii. 56. That the Panathenaic lampadephoria was only celebrated at the great Panathenæa may perhaps be inferred from the anonymous author of the argument to the oration against Meidias, p. 510, as he states that gymnasiarchs were only appointed for the great festival. Into the inaccuracy of this limitation I shall not now however inquire. A gymnasiarch of the tribe Cecropis occurs in a mutilated inscription, Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 251.

[678] Plat. ubi sup. The lampadephoria in this passage has indeed been referred to the less Panathenæa, which would fall immediately after the Bendidea; Corsini has however shown that the less as well as the great Panathenæa were celebrated in the month Hecatombæon, and consequently are here out of place. See the above-cited inscription.

[679] Herod. vi. 105, Phot. in v. λαμπὰς, and Lex. Seg. ubi sup.

[680] Argum. ad Mid. ut sup. In the Lex. Seg. ubi sup. the γυμνασίαρχοι are simply called οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν λαμπαδοδρομιῶν, which explanation is too confined.

[681] Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 213.

[682] Isæus de Philoctem. Hered. p. 154, where the expression made use of is γυμνασιαρχεῖν λαμπάδι, with which comp. Xenoph. de Vectig. ut sup. ἐν ταῖς λαμπάσι γυμνασιαρχούμενοι.

[683] Isocrat. περὶ τοῦ ζεύγ. 15, Plutarch. Nic. et Crass. 2.

The client of Isæus in the speech for the inheritance of Apollodorus[684] boasts of his honourable gymnasiarchy for the Hephæstea. According to Lysias[685] a victorious gymnasiarchy for the Promethea cost 1200 drachmas.

The feasting of the tribes (ἑστίασις), a species of liturgy which occurred less frequently, was provided at the expense of particular persons selected from the tribe (ἑστιάτορες). Harpocration[686] informs us that if no person came forward voluntarily, some one was appointed by lot; which is stated as if upon the authority of the oration of Demosthenes against Meidias, where nothing of the kind occurs. It appears to be an incorrect inference from what is stated in that speech respecting the appointment of the choregi, the voluntary choregia of Demosthenes, and the order which was determined by lot in the election of the chorodidascalus[687]. The hestiatores were doubtless appointed, like all persons serving liturgies, according to the amount of their property, in some regular succession which is unknown to us[688]: for no burthen of this description could have been imposed upon a citizen by lot. The banquets which were provided at this liturgy, were different from the great feastings of the people, the expenses of which were defrayed from the funds of the theorica. Entertainments at the festivals of the tribes[689] (φυλετικὰ δεῖπνα) were introduced for sacred objects only, and for the maintenance of a friendly intercourse between the citizens of the tribe, and also from motives agree-

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[684] P. 184. This gymnasiarchy is also mentioned by Andocides (de Myst. 65) as having been performed by him, together with the archetheoria to the Isthmus and Olympia; and the same mentions his having gained a victory in a lampadephoria, and therefore by the gymnasiarchy, in his oration against Alcibiades, p. 133, it happened however earlier. Another victory was also obtained at the Panathenæa by the same person with an εὐανδρία, a game which also belonged to the liturgies (c. Alcib. *ubi sup.*) another with a chorus of boys at the Dionysia (Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 213), and again with a cyclic chorus (Vit. Dec. Orat. p. 229).

[685] See above, chap. 22.

[686] Harpocration in v. ἑστιάτωρ.

[687] Demosth. c. Mid. pp. 518, 519.

[688] This is φέρειν ἑστιάτορα. Demosth. c. Bœot. de Nom. p. 996, 24. The filling the office itself is called ἑστιᾶν τὴν φυλήν, Demosth. c. Mid. p. 565, 10.

[689] Athen. v. p. 185 C.

able to the spirit of democracy[690]. Delicacies were probably never provided; but meat was given at these banquets, as may be collected from Pollux[691]. If we reckon 2000 guests, and the cost of each at 2 oboli, which is probably rather under than above the truth, the expenses of an hestiasis may be estimated at nearly 700 drachmas.

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[690] Cf. Herald. ut sup. ii. 1, 12.

[691] iii. 67.

ΕΠΙΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣΦΡΥΝΙΩΝΟΣΔΗΜΑΡΧΟΥ

[Κ]ΑΤΑΤΑΔΕΜΙΣΘΟΥΣΙΝΠΕΙΡΑΙΕΙΣΠΑΡΑΛΙΑΝΚΑΙΑΛΜΥΡΙ
[Δ]ΑΚΑΙΤΟΘΗΣΕΙΟΝΚΑΙΤΑΛΛΑΤΕΜΕΝΗΑΠΑΝΤΑΤΟΥΣΜΙΣ[Θ]Ω
[Σ]ΑΜΕΝΟΥΣΥΠΕΡΔΔΡΑΧΜΑΣΚΑΘΙΣΤΑΝΑΙΑΠΟΤΙΜΗΜΑΤΗΣΜ
[Ι]ΣΘΩΣΕΩΣΑΞΙΟΧΡΕΩΝΤΟΥΣΔΕΕΝΤΟΣΔΔΡΑΧΜΑΝΕΓΓΥΝΤΗ
[Ν]ΑΠΟΔΙΔΟΜΕΝΟΝΤΑΕΑΥΤΟΥΤΗΣΜΙΣΘΩΣΕΩΣΕΠΙΤΟΙΣΔΕΜ
[Ι]ΣΘΟΥΣΙΝΑΝΕΠΙΤΙΜΗΤΑΚΑΙΑΤΕΛΗΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΣΕΙΣΦΟΡΑΓ
[Ι]ΓΝΗΤΑΙΑΠΟΤΩΝΧΩΡΙΩΝΤΟΥΤΙΜΗΜΑΤΟΣΤΟΥΣΔΗΜΟΤΑΣΕ
[Ι]ΣΦΕΡΕΙΝΤΗΝΔΕΥΛΙΝΚΑΙΤΗΝΓΗΝΜΗΕΞΕΣΤΩΕΞΑΓΕΙΝΤΟ
[Υ]ΣΜΙΣΘΩΣΑΜΕΝΟΥΣΜΗΤΕΕΚΤΟΥΘΗΣΕΙΟΥΜΗΤΕΕΚΤΩΝΑΛΛ
ΩΝΤΕΜΕΝΩΝΜΗΔΕΤΗΝΥΛΗΝΑΛΛΩΟΣΗΤΩΙΧΩΡΙΩΙΟΙΜΙΣ[Θ]Ω
ΣΑΜΕΝΟΙΤΟΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΤΟΥΣΧΟΙΝΟΥΝΤΟΣΚΑΙΣ
ΛΛΑΑΕΝΝΟΜΙΑΤΗΝΜΙΣΘΩΙΝΚΑΤΑΘΗΣΟΥΣΙΤΗΝΜΕΝΗΜΙΣ
ΕΑΝΕΝΤΩΙΕΚΑΤΟΜΒΑΙΩΝΙΤΗΝΔΕΗΜΙΣΕΑΝΕΝΤΩΙΠΟΣΙΔΕ
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ΕΣΤΙΝΕΡΓΑΣΙΜΑΠΟΕΙΝΚΑΤΑΤΑΔΕΕΡΓΑΣΟΝΤΑΙΤΑΜΕΝΕ
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ΜΙΣΕΑΝΑΡΟΥΝΚΑΙΜΗΠΛΕΙΑΟΠΩΣΑΝΤΩΙΜΙΣΘΩΣΑΜΕΝΩΙ
ΜΕΤΑΤΑΥΤΑΕΞΕΝΙΥΠΕΡΓΑΣΕΣΘΑΙΑΠΟΤΗΣΕΚΤΗΣΕΠΙΔΕΚ
ΑΤΟΥΑΝΘΕΣΤΗΡΙΩΝΟΣΕΑΝΔΕΠΛΕΙΩΑΡΟΣΕΙΗΤΗΝΗΜΙΣΕ
ΑΝΤΩΝΔΗΜΟΤΩΝΕΣΤΩΟΚΑΡΠΟΣΟΠΛΕΙΩΝΤΗΝΟΙΚΙΑΝΤΗΝ
* * * Λ * * * ΙΑΙΣΤΕΓΟΥΣΑΝΠΑΡΑΛΑΒΩΝΚΑΙΟΡΘΗΝΚΑΤΑΤ*
[desunt litterae xxxii]Ν* ΩΝΟΡΘΑΙ

Note [A], *p.* 307.

THE present inscription was first published by Chandler (ii. 110) from a very inaccurate transcript, together with a Latin version, and without any attempt at explanation. It was afterwards given by Professor Boeckh, in the Appendix to his *Staatshaushaltung* (vol. ii. p. 336), where he corrected many of Chandler's errors; and he has since repeated it with some additional improvements in his Collection of Greek Inscriptions (No. 103, vol. i. p. 141; cf. p. 900). As, however, after this last edition some difficulties still remained, which the inaccuracy of the transcript made use of by Mr. Boeckh placed in his way, the translator has thought it desirable to give in the form of a note a more correct copy, made by himself, from the original inscription, which is now preserved in the British Museum (No. 289).

The inscription consists of twenty-four lines, with the date, which is written in larger characters upon a projecting ledge of the stone, and has thus all its letters perfect, while the first letter of each of the next nine lines is lost. A transverse blow has destroyed the first seven letters of the twenty-third line, and nearly all the last line; the word ΟΡΘΑΙ appears, however, to have been the last of the inscription, as a part of the original under surface of the right corner still remains. It is written *στοιχηδόν*, each of the first fourteen lines, after the date, containing forty-three letters: but in the sixteenth line the stone-cutter had written ETIN for ΕΣΤΙΝ, and the T was afterwards changed into a Σ, the I into a T, and an I was inserted; so that after the correction, the number of letters is forty-four. The remaining lines contain only forty-two letters. There is no difference between O and Θ, and Λ is frequently put for A. In the vacancies for one letter in the eleventh and thirteenth lines, the surface of the stone appears to be perfectly preserved, and there is no trace of any letter having existed. In the sixteenth line, the nineteenth letter was at first E. The whole inscription may be thus written in modern characters.

Ἐπὶ Ἀρχίππου ἄρχοντος, Φρυνίωνος δημάρχου.

[Κ]ατὰ τάδε μισθοῦσιν Πειραιεῖς Παραλίαν καὶ Ἁλμυρί-
[δ]α καὶ τὸ Θησεῖον καὶ τἆλλα τεμένη ἅπαντα. τοὺς μισ[θ]ω-
[σ]αμένους ὑπὲρ: Δ: δραχμὰς καθιστάναι ἀποτίμημα τῆς μ-
5 [ι]σθώσεως ἀξιόχρεων, τοὺς δὲ ἐντὸς Δ δραχμῶν ἐγγυητὴ-
[ν] ἀποδιδόμενον τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τῆς μισθώσεως. ἐπὶ τοῖσδε μ-
[ι]σθοῦσιν ἀνεπιτίμητα καὶ ἀτελῆ. ἐὰν δέ τις εἰσφορὰ γ-
[ί]γνηται ἀπὸ τῶν χωρίων τοῦ τιμήματος, τοὺς δημότας ε-
[ἰ]σφέρειν. τὴν δὲ ὕλην καὶ τὴν γῆν μὴ ἐξέστω ἐξάγειν το-
10 [ὺ]ς μισθωσαμένους μήτε ἐκ τοῦ Θησείου μήτε ἐκ τῶν ἄλλ-

ων τεμενῶν· μηδὲ τὴν ὕλην **** ὅση τῷ χωρίῳ. οἱ μισ(θ)ωσάμενοι τὸ Θεσμοφόριον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σχοινοῦντος καὶ τ-ἄλλα ἐννόμια τὴν μίσθω(σ)ιν καταθήσουσι τὴν μὲν ἡμίσειαν ἐν τῷ Ἑκατομβαιῶνι, τὴν δὲ ἡμίσειαν ἐν τῷ Ποσιδεῶνι. οἱ μισθωσάμενοι Παραλίαν καὶ Ἀλμυρίδα καὶ τὸ Θησεῖον καὶ τἄλλα εἴ πού τι ἐστίν, ὅσα οἷόν τε καὶ θεμιτόν ἐστιν ἐργάσιμα ποεῖν, κατὰ τάδε ἐργάσονται, τὰ μὲν ἐννέα ἔτη ὅπως ἂν βούλωνται, τῷ δὲ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀροῦν καὶ μὴ πλείω, ὅπως ἂν τῷ μισθωσαμένῳ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῇ ὑπεργάζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἕκτης ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος· ἐὰν δὲ πλείω ἀρόσῃ ἢ τὴν ἡμίσειαν, τῶν δημοτῶν ἔστω ὁ καρπὸς ὁ πλείων· τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν [ἐν Ἀ]λ[μυρ]ίδι στέγουσαν παραλαβὼν καὶ ὀρθὴν κατὰ τ[ὴν συνθήκην. πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ οἰκίαι παραδιδόσθ]ων ὀρθαί.

In the third line, Δ is supplied from the word Ἀλμυρίδα in the fifteenth line, where it is written quite distinctly[1]: l. 4, ΕΓΓΥΝΤΗ[Ν], and l. 20, ΕΞΝΙ, for *ἐγγυητὴν* and *ἐξῇ*; l. 9, ΥΛΙΝ for *ὕλην*; l. 12, Σ for Τ (*τἄλλα ἐννόμια*[2], as in l. 3, *τἄλλα τεμένη ἅπαντα*, and l. 16, *τἄλλα εἴ πού τι ἐστίν*); l. 5, ΔΡΑΧΜΑΝ for *δραχμῶν*; l. 19, ΠΛΕΙΑ for *πλείω*; and l. 18, ΕΤΗΙ for *ἔτει*, are apparently mere errors of the engraver: but *ἡμίσεαν* in l. 14 and 19, *ποσιδεῶνι* in l. 14, *ποεῖν* in l. 17, and *ἀρόσει* in l. 21, are probably intentional.

The only difficulty is caused by the word which succeeds *ὕλην* in the eleventh line. The sense appears to require the infinitive mood of a verb signifying *to damage*, or *to cut*, or some equivalent expression. Ἀμᾶν has the proper number of letters, but the letter which follows the second Λ appears to be Ω[3]. In the twenty-first line also, the sense seems to require *ἀρόσωσι* for *ἀρόσῃ*; but the participle *παραλαβὼν* is evidently meant to refer to one person. Perhaps the chief tenant occupied the house in Halmyris. The word in the twenty-third line, which Chandler could not read, is *ὀρθήν*; the

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[1] Lex. ap. Bekk. Anecd. p. 383, 16, Ἀλμυρίδες: *τόπος τις περὶ τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς Ἀττικῆς.* Ἀριστοφάνης Τηρεῖ (f. Τήραι)

ἔδει δέ γέ σε βληθεῖσαν εἰς ἁλμυρίδας
. . . . . *τηδὶ μὴ παρέχειν γε πράγματα.*

[2] The word *ἐννόμιον* is rendered in the text by *pasture-land*, according to the last explanation of the author in his work on Inscriptions. It is used in a slightly different sense to signify a *fee for pasturing*, in an Orchomenian inscription. (Corp. Inscript. Græc. No. 1569; and see Boeckh's note, vol. i. page 743.)

[3] The author has suggested two different methods of explaining this passage; but they afford no assistance, as he was not aware that it was necessary to supply a letter.

letters are, however, quite distinct: the last word in the inscription is also *ὀρθαί*. It is used in the same sense by Thucydides (v. 42), where he says that the Athenians thought that they were wronged by the destruction of Panactum, *ὃ ἔδει ὀρθὸν παραδοῦναι*, and in chap. 46, *Πάνακτόν τε ὀρθὸν ἀποδιδόναι καὶ Ἀμφίπολιν*. The words inclosed between brackets in the last two lines are restored upon conjecture, but probably are not far from the sense of the original. In the place of the ninth letter from the end, there appear, however, to be some traces of a N.

For *ἀποδιδόμενον* in l. 6, Mr. Dobree conjectured *ὑποτιθέμενον*: see his Miscellaneous Notes on Inscriptions, p. 13.

Concerning the word *ἀποτίμημα* in l. 4, see above, p. 143, note 682.

BOOK IV.

OF THE EXTRAORDINARY REVENUES OF THE ATHENIAN STATE.

CHAPTER I.

Subject of the Fourth Book stated. General nature of the Property Tax in Attica.

THE extraordinary revenues of the Athenian state, which stand next for consideration, were either provided for as occasion required, according to some established law or custom, or they were raised by arbitrary measures, which, though repugnant to the spirit of the constitution, the state was induced to have recourse to in order to relieve itself in pecuniary distresses.

With regard to the first of these modes, the imposts were of two kinds, the one a fixed and direct tax, the other the liturgies. An acquaintance with both these methods of taxation presupposes an investigation into the national wealth and valuation of Attica, without which every inquiry of the sort must be considered imperfect, obscure, and barren; yet the writers on the liturgies up to this time have hardly bestowed a thought upon the subject. Such an investigation is, indeed, entangled with no small difficulties, so scanty, incomplete, and indeterminate are the data which have come down to us.

This examination will be most suitably combined with that of the property tax (*εἰσφορὰ*), with which the determination of the national wealth is closely connected. For it seems to have been thought that the great demands which were occasioned by war could not be satisfied in any better manner than by taxes upon property; from which very circumstance it may be concluded that these imposts did not exist in very early times. Before the Peloponnesian war the Athenians had no occasion to raise frequent and considerable taxes on property; the

citizens served for a long time without pay, the ships were equipped by the trierarchs, the sieges produced but little expense, as the art of conducting them was still in its infancy; in later times, when pay was introduced, and wars had become more costly, the expenses were defrayed out of the tributes. It may, therefore, be reasonably doubted whether, before the period alluded to, any direct tax whatever had been imposed at Athens. If any had been levied, it must have been under the name of a duty connected with the valuation (τέλος); a point, indeed, upon which we are almost wholly uninformed, although it appears to have been sometimes resorted to, since every institution necessary for it was in existence, and the inquiry as to the services due according to the valuation was already in use. Of this, however, elsewhere. In the mean time, it is certain that the first extraordinary property tax (εἰσφορὰ) was occasioned by the siege of Mytilene in Olymp. 88, 1 (B. C. 428), when, the public treasure being exhausted, 200 talents were thus raised. This Thucydides[1] expressly testifies; and it is to be observed, that he does not mean merely the first property tax in the Peloponnesian war, but the first absolutely; for such is the correctness of his style, that he would have more dis-

[1] iii. 19, which passage should evidently be thus written: Προσδεόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι χρημάτων ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσενέγκαντες τότε πρῶτον εἰσφορὰν διακόσια τάλαντα, ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀργυρολόγους ναῦς δέκα, &c. Comp. Poppo Obser. p. 162. [The following remarks upon this passage are made by Tittmann, in his *Darstellung der Griechischen Staatsverfassungen*, p. 41, note 31. "That the extraordinary property tax was not introduced at Athens until the Peloponnesian war, cannot, as it appears to me, be proved from Thucyd. iii. 19, the only meaning which this passage can have is, that the amount before collected had never been so great as 200 talents. We are told that the naucrari collected the property taxes (Pollux viii. 108, Hesychius in v. *ναύκλαρος*, Ammonius in v. *ναύκραροι*, Thomas Magister in v. *ναύκληροι*, and Böckh himself remarks it in book iv. chap. 6); but the appellation Naucrari in this sense did not exist after the time of Cleisthenes (Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 37, Harpocration in v. *δήμαρχος*, Photius in v. *ναυκράρια* 2, all from Aristotle), and therefore we are compelled to suppose that property taxes had existed at Athens before the time of Cleisthenes. And it appears also from Thucyd. i. 141, that the extraordinary property taxes levied in war were throughout Greece general before the Peloponnesian war, particularly in Sparta, and probably in Athens as well."—TRANSL.]

tinctly signified the former meaning, had he intended to convey it. Thus the property tax is also, by its later origin, distinguished from the liturgies. In subsequent times, however, these taxes appear to have recurred in frequent succession, for even in Olymp. 88, 4 (B.C. 425), Aristophanes[2] speaks of their imposition as a common event; but for any other object than war, a property tax was scarcely ever levied at Athens, unless it happened that the funds of the administration had been already applied to the uses of war, and it was necessary that they should be replaced by a property tax; or that money was required to pay off loans, as was the case after the government of the thirty tyrants; although in other states property taxes were sometimes imposed in time of peace to provide even for the payment of salaries[3]. For this reason the generals were not only entrusted with the management and collection of these taxes, under the regulation of a decree of the people, but they presided over the court of justice, in which the disputes connected with this subject were decided[4]; as, for example, when any person was too highly rated, which in early times, either from hatred or revenge, not unfrequently occurred[5].

It is to be observed, that no citizen could be exempted from the property tax, although this privilege was once granted to some resident aliens, who had probably obtained an immunity as members of a foreign state before the period of their settlement in Attica[6]. According to Demosthenes this was neither permitted by recent nor ancient laws, not even for the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton[7]. The exemption supposed to have existed in favour of the merchants cannot be looked upon as at all established[8]; orphans were indeed exempted from the liturgies, but not from the property taxes, as Heraldus has remarked[9]; for Demosthenes paid them when an orphan, and if it had been done voluntarily, he would not

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[2] Eq. 922.
[3] Aristot. Polit. vi. 5.
[4] Wolf Proleg. in Lept. p. xciv.
[5] Aristoph. ut sup.
[6] See below chap. 10.
[7] Demosth. c. Lept. §. 15 (p. 462, 15), §. 22 (p. 465, 1).
[8] See book i. ch. 15.
[9] Anim. vi. 1, 7.

have failed to dwell upon such a circumstance, where he boasts of having been the leader of a symmoria during his minority[10]. Even the trierarchs were obliged to pay this impost[11]; and the only payment from which they could legally be exempted was the advance of the property tax[12]. Other opulent persons, if they had not to serve the trierarchy, were *a fortiori* liable to the property tax; so that all other members of the community, who were subject to the performance of liturgies, were bound to pay it, even if they could not be forced to serve the trierarchy[13]: it is, in fact, evident from the nature of the case, that all persons who were not completely destitute were subject to this tax, even if they were incapable of performing liturgies.

CHAPTER II.

The Sources of Wealth in Attica, and the Measures adopted by the State for increasing it.

How much the state took from the property of individuals, what sum could be supplied, if a fixed portion of it was required, and according to what principles the taxation was assessed, cannot be clearly understood without a knowledge of the national wealth.

Since I shall endeavour to explain this question, it will not be foreign to purpose, in the first instance, to inquire what were the sources of wealth which Attica actually possessed, and how far that care for the increase of the national wealth, which has (no matter whether successfully or not) been attempted by modern governments, was an object much considered by the administration of Athens.

Not to dwell on this subject longer than is necessary, I

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[10] C. Mid. p. 565. Another example of a property tax paid for wards occurs in Isæus ap. Dionys. Is. p. 108, 5, according to the correct explanation of Reiske, Or. Græc. vol. vii. p. 331.

[11] Xenoph. Œcon. 2, 6. Lys. ἀπολ. δωροδ. p. 698 sqq. pro Aristoph. bonis p. 633. Demosth. c. Lept. § 24 (p. 465, 25).

[12] See book iii. ch. 21.

[13] Demosth. c. Lept. ibid.

shall content myself with remarking, that in a democracy the importance of the welfare and prosperity of the people must have been more evident than under any other form of government. Poverty would either produce troubles and violent commotions, or the burthen of maintaining the poor would press on the community at large. If the distress should be prolonged, the possibility of enforcing the public liturgies would be rendered doubtful. It is thus that the wealth of the citizens produced far more immediate advantage to the state than with any other constitution whatever. "The liturgies voluntarily performed by individuals from their own property, must be considered," says a client of Lysias[14], "as the surest revenues of the state. If, therefore, you counsel well, you will take no less care of our property than of your own; since you well know that you will be able to make use of all our resources, as you have done before. And I should conceive that you are all well aware that I am a better manager of my own affairs than those who administer the property of the state: if you make me poor, you will, at the same time, injure yourselves, and others will squander away my money, as has been so often the case before." But although the prosperity of the commonwealth depends upon the welfare of individuals, yet the remark that every one is the best manager of his own property seems to have been evident to the Athenians, and, with the exception of Sparta, to the other states of ancient Greece: they thought that every one could best take care of himself, and that artificial assistance was unnecessary.

Again, in the best times of the Athenian state, nothing existed which could have impeded the public welfare; except that the liturgies, if they were unequally divided, were attended with pernicious consequences. The property taxes were only imposed in times of war, and the duties of customs and excise were inconsiderable. Attica derived her prosperity from agriculture and the breeding of cattle, from manufactures and commerce. For the encouragement of trade everything was done which was considered advantageous. Retail-trade or

[14] Lys. ἀπολ. δωροδ. p. 704.

shop-keeping was not, indeed, an honourable employment, but according to law it could not bring disgrace upon any one[15]. Agriculture stood high in the public estimation, and particular branches of it were protected by law, such, for example, as the cultivation of olives. Mining flourished as much as circumstances would permit: nor was the breeding of cattle discouraged by any taxes, as in countries under a despotic government. No restraint was ever placed upon industry at Athens[16], although manual labour was considered unworthy of a citizen. The law proposed by Diophantus, as it was never actually passed, must not be quoted as an example to the contrary; this person wished to degrade the manual labourers to the condition of public slaves (*δημόσιοι*); that is, to deprive them of the rights of citizenship, and to reduce them to a condition similar to that of the Cretan Clarotæ, the Penestæ, or the Helots; a project altogether at variance with the spirit of the age, and emanating from the violence of aristocratical oppression, by the operation of which Athens would have been again degraded to that level above which she had raised herself ever since the time of Solon. This attempt, however, was just as impracticable as if it had been wished again to introduce bondage in a state where it had been long abolished, or to make the citizens in the republics the slaves of the nobility*.

Many demagogues particularly encouraged manufactures and industry, as has been noticed in different places; and in few states were they so flourishing as in Athens. According to very ancient laws, vagrants who followed no occupation were not tolerated; every person was obliged to signify by what means he supported himself[17]. Against the unemployed poor the action for idleness (*δίκη ἀργίας*) could be instituted[18]: the law did not even allow unemployed slaves (*ἀργοὶ οἰκέται*) to be kept[19]. Parents were bound to cause their children to be taught some profession, or they had no claim to be maintained by them in

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[15] Petit Leg. Att. v. 6, 5.

[16] Comp. book i. ch. 9.

* Concerning the proposal of Diophantus, see b. i. note 178.—TRANSL.

[17] Herod. ii. 177, Diod. i. 77.

[18] Comp. Petit v. 6, 1.

[19] Petit ii. 6. 12.

old age[20]. Unfortunately indeed those laws, as is usually the case, fell into disuse, as the powers of the state were more fully developed, and by means of wars and the system of judicature, many hands were withdrawn from labour; the wages in the assembly, in the courts of justice, and in the army and navy, were looked to as professional rewards, and they appeared the less disadvantageous to the state, as the expenses were in great part defrayed out of the revenues of subject communities.

Chapter III.

Instances of the Property of Athenian Citizens, and of the Distribution of the National Wealth among the different classes of the People.

In order to give an idea of the national wealth of Attica, it is first of all necessary to adduce examples of the property of individuals (though from their nature they cannot be perfectly vouched for), so that by a comparison of them it may be made evident what was a small, and what a moderate or a large property, particularly with regard to the interval of time between Pericles and Alexander. Previously to this period, property when valued in silver, was naturally of far less amount.

The Alcmæonidæ were always a noble and wealthy family at Athens; but their fortunes were chiefly raised in the age of Solon by Alcmæon the son of Megacles, Crœsus having made him a present of twice as much gold as he could carry[21]. In this manner he might have received about 5 talents of gold, which at the most amounted to 75 talents of silver; his former property was probably not a third or fourth part of this sum: and although he may at that time have far exceeded all his fellow-citizens in wealth, yet at a later period this would no longer have been the case. On the other hand, we meet in the same age with many instances of inconsiderable properties; how

[20] Petit. ii. 4, 13, 16. [Dionysius Ant. Rom. xx. 2. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν δόξης ἔτυχον, ὅτι τοὺς ῥαθύμους καὶ ἀργοὺς καὶ μηδὲν ἐπιτηδεύοντας τῶν χρησίμων ὡς ἀδικοῦντας τὸ κοινὸν ἐζημίουν.—Transl.]

[21] Herod. vi. 125, and the commentators.

many persons were there who had not so much as a talent, or even less than 10 minas; of which it is needless to quote any examples, as poverty was generally prevalent. The possessor of a talent was able indeed to live upon it, so that he was not exactly classed with the indigent; but yet a property of this amount was always inconsiderable. Families of 1 or 2 talents (*οἶκοι ταλαντιαῖοι, διτάλαντοι*), which were numerous, did not therefore serve any liturgies[22]. Families possessing 3, 4, and 5 talents are frequently mentioned; thus Æschines the orator inherited an estate of 5 talents, which he farther increased by his own gains; thus, for example, he added to it, according to Demosthenes, 2 talents, which the managers of the symmoriæ had given him[23]. Isæus[24] furnishes an instance of an estate of nearly 4 talents, one of whose clients states that he had land in Œnoë worth 50 minas, together with the estate of Hagnias amounting to 2 talents 40 minas, to which 10 minas must be added for some item that has fallen out of the MSS., making altogether 3 talents 40 minas. Stratocles and his brother, according to the account of Isæus[25], received from their father a fortune just sufficient for their maintenance, from which however they were not able to perform any liturgies; Stratocles by the adoption of his daughter obtained a property of more than 2½ talents, and gained by being in possession of this sum for nine years 5½ talents, partly in money, raw products, and cattle, partly in lands and agricultural implements, which, together with the property of his daughter, amounted to 8 talents. The property of Critobulus is estimated by Xeno-

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[22] Book iii. ch. 21.

[23] Demosth. de Corona, p. 329, 15.

[24] De Hagn. Hered. p. 294. In order to understand this passage I must make the following remarks. The speaker's property is stated to be about 110 minas less than the property of Stratocles. Now the property of Stratocles amounted to 330 minas; consequently the property of the former person must have been 220. Something must therefore have fallen out, and be restored in some such way as this: *χωρίον ἐν Οἰνόῃ πεντακισχιλίων, οἰκία χιλίων.* The *πρὸς δὲ τούτοις* which follows shows that two separate sums preceded. As to the rest the calculation is quite clear, and though Reiske cannot see his way through it, we excuse him for the sake of his frank confession (p. 295): *Verum, fatebor enim, ad calculandum et omnes omnino artes mathematicas invita Minerva natus sum.*

[25] Ibid. p. 292 sqq.

phon[26] at 500 minas (8⅓ talents) and over: he was considered a rich man. Timocrates was possessed of more than 10 talents[27]; Dicæogenes had an annual income of 80 minas[28], which implies a property of about 11 talents, and this was looked upon as something considerable. Diodotus, a merchant in moderate circumstances, was possessed, according to the statement of Lysias[29], of 5 talents of silver, which he paid down to the guardian appointed for his children; he had 7⅔ talents vested in bottomry, and 1000 drachmas in the Chersonese, and besides bequeathed to his wife 2000 drachmas and 30 Cyzicenic staters; to this must be added the furniture of his house, and perhaps an estate in the Chersonese, from which his family received supplies of corn every year, amounting altogether to 14 talents. Demosthenes' father left at his death 14 talents, his mother had a dowry of 50 minas, so that the property of the son was estimated in the registers of the valuation at 15 talents[30]. Under it the following articles were comprised; two workshops with thirty sword-cutlers and twenty chair-makers, a talent lent out at 12 per cent., together valued at 4 talents 50 minas, the yearly profit of which was 50 minas; moreover, about 80 minas in ivory, iron, and timber, 90 in varnish and brass, a house worth 30 minas, furniture, cups, gold, clothes, ornaments, belonging to his mother, worth 100 minas, 80 minas in ready money, 70 minas lent out upon bottomry, and 106 minas lent out in other ways, altogether about 14 talents: in this enumeration the female slaves are not included[31]. Phænippus[32] had an estate on the borders in Cytheron, of 40 square stadia at the lowest, the yearly returns of which were more than 1000 medimni of barley and 800 metretæ of wine, from which in dear times, when barley was at 18 and wine at 12 drachmas, he received 27,600

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[26] Œcon. 2, comp. book i. ch. 20.

[27] Demosth. c. Onetor. i. p. 866, extr.

[28] Isæus de Dicæog. Hered. p. 110.

[29] In Diogit. p. 894 sqq. I cannot see any sufficient reason why Canter and Taylor (p. 902, Reiske) should wish to read 2000 drachmas in the Chersonese instead of 1000. [The former number has however been received by Bekker from a MS., Or. Att. i. p. 469.—TRANSL.]

[30] Demosth. c. Aphob. pp. 814, 815.

[31] P. 828, 2.

[32] See the speech against Phænippus p. 1040, and there Reiske.

drachmas: if we take only the fourth part as the common price (although the orator assumes the third part), he received from it regularly an income of 7000 drachmas; besides this he sold wood from it every year which produced 40 minas. He had therefore an annual income of about 110 minas, whence his estate, according to the usual interest of 12 per cent., cannot be estimated at less than 15 talents.

The owner of this amount of property was considered as a person of some opulence, as the rate of interest was high and the prices of commodities low. At the same time many Athenians were far wealthier. Onetor, according to Demosthenes[33], was possessed of more than 30 talents; Ergocles is also said to have embezzled the same sum[34]. The property of Isocrates cannot have been less, for he had at one time about 100 scholars, and received from each 10 minas, from Timotheus a talent, from Euagoras 20 talents[35]. Conon left at his death about 40 talents, of which he bequeathed 5000 staters, about 100,000 drachmas to Minerva and the Delphian Apollo, 10,000 drachmas to a relation, 3 talents to his brother, after which 17 talents remained for his son Timotheus[36]: perhaps however only the ready money is intended, for the family appears to have possessed much landed property from early times[37]. Stephanus the son of Thallus passed for a man worth more than 50 talents, yet he only left behind him[38] 11 talents, probably because he had squandered away much money in the course of an extravagant life. In the same manner Ischomachus was considered in his lifetime to have possessed more than 70 talents[39], yet after his death his two sons received only 2 talents a piece; but flatterers and parasites had consumed his substance[40], so that it cannot be wondered that he left at his death less than it was thought that he possessed; it is only a matter of surprise that Xenophon[41] should quote this man, if the same person is really meant, as an example of economy. The property of the cele-

[33] C. Onetor. p. 867, 1.
[34] Lysias c. Philocr. p. 828.
[35] Lives of the Ten Orators.
[36] Lys. pro Aristoph. bonis, p. 639.
[37] Plutarch. Solon. 15.
[38] Lysias ut sup. p. 648.
[39] Lys. ut sup. p. 647.
[40] Heraclid. ap. Athen. xii. p. 537, D.
[41] Œcon. 6 sqq.

brated banker Pasion, a naturalized foreigner, was of equal magnitude; he possessed about 20 talents in land, including a shield manufactory, and slaves which produced a talent a year; and in addition to this, 50 talents of money lent out at interest, of which 11 talents were not his own[42]. His houses alone yielded a rent of 30 minas a year; the banking-shop produced an annual income of 100 minas. His son Apollodorus, who inherited the half of his property, not only lived extravagantly, but devoted a large part of his property to the public service[43]. It appears also from the works of Demosthenes that he was involved in many law-suits; which will account for his being found to possess no more than 3 talents[44] when he was called upon to pay a large fine, although he is said to have received more than 40 talents in twenty years.

Among the wealthy families I should first mention the house of Nicias. Nicias the son of Niceratus, the unfortunate general, was remarkable for his large possessions, from which he contributed munificently both to the state and to the worship of the gods[45]. This is the person whom Athenæus calls the richest of all the Greeks; his property was so considerable that, according to Xenophon, he had 1000 slaves of his own in his mines[46]. That this is the individual alluded to by Xenophon does not require any proof, for he is evidently speaking of a person of the age of Socrates; his property was valued at 100 talents, consisting chiefly of moveables[47]. His son Niceratus, who is called nearly the most distinguished and the wealthiest person in Athens[48], was killed at the time of the thirty tyrants, who were tempted by his wealth to put him to death. He

[42] Demosth. c. Phorm. pp. 945, 946. The words Ἐν οὖν τοῖς πεντήκοντα ταλάντοις occasion in this place a considerable difficulty, which the commentators have not thought proper to touch upon. According to the sense their meaning must be, that together with his own 50 talents he had also lent out 11 belonging to other people. Heraldus (ii. 5, 13 sqq.) therefore proposes to read σὺν οὖν: perhaps however ἐν can be retained, in the sense of *among* his own 50 talents, *between* them, as it were intermixed with them.

[43] Demosth. ut sup. p. 956 sqq.

[44] Orat. c. Neær. p. 1354, 16.

[45] Thucyd. vii. 86.

[46] Athen. vi. p. 272 E, Xenophon Memorab. ii. 5, 2, de Vectig. 4, 14, Plutarch. Nic. 4, comp. book i. ch. 13.

[47] Lys. pro Aristoph. bonis, p. 648.

[48] Diod. xiv. 5; comp. Xenoph. Hell. ii. 3, 18, Lys. c. Poliuch. p. 602, Plutarch. Es. Carn. ii. 4.

affirmed that he neither left behind him gold nor silver; but his son Nicias received 14 talents in land, and other property[49]. I conjecture therefore that Niceratus had previously made some secret transfer of his property, and I find a slight confirmation of this supposition in the account given by Isocrates[50] of a Nicias, who in the time of the thirty tyrants mortgaged his lands, sent his slaves out of the country, and gave his money and furniture in trust to a friend. This was probably the son of the Nicias who was executed, and it is possible that his father may have transferred the property to him previously to his voyage from Athens; the Nicias of Pergase, who squandered away his substance with flatterers[51], is probably the same person; and Niceratus of Acherdus, notwithstanding the difference of the demus, appears to be his son, whom Demosthenes[52] calls a son of Nicias, beloved, childish, and effeminate, who was still alive in Olymp. 106, 4 (B.C. 353), and since he was able to perform the trierarchy, must have still retained a considerable property; with him this celebrated family became extinct.

Still more distinguished both in rank and in wealth was the

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[49] Lys. pro Aristoph. bonis ut sup. The date of this oration is Olymp. 98, which must be observed in order to prevent confusion between the different individuals of this family.

[50] C. Euthyn. 3.

[51] Athen. xii. p. 537 D, Ælian V. H. iv. 23.

[52] C. Mid. p. 567, 24, cf. p. 568, 24. The same person is probably meant in Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 534, 15, c. Conon. p. 1266, 26. In this account of the family of Nicias, having paid no regard to the errors of modern scholars, I will now touch upon them slightly. The confusion which St. Croix (Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, t. xlviii. pp. 165, 172) has made, is the most singular, as he refers the passages of Xenophon and Athenæus concerning Nicias the general, who was executed in Sicily, to his grandson Nicias, and asserts of the other that he died childless, referring to Demosthenes against Meidias, where his great-grandson Niceratus is said to have died without children. Markland (ad Lys. pro Aristoph. bonis) supposes that the childless Niceratus was the Niceratus who was executed in Olymp. 94, 1, and by that means involves himself in inextricable difficulties, from which he wishes to relieve himself by an absurd emendation: the truth however is that the one was the grandfather of the other. The elder died in Olymp. 94, 1, the younger was living at the time of the suit against Meidias. That the former had a son may be also seen from Lys. c. Poliuch. p. 604. Spalding also (ad Mid.) and Reiske (Ind. Histor. ad Demosth.) have confounded these two persons.

family of Hipponicus and Callias, which derived its origin from Triptolemus, and had the hereditary dignity of torch-bearer (δᾳδοῦχος) in the Eleusinian mysteries[53]. The first of this family whom we hear of was the Hipponicus, who is said to have bought much land with borrowed money a short time before the changes introduced by Solon in the 46th Olympiad (B.C. 594)[54]. It should be observed, however, that as a charge of having obtained his wealth unjustly is implied in this statement, it may have originated in the envy of his countrymen. Phænippus, the father of the first Callias, was probably his brother; this Callias had large possessions, and he bought the property of Pisistratus as often as he was driven out[55], expended much money in keeping horses, was conqueror in the Olympic games, gave great dowries to his daughters, and permitted all three the liberty of choosing among the Athenians whatever husbands they wished. His son Hipponicus the second, surnamed Ammon, is said to have been made still richer than his father by the treasures of a Persian general which Diomnestus of Eretria had acquired on the first irruption of the Persians into Greece (Olymp. 72, 3, B.C. 490), and which upon the second invasion he gave in custody to Hipponicus; and the latter, as all the captive Eretrians were sent to Asia, was unable to return them[56]; a story, which is deserving of credit, since even the name of the Eretrian is mentioned. Callias the second, the torch-bearer, called Laccoplutus from his great riches, was the son of this Hipponicus; he was held to be the richest of the Athenians[57], and his property was valued at 200 talents[58]; he was appointed ambassador to the Persian court, and subsequently paid a fine of 50 talents to the state[59]. He

[53] Xenoph. Hell. vi. 3, 2, Andoc. de Myst. p. 57 sqq. and elsewhere in the account of Callias the second.

[54] Plut. Solon. 15.

[55] Herod. vi. 121.

[56] Heraclid. Pont. ap. Athen. xii. p. 536 F.

[57] Plut. Aristid. 25.

[58] Lys. pro Aristoph. bonis, p. 649 sqq.

[59] See book iii. ch. 12. The author mentions in the Addenda that "since Callias the second, the torch-bearer, gained such fame by the conclusion of the peace of Cimon, that the Athenians are said to have erected at that time an altar to Peace (Plutarch. Cimon. 13), one might be inclined to question the reality of the fines to which he is said to have been con-

is said to have obtained his cognomen from an occurrence which took place at the battle of Marathon, at which there can be no doubt that he was present: the story is, that a Persian pointed out to him a treasure buried in the earth, that he killed the communicator of the secret, and carried away the money; it is however more probable that this fable arose from his cognomen, and from the account handed down concerning his father, especially as the story is differently narrated, and the battle of Salamis substituted for that of Marathon[60]. His large possessions passed into the hands of his son Hipponicus the third, whose wife afterwards married Pericles; in family and riches this one too is ranked among the first of the Greeks[61]. According to Xenophon he had 600 slaves in the mines, and he is even said to have applied for and obtained permission from the state to build a house upon the Acropolis, in which to deposit his treasures, as they were not sufficiently secure at his own residence; a circumstance which appears afterwards to have vexed him when he was reminded of it by his friends[62]. His daughter, who married Alcibiades, received a dowry of 10 talents, which was the first instance of so large a sum having been given by a Grecian; 10 others were to be added when she had a son[63]. Hipponicus was killed in the battle of Delium (Olymp. 89, B.C. 424), where he was general: and Callias the third, the torch-bearer, succeeded him, who must have inherited his father's property when a youth; he was celebrated for his riches and liberality. Sophists, flatterers, and courtesans, helped to consume his substance. When he filled the office of general (Olymp. 96, 4, B.C. 393), he probably spent his own

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demned. Pausanias (1, 8, 3) on the other hand, influenced by the latter circumstance, appears even to question the merits of Callias as merely relying upon popular report; the Athenians indeed recognised them by the erection of a metal statue to his memory, which, however, as well as the statues of Lycurgus, of Demosthenes, and of the goddess of Peace, together with which it stood, were unquestionably not erected till later times, and for that reason cannot afford any decisive testimony in his favour."

[60] The passages are Plut. Aristid. 5, Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 65, Hesych. Suid. and Photius in v. λακκόπλουτος.

[61] Andoc. de Myst. p. 64, Isocr. περὶ τοῦ ζεύγ. 13, Plut. Alcib. 8.

[62] Heraclid. ut sup.

[63] Plut. Alcib. ut sup. Andoc. c. Alcib. p. 117.

private fortune instead of increasing it: the duties of the Spartan proxenia may also have been performed by him in an expensive manner. About the 98th Olympiad (B.C. 388) his property did not amount to 2 talents; and at an advanced age, after having gone as ambassador to Sparta so late as in Olymp. 102, 2 (B.C. 371), he died in indigence[64]. His son, Hipponicus the fourth, cannot therefore have inherited much from his father. Whether Callias, the son of Calliades, who gave Zeno 100 minas for instructing him[65], and, as is evident from this fact, was a man of considerable wealth, belonged to this family, cannot be determined; but the rich Callias of inferior descent, who obtained his property by mining, and who paid for Cimon the great fine imposed on Miltiades[66], was unconnected with this house.

The property of Alcibiades, who was doubly related to the noble Callias, was very considerable. His family estate only indeed amounted to 300 plethra of land, although Cleinias his ancestor, doubtless his great-grandfather, is mentioned among those who made a dishonest use of the seisachtheia of Solon, for the purpose of increasing their property[67]; and the ornaments of his mother Deinomache are estimated by Socrates, as mentioned in Plato (or whoever was the author of the first Alcibiades), at only 50 minas. There cannot however be any doubt that he had much other property, for his father Cleinias

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[64] Concerning the reduced circumstances of this Callias, see Heraclid. ut sup. Lysias ut sup. (in Olymp. 96) Ælian. Var. Hist. iv. 16, 23; and compare Perizonius upon the latter passage. Concerning him as general, ambassador, daduchus, and Spartan proxenus, see Xenoph. Hell. iv. 5, 13, v. 4, 22, vi. 3, 2 sqq. and in order to obtain the date of the event mentioned in the last passage, Diod. xv. 51, and the commentators. The jest of Iphicrates in Aristot. Rhet. iii. 2, refers to the poverty of this vain and noble torch-bearer. He is well known from Plato. Many have written upon this family, particularly Perizon. ad Ælian. V. H. xiv. 16, Larcher ad Herod. vi. 121, Küster ad Aristoph. Av. 284, and the writers quoted by Fischer ad Plat. Apol. 4. I have only here wished to adduce what relates to their wealth, and to the distinction between the different individuals.

[65] Plat. Alcib. i. p. 119 A, and there Buttmann.

[66] Plut. Cim. 4, Nepos Cim. 1.

[67] Plat. Alcib. i. p. 123 C, Plut. Sol. 15. With regard to the double relationship, Alcibiades' mother was of the family of Hipponicus (Dem. adv. Mid. p. 561, 20; comp. Spalding, p. 74 sqq.), and he himself married the sister of Callias.

had a trireme of his own in the Persian war, which he manned at his private cost: and his gains could not have been trifling during the four or five years that he was general, as the different states willingly gave him twice as much as they gave to others: his property was estimated at more than 100 talents, and if we find that he left behind him less than he had received from his guardians[68], this fact can only be explained by his profligacy and extravagance, and the extraordinary reverses of his life.

Upon the whole, the office of general and places connected with the administration of public money enriched the persons who filled them. Themistocles was not possessed of 3 talents before he entered upon the management of public affairs, and he had no scruples about taking money when any favourable occasion offered. Thus he received 30 talents from the Eubœans for an object of great utility, of which he embezzled 25, having attained his purpose with only 5[69]; when he fled to Asia, he saved part of his property by the assistance of some friends, and yet what accrued to the state, according to Theopompus, amounted to 100 talents, according to others to still more, and according to Theophrastus to 80[70]. Cleon the leather-seller was so deeply involved in debt, that nothing that he had was unmortgaged, before he became a demagogue; his well-known rapacity gained him 50, or, according to another reading, 100 talents[71]. The account is unquestionably exaggerated which Dinarchus[72] gives of Demosthenes having by Persian and other bribes gradually obtained 150 talents, although he was not possessed of any landed property, and was not even able to pay the fine, when judgment was passed against him in the case of Harpalus. Of others who lived in the same age the last I shall mention is Diphilus, whose confiscated property produced 160 talents[73]. Common report ascribed to Epicrates, as Lycurgus mentioned, a property of 600 talents[74].

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[68] Lys. de Aristoph. bonis, p. 654.

[69] Herod. viii. 4, 5.

[70] Plut. Themist. 25, Ælian. Var. Hist. x. 17.

[71] Ælian. ut sup. and there Perizon.

[72] Adv. Demosth. pp. 50, 51.

[73] Lives of the Ten Orators in the Life of Lycurgus. Comp. above, book i. ch. 7, and my Dissertation upon the Silver-mines of Laurium.

[74] Harpocrat. and Suidas in v. Ἐπικράτης.

Although these data are not sufficient to express the national wealth in a determinate number, yet they justify us generally in asserting that it was not inconsiderable, as compared with the actual circumstances of Greece. Demosthenes[75], in reference to this very point, states that the resources of Athens were nearly equal to those of all the other states. It appears that in the better times property was divided into nearly equal portions; that is to say, most persons had only as much as they used: no one was so poor that he disgraced the state by begging[76]: the rich however shared their property with the poor in order to obtain popularity, as was the case with Cimon; and when we are told that the people was poor (πένης)[77], this statement refers to the more recent times; nor, according to the Grecian idiom, does it mean that the majority of the nation were wholly destitute of property. The land also appears to have been much divided; even wealthy citizens, such as Alcibiades or Aristophanes[78], did not possess more than 30 plethra, or thereabouts. In the age of Demosthenes we meet for the first time with complaints that individuals got possession of too many, or very extensive estates[79]; of which Phænippus and Pasion the banker are instances. At the return of the people after the overthrow of the thirty tyrants, there were not more than 5000 citizens who did not possess any land[80], and some of these probably had other property.

In later times, although it appears that many of the citizens fell into great poverty, and that a few only rose to opulence, the wealth of individuals never reached such a height as in the Macedonian kingdoms, and in the Roman state; whence Cicero[81] declares that 50 talents was a great sum of money, particularly at Athens in the age of Alexander. When Antipater in Olymp. 114, 2 (B.C. 323) deprived all Athenians of the full rights of citizenship who did not possess 2000 drachmas,

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[75] De Symmor. p. 185, 2, cf. adv. Androt. p. 617, 12, Thucyd. i. 80, ii. 40.

[76] Isocrat. Areopag. 38.

[77] Xenoph. de Vectig. and de Rep. Ath.

[78] Mentioned by Lysias. See book i. ch. 11.

[79] Book i. ch. 12.

[80] Dionys. Hal. Lys. p. 92, 44, ed. Sylb.

[81] Tusc. v. 32.

12,000 persons[82] are said to have been thus excluded; consequently not more than about 9000 can have been possessed of that sum; in the time of Cassander 10 minas were sufficient qualification for the full rights of a citizen[83]: these rates are so low, that it might seem preferable not to consider them as estimates of the whole property, but as fixed parts of it with reference to the imposition of taxes, which was the nature of the valuations of Solon and Nausinicus; but this again is impossible, as in that case too large an amount of property would have been requisite to entitle the possessor to the rights of citizenship; we must therefore consider those rates as real valuations of property, and suppose that Athens had greatly declined in wealth. For the earlier times it would be important to know how much property qualified a citizen for admission among the 5000 hoplitæ during the government of the Four Hundred; but we only know in general that bodily strength and opulence were requisite[84].

CHAPTER IV.

Approximate Determination of the National Wealth of Attica.

CONCERNING the total amount of the national wealth of Attica, Polybius[85] gives an apparently most satisfactory statement. Phylarchus had related that Cleomenes before the battle of Sellasia collected 6000 talents from the plunder of Megalopolis: this sum, which, according to Polybius, would have enabled the king of Sparta to exceed even Ptolemy in civil and military expenses, our historian will not allow to be correct; at that period, he maintains, when the Peloponnese was completely exhausted, as much unquestionably could not have been levied out of it, as in his own, when the country was in a flourishing condition, and yet that at the actual time they could not, excluding the inhabitants, and counting in all kinds of furniture and implements, make up 6000 talents: "For what historian,"

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[82] Book i. ch. 7.
[83] Diod. xviii. 74.
[84] Thucyd viii. 65, conf. 97.
[85] ii. 62, conf. 63.

he proceeds to say, "has not related of the Athenians, that, at the time when in conjunction with Thebes they entered upon the war against the Lacedæmonians, they sent out 10,000 soldiers, and manned 100 triremes; that having then determined to pay the war taxes from property (*ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας*), they valued the whole country of Attica, and the houses, and all other property as well; and nevertheless the whole valuation of the property (*τὸ σύμπαν τίμημα τῆς ἀξίας*) wanted 250 of 6000 talents."

How Ste. Croix[86] could imagine that Olymp. 103, 2 (B.C. 367) is here meant, I am at a loss to conceive; for Polybius points with sufficient clearness to the recent valuation made in the archonship of Nausinicus, Olymp. 100, 3 (B.C. 378). In this year the Athenians entered into an alliance with Thebes, after the attempt of Sphodrias the Spartan upon the Piræus had miscarried, fortified this harbour, built new ships, and assisted the Thebans to the utmost of their means: Demophon was sent to their assistance with 5000 hoplitæ and 500 cavalry; and, according to the statement of Diodorus (who, pursuant to his usual custom, does not mention it till the following year, and always exaggerates the numbers), they agreed to send out 20,000 hoplitæ, 500 cavalry, and 200 ships, under the command of Timotheus, Chabrias, and Callistratus: the first consequence was the cession of the citadel Cadmea to the Thebans[87].

A more exact statement upon our subject hardly appears desirable. Polybius, the most accurate and judicious of writers, furnishes us with a determination of the national wealth for a particular period, and this according to the valuation, and consequently upon the authority of public documents, which one at least of his predecessors, who drew from the fountain-head,

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[86] Recherches sur la Population d'Attique, Mém. de l'Académie, t. 48, p. 148. The same writer also relies for the valuation of 6000 talents upon Anaximenes; a gross error, the origin of which was that the article *ὅτι ἑξακισχίλια* in Suidas and Photius transcribed from Harpocration is inserted after the article *ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος*, and appears to be united with it. Küster had separated them.

[87] Xenoph. Hell. v. 4, 34 sqq. Diod. xv. 25—29.

must have inspected. Nor can there exist any doubt that he means every sort of property; for he calls it the valuation not only of the lands of all Attica (*χώρας*) and the houses, but of the other property also (*τῆς λοιπῆς οὐσίας*). Moreover, it nearly coincides with the statement of Demosthenes, who reckons the valuation of the country (*τίμημα τῆς χώρας*) at 6000 talents[88], as also Philochorus in the tenth book upon Attica[89]. Harpocration[90] remarks, that the word valuation (*τίμημα*) signifies capital; it is therefore impossible that the annual revenue can be meant, even if we did not know that it never amounted to so high a sum[91].

But however weighty the character of Polybius, and however specious the agreement of the other authors, I yet hope to bring forward such powerful arguments as will convict this excellent historian of error, by showing, in the first place, that 5750 talents are, as may be collected from other circumstances, too small a part of the national wealth of Attica to admit of our supposing that it was only a valuation which was accidentally too low, from the citizens having concealed much of their property; and, secondly, I hope in the course of my investigation to point out how Polybius fell into this error, and how the other passages, as well as the statement which he misunderstood, are to be taken.

Property, according to the language of the Athenian law, was divided into two classes, visible and invisible (*οὐσία φανερὰ* and *ἀφανὴς*). The latter of these classes included money, furniture, slaves, &c.[92] The former included houses and lands; the mines could not have been comprised under it, because no property-tax or liturgy was paid from them, being held on heritable leases from the state. The corn-land alone amounted to

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[88] De Symmor. p. 183, 5, p. 186, 18, in Olymp. 106, 3 (B.C. 354).

[89] Harpocrat. ut sup. In the manuscript of Demosthenes, which Harpocration used, it was incorrectly written 8000 talents.

[90] In v. *τίμημα*.

[91] And yet Meursius (F. A. p. 51), Petit (Leg. Att. iii. 2, 33), Salmasius (Mod. Usur. i. p. 28), and even Winkelmann, whom Heyne has corrected in his Antiquarische Aufsätze, i. p. 205, have thought that the annual revenue was here meant.

[92] Harpocrat. *Ἀφανὴς οὐσία καὶ φανερά: ἀφανὴς μὲν ἡ ἐν χρήμασι καὶ σώμασι καὶ σκεύεσι, φανερὰ δὲ ἡ ἔγγειος.*

more than 900,000 plethra; and as a plethron cannot at the lowest be estimated at less than 50 drachmas[93], the value of this one item was more than 7500 talents. If from this sum we deduct 500 talents for the property of the state, the taxable corn-land alone exceeded by about 1250 talents the amount given by Polybius; and as the land which grew corn did not compose much more than the third part of the area of Attica, we may safely add 2000 talents for the rest of the country, as far as it was in the possession of private individuals or of taxable corporations, inclusive of the demi; so that the landed property, taken at the lowest estimate, amounted to 9000 talents. Moreover, Athens had 10,000 houses, besides the buildings in the farms, in the villages and country towns[94]. If each house is reckoned on an average at 10 minas, which cannot according to their ascertained value be an over-estimate, the sum we obtain exceeds 1600 talents; to which 400 talents may be fairly added for the buildings out of Athens; so that the immoveable property alone amounts to nearly twice Polybius's statement. To the value of the immoveable property may next be added that of the slaves, who may be taken at 360,000; and if we assume the value of each at only a mina[95], we obtain the sum of 6000 talents. The value of the horses must also have been considerable, as there was a body of cavalry which consisted of 1200 men, and an equal number of servants; and if we then take into account the passion of the young men for horses, and the expenses which many persons incurred for these animals, that they might exhibit them at the sacred spectacles (as, for example, Alcibiades, who sent seven chariots at one time to the Olympic games[96]), together with the number required for agricultural purposes, our estimate rather errs on the side of deficiency if we assume 3000 horses, and each upon an average at 5 minas[97], which gives the sum of 250 talents. To these we will add only 1000 yokes of mules, at 6 minas, together making 100 talents: and will estimate all the cattle, sheep, goats, and

[93] See book i. ch. 15 and 11.
[94] Book i. ch. 12.
[95] Comp. book i. ch. 7 and 13.
[96] Thuc. vi. 15, 16.
[97] Book i. ch. 14.

pigs, at no more than 250 talents. Again, the money accumulated and lent out at interest could not have been inconsiderable in amount, if a banker like Pasion had 50 talents of his own placed out at interest, and if Lycurgus had 650 talents entrusted to him in his own house[98]. Then how great was the value of the materials vested without interest in implements of gold, silver, and brass, and worked up in commodities of various kinds? Even in the time of the poet Aristophanes the use of silver in articles of furniture was common, and it gradually increased to such a point, that in order to lower the prices of such vessels, when the means of the purchasers had been diminished, the silver was reduced to an excessive thinness; whence a comic poet speaks of vessels which weighed 4 or 2 drachmas, or even as little as 10 oboli[99]. Every other description of household furniture (ἔπιπλα, σκεύη), even clothes and women's ornaments, were estimated at the valuation, as may be seen from the valuation of the property of Demosthenes; and this item must have amounted to a considerable sum, for they not only had conveniences for lodging, eating, and sleeping, but in the houses of the wealthy they had also establishments for various kinds of trades, as for weaving, baking, &c.[100] Demosthenes' father left at his death 100 minas in furniture, cups, gold, clothes, and his wife's ornaments, which, when the estimate of the son's property was made, were included in the register of taxes. The furniture of another person was worth more than 20 minas. The furniture of Aristophanes, which was forfeited to the state, was sold for more than 1000 drachmas, perhaps at less than the half of its value. Gold and clothes in the dowry of persons of a middling rank were estimated at 10 minas[101]. Alcibiades' mother had jewels worth 50 minas. But without enumerating every trifle, and passing over many statements of the orators, I shall mention only the ships, the value of which cannot have been inconsiderable.

All these different items being added together, the national

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[98] Book iii. ch. 19.
[99] Athen. vi. p. 229, F, sqq.
[100] Conf. Xenoph. Œcon. 9, 6.
[101] Demosth. c. Nicostrat. p. 1251, 15, Lys. pro Aristoph. bonis, p. 635, Demosth. c. Spud. p. 1036, 10.

property, as it was estimated in the valuation, cannot be taken at less than 20,000 talents, in which the monied capital, and all moveables, with the exception of slaves and cattle, have evidently been estimated at an extremely low rate at 2400 talents. In every instance indeed I should make a higher estimate, but I have thought it better in each successive case to take the lowest which could be thought possible, in order to show that Polybius had deceived himself, whatever hypothesis be adopted.

Gillies[102], who likewise was dissatisfied with the common acceptation of this statement of Polybius, thought that the landed estates only were comprised in the 5750 talents, all other property having been so concealed, that an estimate of it was impossible; but this directly contradicts the words of Polybius: and even if we suppose that many persons concealed a portion of their property, yet on the whole its amount cannot have been considerable; for by reason of their law-suits and inheritances the inhabitants could not have ventured to return a smaller sum than they possessed; many too, in order to appear of consequence, returned even more than they were actually worth; and, generally speaking, the valuation, as the instance of Demosthenes shows, was accurately made. Least of all can I accede to the idea of the writer just mentioned, that the national wealth of Attica was about 12,000 talents. The number stated by Polybius is too small even for the landed property alone, as this might be fairly estimated at 12,000 talents.

In short, Polybius states the valuation (*τίμημα*) of Attica with perfect correctness at 5750 talents; but it is the valuation, not the value, of the whole property: he only knew how much the valuation of the whole property amounted to; but not being aware of the principles upon which it had been obtained, he erroneously supposed that it was the value of the whole property. For the valuation taken during the archonship of Nausinicus was, as will be shown, of a certain and fixed portion of the property, which was considered as subject to taxation. This portion varied in the different classes; in the first class a fifth

[102] Considerations upon the History, Manners, and Character of the Greeks, p. 24.

part was taxable, in the inferior classes a smaller part: very inconsiderable properties were doubtless not admitted into the valuation at all[103]. Consequently the national wealth was far more than five times the valuation, and exclusively of the public property, which was tax-free, may be estimated at 30,000 or 40,000 talents: the annual incomes obtained from this amount of capital were at the least double what an equal sum would produce at the present time, and consequently every tax was at the most only half as large as it appears; or rather even smaller still, for the owner of a moderate property of 5 or 6 talents could hardly have consumed the returns from it upon his maintenance, without very expensive habits.

To the view which I have here taken, nothing can be objected but a passage of Aristophanes, which has never yet been applied to this subject, in the Ecclesiazusæ[104], which was produced in Olymp. 96, 4 (B.C. 393). Euripides, probably the tragic poet (but not the celebrated one, for he was dead at this time), had, shortly before the representation of this play, proposed to raise a property-tax of a fortieth, which was to produce 500 talents. This proposal at first gained him great popularity; but afterwards, upon the rejection of the measure, the cry of the people was turned against him. Why it did not succeed we are not informed; either the taxed were not able to pay, Athens not having as yet recovered from the Peloponnesian war, or he had made the rate too high; in which respect, however, the error cannot have been very great, for experience must have already taught them what amount of property could in a general way be reckoned upon as available: the former supposition is, therefore, the most probable of the two. He had evidently estimated the taxable capital at 20,000 talents; but that the taxable capital is in this case identical with the whole property cannot be proved; it may have only been the fixed or taxable *portion* of it, and this may have been estimated differently from the valuation in the archonship of Nausinicus;

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[103] Comp. book iv. ch. 9, near the end.

[104] Vs. 818 sqq. An income-tax cannot be meant, as Spanheim de U. et P. N., vol. ii. p. 551, and Burmann de Vect. P. R. V. supposed.

for example, as in the valuation of Solon, which was so arranged, that of the first class the whole property was returned, of the second $\frac{4}{5}$, of the third $\frac{3}{5}$: a regulation according to which, with about 35,000 talents of property, it would be easy to arrive at a valuation nearly amounting to 20,000 talents. But it is time to explain with greater accuracy the system of the Athenian valuation.

CHAPTER V.

The Valuation of Property in Attica. Early Constitution, with reference to the Financial Administration. Valuation of Solon, and the alterations in it up to the Archonship of Nausinicus (B.C. 378).

THE regulations with regard to the Athenian taxes, before the time of Solon, cannot be accurately ascertained. I consider it as certain, that before the changes introduced by this lawgiver *all* the four tribes had not a share in the governing power: the hopletes were the ruling aristocracy; under them were the cultivators (*τελέοντες*), the goatherds (*αἰγικόρεις*), and the manual labourers (*ἀργάδεις*)[105]; the hopletes being the supreme and dominant class, the cultivators paid them the sixth part of the produce[106], the same portion which in India the king formerly received; and these latter were, like the penestæ or the clients, bondsmen or thetes in the original sense[107], without any property in land, which belonged solely to the hopletes. The latter bore arms, when they served in war, and took their attendants into the field, like the Thessalian knights; for the

[105] Upon these classes see my Preface to the Catalogue of the Lectures of the University of Berlin, Summer, 1812 (reprinted in the Museum Criticum, vol. ii. p. 608). I do not find myself induced to alter what I have there said, since Hüllmann (Anfänge der Griechischen Geschichte, p. 239 sqq.) has treated this subject. Nor can I, by any means, accede to Hemsterhuis's singular explanation of Γελέοντες, *Proceres, Splendidi.* Names of this kind were not given to distinguish from Ὅπλητες, Ἀργάδεις, Αἰγικόρεις, which all contain something definite and separate, no more than οἱ παχεῖς was anywhere the name of a tribe fixed by the state.

[106] Plut. Sol. 13.

[107] These are correctly placed together by Dionysius Archæol., ii. p. 84, ed. Sylb.

maintenance of the state in time of peace little or nothing was necessary, and the wars were too inconsiderable to require an artificial structure of finance. The temples and priests were supported from the sacred estates, tithes, and sacrifices; and the administrators of justice were remunerated by gifts or fees (*γέρα*) upon each separate decision. The constitution of Solon first, as it appears, wholly abolished bondage, which must not, however, be confounded with slavery: his laws gave to all freemen, that is, to all the four tribes, a share in the government, apportioning their rights however according to the valuation (*τίμημα, census*); by which means the form of government was brought near a democracy, without actually being one. For Solon, according to the manner in which he instituted the Areopagus, placed a half-aristocratical counterpoise in the opposite scale; and also by allowing the fourth class the right of voting in the assembly, and a share in the jurisdiction, but not permitting them to fill any office of government, he gave an influence to the upper and wealthier classes, by means of which the constitution was made to resemble a timocracy, or an oligarchy founded upon property. However, without wishing to develope the whole system of Solon's institution of classes, we shall inquire into its nature in reference to the valuation and the public services.

Solon made four classes (*τιμήματα, τέλη*)[108], a number afterwards adopted by Plato in his work on Laws[109]; the methods, according to which they fixed them, were however very different. The first class was the pentacosiomedimni; that is to say, those who received 500 measures, either dry or liquid, from their lands, medimni of dry, and metretæ of liquid measure. For the second class he took those who received 300 measures, and could afford to keep a horse, viz., a war-horse (*ἵππος πολεμιστήριος*), to which was added another for a servant, and they must also necessarily have required a yoke of animals: this class was called knights (*ἱππῆς, ἱππάδα τελοῦντες*).

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[108] The latter expression is used by Harpocration and Suidas in v. *ἱππὰς*, and by others; the former is very common.

[109] v. p. 744, c. vi. p. 755, E.

The third class are the zeugitæ (*ζευγῖται*), and their valuation is called the valuation of the zeugitæ (*ζευγίσιον τελεῖν*); by which, however, is not to be understood a particular tax upon cattle used in ploughing, as might be supposed from the account given by Pollux. Their name is derived from keeping a yoke (*ζεῦγος*), whether of common mules, or of working-horses or oxen. Their income is stated in general at 200 measures of dry and liquid measure. The last class is the thetes, whose valuation was less than that of the zeugitæ[110]. "The pentacosiomedimni," says Pollux, "expended upon the public weal (*ἀνήλισκον ἐς τὸ δημόσιον*) 1 talent, the second 30 minas, the third 10 minas, and the thetes nothing[111]."

Thus far we have followed the most authentic accordant statements. Some grammarians, however, only mention three classes (*τάξεις*), and entirely omit the zeugitæ[112], which is evidently erroneous, as well as the statement of Aristotle[113], or of some grammarian or copyist who has interpolated the words in his text, which makes the knights the third, and the zeugitæ the second class, in direct opposition to the testimonies of all

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[110] Plut. Sol. 18, where, in speaking of the third class, he is made, by an error of the transcriber, to say, *οἷς μέτρον ἦν συναμφοτέρων τριακοσίων* instead of *διακοσίων*, as Henry Stephens has rightly corrected from Pollux: *συναμφοτέρων* means both dry and liquid measure; as, for example, Lex. Seg. p. 298, in *πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι: πεντακόσια μέτρα συνάμφω ξηρὰ καὶ ὑγρά*. Plutarch gives the right number in the Comparison of Aristides and Cato, cap. 1, with the remark, that the means of individuals were at that time still moderate. Also see Pollux vii. 129, 130. Suid. in *ἱππὰς* and *ἱππεῖς*, Photius in *ἱππὰς*, where in the first article *ἱππεῖς* and *ἱππὰς* are absurdly stated to be different classes, Argum. Aristoph. Equit., Schol. Plat. Ruhnk. p. 184, Etym. in *θητεία*, Nicephorus Gregor. ad Synes., Zonaras in v. *ἐκ τιμημάτων*, Harpocrat. in *ἱππὰς*, who all give the same order, the latter referring to Aristotle's State of Athens, also Schol. Thucyd. iii. 16; Hesychius (in v. *ἱππὰς*) is mutilated: also, see Lex. Seg. pp. 260, 261, 267, 269, and concerning *ζευγίσιον* Pollux viii. 130, 132; Suid. Phot. Etym. Lex. Seg. pp. 260, 261; and Hesychius. In several of these passages it is falsely written *ξευγήσιον*. That *ζεῦγος* generally means a yoke of mules, we learn from the orators, e. g. Isæus de Dicæog. Hered. p. 116, de Philoctem. Hered. p. 140. The Etymologist and Photius in v. *ζεῦγος*, and Lex. Seg. p. 260, when combined, refer this expression to all the three kinds of animals.

[111] Pollux is followed by Schol. Plat. ed. Ruhnk. p. 184.

[112] Etym. and Photius in v. *ζευγίσιον*, Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 624.

[113] Polit. ii. 10.

ancient writers[114], who invariably mention the knights after the pentacosiomedimni, and above all to the law which will be presently quoted. Nor can any argument be drawn from a fact recorded in an inscription upon the Acropolis[115], that Anthemion, the son of Diphilus, of the class of thetes (*θητικὸν τέλος*), was immediately raised to the class of knights; for a person might easily become on a sudden so rich by inheritance, as to be transferred from the lowest into the second class. Suidas, indeed, ascribes 400 measures to the knights, which appears to be an error of the transcriber, rather than of the author; for the scholiasts of Aristophanes and Demosthenes[116], who repeat the text of Suidas, only differ from him in giving the correct number, viz., 300 instead of 400; therefore Reiske deserves no attention when, by an alteration of the common reading, he wishes to make Plutarch say, in the life of Solon, that the knights had 400 and the zeugitæ 300 measures. Synesius[117] even calls the second class triacosiomedimni, instead of the usual name of knights.

Nevertheless I venture to reject the statement preserved by all writers, that the number of measures for the zeugitæ was 200, not however because it is incredible that all were thetes who had less than 200 measures: a stronger argument against the correctness of the statement than the last would be, that the difference between the 200 measures of the zeugitæ and the 300 of the knights, is too small in comparison with that between the knights and the pentacosiomedimni; but my reason for rejecting it is, that a law preserved in Demosthenes[118] leads to a different conclusion. This law fixes the allowance which any person of the three upper classes was to make to an heiress in the lowest class, if, being her nearest relation, he did not choose to marry her. The pentacosiomedimnus was to give her 500 drachmas, and the knight 300; thus both were to give the same number of drachmas as they received measures: the

[114] For example, Thuc. iii. 16.

[115] Pollux viii. 131.

[116] Schol. Aristoph. Equit. 624. Schol. Demosth. vol. ii. p. 85, ed. Reiske.

[117] De Insomn. p. 146, B.

[118] Demosth. c. Macart. p. 1067 sqq. comp. Harpocration in v. *θῆτες* and *ἐπίδικος*, Diod. xii. 18.

zeugites, however, was to give only 150 drachmas. I am persuaded, therefore, that the property of the zeugitæ only supposed an income of 150 measures: whoever had less than 150 measures belonged to the thetes: whoever had between 150 and 300 to the zeugitæ; from 300 to 500 to the knights; and from 500 and upwards to the pĕntacosiomedimni.

Modern writers relate with great complacency the amount of taxes which, according to the statement of Pollux, these classes paid to the state, without being aware of the absurdity involved in it[119]. The question is, what notion shall we form of these imposts of a talent, of 30 minas, and 10 minas? Are we to suppose that they were a regular tax which was paid into the public treasury? If so, the annual revenue of Athens would necessarily have been very large, whereas it at no time amounted to more than 2000 talents; unless we assume with Salmasius that Athens had a yearly revenue of 6000 talents, of which 2000 were derived from the sources which Aristophanes enumerates in the Wasps, and 4000 from the valuations of the citizens; an assertion which is too groundless and absurd to deserve a moment's attention. Or were those sums to be employed for the liturgies? The expression agrees very well with this hypothesis, but it is inconceivable that the state should have fixed the exact sum of money which each person was to expend in his own liturgy: how much was to be performed in each liturgy was exactly defined, *e.g.*, how many singers or flute-players the choregus was to furnish, how he was to maintain, how to ornament them, and in like manner with the other liturgies: to the state it was indifferent what sum each individual liturgy cost. One person might, by good management, supply at a small expense, what another, from inexperience, had only been able to provide at a large outlay; if, therefore, the government fixed any determinate standard, it failed in attaining its object; not to mention that in the age of Solon the liturgies could not have been so expensive, and there is no

[119] Also Budæus (de asse et partibus ejus v. p. 530, Gryph.) both upon this point and upon that of the valuation of 6000 talents, falls into great confusion; for, perceiving that he is at variance with himself, he searches, though unsuccessfully, for some explanation.

question as to subsequent times. Or, lastly, shall we suppose that this scale was for the regulation of the extraordinary taxes? An extraordinary tax, like the eisphora which was first levied in the 88th Olympiad (B.C. 428), could not have been so high in the time of Solon, as the sums stated by Pollux. Again, the method of its imposition could not have been such that all persons in the same class paid the same sum, for example, that each pentacosiomedimnus contributed a talent, whether he received 500 or 5000 medimni, a regulation which would have been manifestly absurd: neither can we suppose that all persons were excluded from the payment of this tax, who were not able to contribute 10 minas. Is it possible to believe that all were thetes (*capite censi*) who did not pay taxes to the amount of 10 minas; that 10 minas was the smallest amount of tax required of the citizens, and this too from landed property alone? Lastly, in the imposition of extraordinary taxes, it was never determinately fixed what the rate of contribution was to be both for the actual levy and all future occasions. On the contrary, the rate was appointed according to the sum required. If the amount was great, the scale was higher; if small, it was less.

It is thus impossible to ascertain what this large tax, of which Pollux speaks, is to be referred to; but in order to convince the most incredulous of the total want of foundation in this account, I will add the following short explanation. In the time of Solon the medimnus of corn sold for a drachma[120]; if the price of a metretes of oil was higher, wine on the other hand was cheaper[121]; so that upon an average, a measure of products of the soil cannot be reckoned at more than a drachma. The pentacosiomedimnus was consequently valued according to his landed property, at an income of 500 drachmas; and are we to suppose that a talent was to be paid out of that sum, which is the twelfth part of the receipts, and for the others the same, according to their respective proportion? Or is the seed-corn, and not the whole produce, meant by the 500, 300, and 150 measures, as in the Mosaic law, in which the rates were fixed

[120] Book i. ch. 15.

[121] Book i. ch. 16.

according to this standard? Of this, however, no ancient author says one word, whatever inaccurate writers on early history may assert; liquid measures are moreover expressly included, in which no seed-corn exists; and again, this quantity of seed-corn would have been too considerable: for in later times, Alcibiades, who was unquestionably a pentacosiomedimnus, possessed only 300 plethra of land; nor can any one imagine that all were thetes who did not use 150 measures of seed-corn for their lands? In whatever way we look at it, the statement of Pollux fails. Is it then to be absolutely rejected? or does it contain a concealed truth? Unquestionably; but it has been made almost indiscernible by a gross misapprehension of its meaning.

We have next to consider how Solon's institution of classes was arranged with regard to the duties of the citizens. As the rights differed according to the classes, so did the burdens. Among these, the first was the obligation to military service in its different gradations. The thetes were said, in a lost passage of Aristophanes, to have performed no military service[122], like the lowest class of the Romans: although this may have been the case in ancient times, it may be assumed, without hesitation, that they soon served as light-armed soldiers (ψιλοὶ), and as sailors: they were, indeed, sometimes used as hoplitæ upon an emergency[123], as well as many even of the resident aliens; but since they had no obligation of this kind, it was doubtless necessary for the state to arm them on these occasions. Thucydides[124] mentions hoplitæ, who were of the class of thetes, but opposes them to the regular hoplitæ, from the list (*ὁπλῖται ἐκ καταλόγου*). The zeugitæ evidently composed the mass of those who were bound to serve as hoplitæ. Above them came the knights, whose name alone shows that their duty was to serve as cavalry, even if they were not at all times bound to hold themselves in readiness. Of the pentacosiomedimni we

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[122] Harpocrat. in v. *θῆτες*, comp. Phot. in v. *θητεύς*.

[123] Antiphon ap. Harpocrat. ut sup. contains an indication of this in the words, *τοὺς θῆτας ἅπαντας ὁπλίτας ποιῆσαι*.

[124] vi. 43.

know nothing: but it is evident that persons of this class must in general have filled the situations of commanders, as well as that of trierarch, which was also a military service; the other liturgies were also probably performed according to the valuations of the classes, although the distribution of them is not known. Lastly, I entertain no doubt that when the valuation was taken, a scale was at the same time fixed, according to which an extraordinary tax was raised whenever the occasion occurred; but there was no regular collection at the time when these assessments were made, since otherwise we should unquestionably have more determinate information upon that point[125]; and the first introduction of the property tax, at so late a period as in the Peloponnesian war, shows how unfrequent and extraordinary were the occasions on which imposts of this kind had previously been levied.

The expression *to pay a valuation* (τελεῖν τέλος) is indeed of so frequent occurrence, that we might infer from it that there existed a tax which was regularly raised, especially since the more definite expression is sometimes used of *paying the valuation of a knight or of a zeugites* (ἱππάδα and ἱππικὸν τελεῖν, ζευγίσιον τελεῖν, εἰς ἱππάδα τελεῖν): it is to be observed, however, that the valuation of the thetes, and their paying a valuation[126] (θητικὸν τέλος, θητικὸν τελεῖν) are also mentioned, and yet it is clear that they paid no tax, even according to the statement of Pollux. The poll-tax which was paid at Potidæa, by the persons who were destitute of property[127], was a mode of levying money entirely peculiar to that town, and not derived from the mother-country, and was moreover used only for extraordinary taxes. This idiom, however, admits of an easy explanation; for the same word which signifies *valuation*, also means a *rank* or *class*, and the words which mean *to pay a*

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[125] Even Budæus ut sup. p. 534, was aware that no regular direct tax (*tributum*) was levied at Athens.

[126] See concerning this expression, passing over the grammarians, Demosth. c. Timocr. p. 745, 13. Isæus de Apollod. Hered. p. 185, an ancient law in Demosth. c. Macart. p. 1067, 28. Inscript. ap. Poll. viii. 131. Dinarch. c. Aristog. p. 86, and many other passages.

[127] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. 2, 5, ed. Schneid.

valuation, also stand for merely *belonging to a class*[128]. Besides, the *payment* or *performance of a valuation* (τελεῖν τὸ τέλος) does not mean the payment of a fixed regular impost, but the fulfilment of all those duties which were imposed upon a class according to its valuation, particularly military service and liturgies, together with the extraordinary property taxes. Xenophon[129] mentions every expense which the state required at the hands of a citizen, and which could oppress him, but he is silent concerning a regular duty, although he makes use of an expression which must have instantly reminded him of it, if anything of the kind had existed. The only circumstance that could justify us in considering the valuation-taxes as ordinary ones, would be the occurrence of some passage in which they are distinctly opposed to the liturgies and the extraordinary taxes; but I have sought for one in vain. Where Antiphon[130] opposes the payment of the duties (*κατατιθέναι τὰ τέλη*) to the choregia, a Mytilenæan is speaking of his father, who was one of those deprived of their estates; but these, although they paid to the Athenians a rent of 2 minas for each lot[131], also

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[128] Thence *ἐς ἄνδρας τελεῖν, ἐς Βοιωτοὺς τελέειν*, in the same sense Herod. vi. 108. Thence *τέλος* of a division of troops, particularly of cavalry. *Censeri* is used in Latin in the same way as *τελεῖν* in Greek.

[129] Œcon. 2, 6, *ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν αἰσθάνομαι τὰ μὲν ἤδη σοι προστάττουσαν μεγάλα τελεῖν, ἱπποτροφίας τε* (for the cavalry at festivals) *καὶ χορηγίας καὶ γυμνασιαρχίας καὶ προστατείας* (an obscure expression which cannot signify the patronage of the resident aliens, but may refer to the *ἑστίασις*, which was also called *φυλαρχία*, see Wolf, p. lxxxviii.) *ἢν δὲ δὴ πόλεμος γένηται, οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ τριηραρχίας μισθοὺς καὶ εἰσφορὰς τοσαύτας σοι προστάξουσιν, ὅσας σὺ οὐ ῥᾳδίως ὑποίσεις.* The meaning of the word *τέλος* is very well explained in Lex. Seg. p. 308, *τέλη: οὐ μόνον τὰ τοῖς τελώναις καταβαλλόμενα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα. λαμβάνεται καὶ ἐπὶ ἀπηρτισμένῳ πράγματι ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ πολέμῳ.* Hence also *ἀτελὴς* and *ἀτέλεια* of the exemption from liturgies, and *πολυτελής*. Conf. Phot. in v. *τέλος*.

[130] De Herod. cæde p. 744. *Ἐπεὶ δ' ὑμεῖς τοὺς αἰτίους τούτων ἐκολάσατε, ἐν οἷς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ὢν ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις Μυτιληναίοις ἄδειαν ἐδώκατε οἰκεῖν τὴν σφετέραν αὐτῶν* (since they allowed them to hold their land on condition of paying a rent), *οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι ὕστερον αὐτῷ ἡμάρτηται τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ, οὐδ' ὅτι οὐ πεποίηται τῶν δεόντων, οὐδ' ἧς τινος λειτουργίας ἡ πόλις ἐνδεὴς γεγένηται οὔτε ἡ ὑμετέρα* (sic lege) *οὔτε ἡ Μυτιληναίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ χορηγίας ἐχορήγει* (that is, in the island of Mytilene, divided among cleruchi) *καὶ τέλη κατετίθει* (to the Athenians).

[131] See book iii. ch. 18, concerning this individual comp. book iii. ch. 16, note 422.

performed liturgies for their own community. Again, the only reason which Plato gives in the Laws for the four-fold division of classes in his state is, that the offices of government, the eisphora (or extraordinary tax), and the distributions (*διανομαὶ*), could be arranged according to them; and, lastly, to what purpose Athens should, in the early times, have raised a yearly tax, when a part of the public revenue, and particularly of the money received from the mines, was divided among the citizens, it is difficult to comprehend.

A tax according to the valuation can therefore be only supposed to have occurred upon extremely rare occasions under Solon's institution of classes. The imposition of taxes was only a subordinate consideration; the chief objects were the obligation to military service, the liturgies, and the apportioning of the rights of government. But in order to comprehend how the scale was arranged in each case as it occurred, we must premise an observation upon the meaning of the word *valuation* (*τίμημα*). Custom has comprehended under this term a collection of very different ideas. Every estimate of the value of any article is so called; the estimate of property, the assessment of a fine, the estimate of a tax; in short, everything that is valued. But a part of the property, which serves to regulate the apportioning of taxes, might be, with equal propriety, called by that name. Solon gave to each of the classes, except the thetes, a fixed valuation, or *timema*, and even the classes themselves are so called (*τέτταρα τιμήματα*) in Plato and in most other writers who mention them. This valuation, which we will call *the taxable capital*, is not absolutely identical with the estimate of property, and is very different from the tax. The grammarians had not formed any idea of timema as taxable capital, for they sometimes confound it with the estimate of property; while Pollux considered it as the tax, and thus fell into a most important error. No rational explanation can be given of Solon's institution of classes, as far as it regards the direct taxation, but by embracing this view of the question. When so considered, however, we recognise his wisdom. Solon estimated the value of the medimnus at a drachma[132]. Now if he had wished to ascertain

[132] Plut. Sol. 23.

the landed property of each class from the produce, his only way would have been to consider the number of medimni, or their equivalent in liquid measure, as the produce accruing from the land, taking however as his standard only the net proceeds, which were received as rent. We must therefore consider these 500, 300, 150 measures as net profit, obtained from what an estate yielded as rent; a course which was the more natural, as many estates, particularly those of the wealthy, were let by their masters to thetes or to bond-slaves, as we are expressly informed with regard to the thetes[133]. That the rent was computed in kind, and not in money, is what might have been naturally expected. This practice indeed frequently occurs, even in later times; nor would any other method have been possible at that period, on account of the small quantity of money in circulation.

The next question to be considered is, at what per-centage of the value of the property did Solon fix this net produce? We are informed that rents were low in ancient times; so late as in the speeches of Isæus we read of an estate which was let at 8 per cent.[134] We have therefore good reason for assuming that Solon, whose intention it must have been to encourage low rents, took the net proceeds as the twelfth part of the value of the land, or $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., and according to that scale fixed the property of a pentacosiomedimnus at a talent, that is, at a twelfth of his income. According to the same calculation, the landed property of a knight amounted to 3600 drachmas, of a zeugites to 1800. The principle of this arrangement is perfectly correct; for the smaller is the amount of the incomes, the less in proportion must the state take from an equally large part of the income of a citizen: as every man must first provide maintenance for himself and his family, and the poor are oppressed to a greater degree than the rich, if they are taxed in the same proportion, and at the same rate. Now this principle, so well adapted to the philanthropic lawgiver, may have been put in operation by Solon in two manners; either by the inferior class paying a smaller proportion of their property than the

[133] Plut. Sol. 13.

[134] Book i. ch. 24.

superior, for example, the first $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent., the second $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., the third $\frac{1}{5}$ per cent.; or by the taxable capital being so rated, that in the lower classes only a part of the property was considered as taxable. The first method renders the arrangement difficult and complicated; the other is far more intelligible: the government knows the sum total of the taxable capital, and the amount of its own necessities, and it can be seen at once what part of the taxable capital must be demanded. This regulation appears to have been invariably followed at Athens, after it had been once taught by Solon. The pentacosiomedimnus was, according to his regulation of the classes, entered in the register with his whole productive landed property, the knight with five-sixths, the zeugites with five-ninths of it; but all paid the same part of the taxable capital when a duty was imposed. Supposing that the whole valuation, or the sum of all the taxable capitals, amounted to 3000 talents, and that the state was in need of 60 talents, a fiftieth would have been raised, and the division was in that case made as the following table shows:—

Classes.	Incomes.	Landed Estates.	Taxable Capital.	Tax of a 50th.
Pentacos.	500 drachmas	6000 drachmas	6000 drachmas	120 drachmas
Knights	300 drachmas	3600 drachmas	3000 drachmas	60 drachmas
Zeugitæ	150 drachmas	1800 drachmas	1000 drachmas	20 drachmas

A more beautiful division is scarcely conceivable. It should be observed, however, that it is possible, or even probable, that there existed some difference in the amount of taxes in the same class. We may suppose that, adhering still to the standard of property, they imposed the tax in such a manner that in each class the taxable capital was fixed according to the same proportion; as is shown by the following table:—

Classes.	Incomes.	Landed Property.	Of which was Taxable.	Taxable Capital.	Tax of a 50th.
Pentacosio-medimni.	1000 dr. 750 dr. 500 dr.	12000 dr. 9000 dr. 6000 dr.	The whole The whole The whole	12000 dr. 9000 dr. 6000 dr.	240 dr. 180 dr. 120 dr.
Knights.	450 dr. 400 dr. 300 dr.	5400 dr. 4800 dr. 3600 dr.	Five sixths Five sixths Five sixths	4500 dr. 4000 dr. 3000 dr.	90 dr. 80 dr. 60 dr.
Zeugitæ.	250 dr. 200 dr. 150 dr.	3000 dr. 2400 dr. 1800 dr.	Five ninths Five ninths Five ninths	$1666\frac{2}{3}$ dr. $1333\frac{1}{3}$ dr. 1000 dr.	$33\frac{1}{3}$ dr. $26\frac{2}{3}$ dr. 20 dr.

Under Solon's institution of classes, the land in cultivation was alone estimated: but when in the Peloponnesian war the property taxes became frequent, it was no longer possible that the landed proprietors should be exclusively taxed, particularly as this was the very period at which they were in the most distressed situation; the former scale had also ceased to be suitable, on account of the increase of wealth. The menace in the Knights of Aristophanes[135] is not intelligible, unless we suppose that moveables were also subject to taxation. Cleon threatens a person with having him registered among the rich, in order that he might be ruined by property taxes; and the proposal of Euripides, which was made a short time before Olymp. 96, 4 (B.C. 393), to raise 500 talents by imposing a tax of a fortieth, is only compatible with a taxable capital, which not only embraced all moveable property, but in which the rates of the classes were also wholly changed: for if it had been regulated upon the same principles as the valuation of Solon, it would require 20,000 citizens, nearly all of the rank of pentacosio-medimni, for the taxable capital to amount to so large a sum: on the other hand, a taxable capital of this amount might have easily existed, if all the moveable and immoveable property were added together, and the taxable part of it taken according to the principles of Solon.

The ancient names were in the mean time retained; not

[135] Vs. 923.

only in Olymp. 88, 1 (B.C. 428)[136], when the first tax was levied, but even in later times, we meet with pentacosiomedimni and knights as distinct ranks. In the play of Aristophanes (Olymp. 88, 4, B.C. 425) that bears their name, the knights are represented as a class of the people, and not merely as horsemen, as they were in the time of Demosthenes; and even in Olymp. 93, 3 (B.C. 406) we meet with a distinct mention of the two superior ranks[137]. It cannot be proved with certainty, as far as I am aware, that these classes existed after the archonship of Euclid (Olymp. 94, 2, B.C. 403). In the archonship of Nausinicus (B.C. 378) they were unquestionably suppressed, if they were then in existence. Yet I am rather inclined to suppose that, like so many other institutions, they were abolished by the changes introduced in the archonship of Euclid. The pentacosiomedimnus mentioned in Lysias[138] may have been taken from the times anterior to Euclid. In Demosthenes[139] the four ranks only occur in an ancient law, which was perhaps still in force with regard to heiresses, but its original meaning must have been altered, and the names could only have referred to new classes which had been introduced in the place of those instituted by Solon.

If any one passage could make it probable that the institution of Solon remained until the year of Nausinicus, it would be that of Isæus[140], in which it is stated that "Apollodorus, the adopted father of the defendant, did not act so dishonourably as Pronapes, who only returned a small valuation, and yet as if he had a knight's valuation laid claim to offices of government." Pronapes therefore entered himself at a lower valuation, but he was a candidate for offices which required the property of a knight. At what time however he did this we know not. The orator may be speaking of ancient times, anterior to the year of

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[136] Thucyd. iii. 16, in this year the names of the classes in question occur.

[137] Xenoph. Hell. i. 6, 17.

[138] Harpocrat. in v. *πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι*.

[139] In Macart. p. 1067 sq.

[140] De Apollod. Hered. p. 185. Reiske has wholly misunderstood this passage. The words are, *καὶ μὴν καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀπολλόδωρος οὐχ, ὥσπερ Προνάπης, ἀπεγράψατο μὲν τίμημα μικρὸν, ὡς ἱππάδα δὲ τελῶν ἄρχειν ἠξίου τὰς ἀρχάς.*

Euclid. If this be not conceded, I may assume that although the ancient classes were abolished in the archonship of Euclid, new ones were instituted, one of which again bore the general name of knights, which was given to a class of the people in many states besides Athens. It is to be also observed, that there is another difficulty in this passage, viz. that a knight's valuation was requisite for eligibility to offices of government. According to the constitution of Solon, these were only open to citizens of a certain valuation, and the thetes were excluded, as we learn from Aristotle and others. The archons, at the time when Aristides filled this office (Olymp. 73, 1, B.C. 488), were still chosen by lot out of the pentacosiomedimni[141]: hence the question at the Anacrisis of the nine archons, and in general in all high situations, "whether the candidate had the valuation, or paid the taxes[142];" that is, again, whether he performed the liturgies, paid the extraordinary taxes, and was regularly registered in the class to which the archon was required to belong. In the same manner it was necessary for the treasurers of the goddess and the gods to be pentacosiomedimni[143]. But Aristides, after the battle of Platææ, gave all the Athenians the right of admission to offices of government[144]: and therefore in the case of these treasurers we cannot suppose that this restriction was owing to the highness of their office; but that, as the management of money was entrusted to them, they were still obliged, for the sake of security, to prove to a fixed amount of property. Dinarchus reckons this question respecting the valuation among the antiquated customs of the state, nor is there any mention of it in the speech of Demosthenes against Eubulides; although indeed this is not a conclusive proof, for it might have been there omitted compatibly with the object of

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[141] Plut. Aristid. 1.

[142] Εἰ τὸ τίμημά ἐστιν αὐτῷ, εἰ τὰ τελη τελεῖ, Pollux viii. 86, Dinarch. c. Aristog. p. 86, who p. 87, by τέλος evidently means the extraordinary tax (εἰσφορά). The serving in war is in this place excepted from the τέλος, and on account of its importance is particularly inquired after, which cannot seem strange, since the τέλος only determined the species of arms, and from that it could be ascertained whether the individual was present in the field.

[143] Book ii. ch. 5.

[144] Plutarch. Aristid. 22.

the speaker[145]. Theogenes, of noble birth, but of small means, was king-archon in the age of Demosthenes[146]. Lastly, the needy and infirm man (*ἀδύνατος*), who is represented as speaking in Lysias, manifestly belonged to the lowest class of persons entirely destitute of property, since he claims the allowance for the poor from the state[147]. This man nevertheless asserts, that if his body was not defective, his adversaries would not be able to hinder him from casting lots for the dignity of one of the nine archons, and accuses his fate of depriving him of the highest honours[148]; meaning the infirmity of his body,

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[145] P. 1319, 20 sqq.

[146] Orat. c. Neær. p. 1369, 17.

[147] See Lysias *περὶ τοῦ ἀδυν.* p. 743, sqq.

[148] P. 749, *καίτοι εἰ τοῦτο πείσει τινὰς ὑμῶν, ὦ βουλή, τί με κωλύει κληροῦσθαι τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων*; and afterwards p. 750, *οὐ γὰρ δήπου τὸν αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς μὲν ὡς δυνάμενον ἀφαιρήσεσθε τὸ διδόμενον, οἱ δὲ* (his opponents) *ὡς ἀδυνάτον ὄντα κληροῦσθαι κωλύσουσιν.* p. 756, *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ, ὦ βουλή, τῶν μεγίστων ἀρχῶν ὁ δαίμων ἀπεστέρησεν ἡμᾶς*, and afterwards, *πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν δειλαιότατος εἴην, εἰ τῶν μὲν καλλίστων καὶ μεγίστων διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ἀπεστερημένος εἴην.* Petit iii. 2, on the law concerning the Anacrisis of the archons (p. 239 sqq. of the old edition) shows, that freedom from all bodily defects was necessary for the office of archon; doubtless on account of the sacrifices which he had to perform. But it is singular that he did not perceive that, according to Aristides, there might have been an archon out of every class of property, and should imagine that the law of Aristides was repealed; of which I do not find any proof. In ancient times the archons were chosen not by lot, but by cheirotonia, as may be inferred from the intricate passage in the oration against Neæra, p. 1370, 19. [The author mentions in the Addenda, "that he had inferred from the oration against Neæra that in ancient times the archons were chosen by cheirotonia." He then proceeds to say, that "it hardly deserves mentioning, that what the orator asserts of the king-archon in the democracy, which according to common report he commences with Theseus, may be taken generally of the ancient election of the nine archons. In order however to reconcile this assertion with the apparently inconsistent account of the election of the archons by lot from among the pentacosiomedimni (see above p. 508), it must be remembered, that the election of the archons was frequently changed with the progress of freedom and equality. The office of king was after the time of Codrus changed into that of archon, by merely compelling the king to give an account of his official proceedings (Pausan. iv. 5), but the office remained by inheritance in the royal family of the Neleidæ or Codridæ. The next step was the limitation of the time of holding the office to ten years. It remained nevertheless in the ancient royal family until the time of Eryxias, who was the last in the uninterrupted series of the Medontidæ, according to the testimony of ancient writers. The annual archons which then succeeded were chosen by cheirotonia from among the nobility, in which the ancient royal family was included (*ἠρέθησαν ἐξ Εὐπατριδῶν* Euseb. Chron. p. 41), of

which impeded him from standing for the office of archon, and not the want of property. Accordingly we can at the most refer the statement of Isæus to situations such as those of the treasurers, for whom a certain valuation was agreeably to reason always requisite, in order that the state might have a pledge of their honesty[149].

Chapter VI.

Public Registers in Attica. Register of Lands. General Register of Property.

For the purposes of the public valuation, registers (*ἀπογραφαὶ*) were generally used in Greece, as was the case in Egypt and the kingdom of Persia, which in different places were arranged according to different principles.

The method adopted in Attica was that each person valued his own property, and returned the amount; after which they were doubtless, as in Potidæa, subject to the check of a counter-valuation (*ὑποτίμησις*)[150]. In early times, however, there was

which series Solon the Codrides is to be considered the last (cf. Plutarch. Solon. 14, *ἥρέθη ἄρχων*; *αἱρετὸς* is the same *χειροτονητός*). Solon then substituted a timocracy in the place of the ancient aristocracy, and from this time eligibility no longer depended upon birth, but upon property, and the archons were chosen by cheirotonia (Aristot. Polit. ii. 9, where the words *ἀρχόντων αἵρεσις* should be thus understood). Cleisthenes however probably changed this mode of election into choosing by lot, but left the right of eligibility unchanged; and with this the arrangement under which Aristides held the office of archon, and the case mentioned in Herodotus vi. 109, correspond. Lastly, Aristides gave all the Athenians the right of filling the situation of archon by casting lots, without any distinction of property, a right which the people had earned in battle with their blood.]

[149] I must here make an additional remark upon the qualification to public office arising from the valuation in reference to Hermogenes. This writer says, (*τεχν. ῥητορ.* p. 35,) *πρεσβεύοντός του πένητος ὁ πλούσιος ἐχθρὸς ὢν εἰσήνεγκε νόμον, τὸν εἴσω πέντε ταλάντων οὐσίαν κεκτημένον μὴ πολιτεύεσθαι μηδὲ λέγειν*, from which he afterwards draws farther inferences. See again p. 36, and the passages of Marcellinus quoted by Meursius F. A. iv. This expression Meursius has referred to Athens, and converted into an historical fact: it is however evidently a case supposed by Hermogenes, and even if in inventing it, his mind was influenced by some historical fact, we can derive no benefit from it, since neither the time nor place of this occurrence can be assigned.

[150] See concerning this expression Schneider ad Aristot. Œcon. 2, 5.

little apprehension of low returns, for every one was glad to appear wealthy, as Isocrates[151] tells us of the time of his boyhood, about the beginning of the Peloponnesian war: when on the contrary he wrote his oration concerning the exchange (Olymp. 106, 3, B.C. 354), the appearance of riches led to great losses; and although the concealment of property might be attended with total ruin, many persons returned the smallest amount possible. But the property of individuals being subject to reverses of fortune, the citizens were necessarily often translated from one class to another; consequently a new valuation was made in some states every year, and in larger nations every two or four years[152], and the translation from one class to another (*ἀνασύνταξις*)[153] took place. Again, if the whole wealth of the nation varies, the rates of the classes, and the whole division becomes ineffectual, more particularly if the quantity of gold should be augmented, for which reason Aristotle recommends the legislator to compare the amount of the whole valuation (*τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ κοινοῦ τιμήματος*) with the rates of the classes, and to rectify the latter according to it. Lastly, either landed property alone, or sometimes only the productive land (as was the case in the classes of Solon), or property of every sort, was returned to be taxed, and according as the valuation was made upon these several principles, either a register of lands or a general register of property was formed. Plato in the Laws[154] proposes two registers; in the first place, a catalogue of all estates, and secondly, a separate list of every other description of property, in order that all disputes on the subject might be easily decided, and be free from all obscurity.

Besides the register of lands Athens had a general register of all property; the former was the more ancient, and cannot have been introduced later than with the constitution of Solon. Neither in Athens, however, nor in the ideal state of Plato was the object of this register of lands the same as of the registers

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151 Isocrat. de Antidosi, p. 85, sq. Orell.

152 Aristot. Polit. v. 8.

153 It was so called in the Athenian symmoriæ according to Suidas, see Lex. Seg. p. 184, 31, Zonaras p. 186, Harpocration, Suidas, and Zonaras (p. 205,) in v. *ἀνασυντάξας*.

154 v. p. 741, c. p. 745 A.

of mortgages in use in Germany; for it cannot be proved that at Athens the debts upon landed property were entered in a public book, but the creditor was ensured, if he required it, by pillars or tablets (*στῆλαι, ὅροι*) set up on the boundary of the mortgaged estate. In no place but Chios do we hear of registers of debts[155]. There could have been no inducement to enter the property of the state in the register of lands; on the contrary, the property of other corporations, particularly of the demi, and at least of such temples as were only small corporations and had no connexion with the state, were necessarily included in it; for the property of corporations was always taxable according to its proper scale (at least about the 114th or 115th Olympiad)[156] upon the imposition of extraordinary taxes. The mines were also a part of the public property, which were granted in perpetual leases; consequently these too could not have been entered in the register of lands.

The formation as well as the custody of this register probably belonged at the time of Cleisthenes to the forty-eight naucrari, to whom is ascribed the collection of the taxes (*εἰσφοραί*)[157]; that is to say, it was the duty of these officers to collect the taxes imposed according to the valuation, on those rare occasions when in the ancient time of Athens it was necessary to resort to this method of raising money. When they were replaced by the demarchs, the latter made the registers of the landed estates in each demus[158]. From a false reading in the Scholiast to Aristophanes, by which the word *debts* has been substituted in the place of *lands*, it might appear that the demarchs entered the latter in the register; but nothing farther

[155] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. ii. 12.

[156] *Ἀπὸ τῶν χωρίων τοῦ τιμήματος*, Corp. Inscript. No. 103. Above, b. iii. note A. [Also in another inscription, containing a lease by an Attic demus, in Olymp. 108, 4 (B.C. 345), *ἐάν τις εἰσφορὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ χωρίου γίγνηται εἰς τὴν πόλιν*. Ibid. No. 93.—TRANSL.]

[157] Hesych. in v. *ναύκλαρος*.

[158] Harpocrat. in v. *δήμαρχοι*: *οὗτοι δὲ τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐποιοῦντο τῶν ἑκάστῳ* (l. *ἐν ἑκάστῳ*) *δήμῳ χωρίων*: thence Suidas, who reads *τῶν προσόντων ἑκάστῳ δήμῳ χωρίων*: he added *προσόντων* because *ἐν* was likewise wanting in the manuscript which he used. The Scholiast to Aristoph. Nub. 37, has a false reading: *οἱ δὲ δήμαρχοι οὗτοι τὰς ἀπογραφὰς ἐποιοῦντο τῶν ἐν ἑκάστῳ δήμῳ χρεῶν*: who must have transcribed it from an indistinct MS. of some Lexicon, and probably from Harpocration, whose words, with the exception of this error, are the same.

is known from any other passage, of registers of debts being kept in the demi; and even if, as is stated, the demarch as an officer of police put the mortgagees in possession[159], no farther inference can be drawn from this circumstance. The demarch had no concern with debts, except that he enforced the payment of the debts owing to the demus[160], and might have been employed for the collection of monies which individuals owed to the state[161].

At a subsequent period the general register of property was introduced, and on this the valuation in the year of Nausinicus was founded; in which the concealment of property was practised to a great extent[162]. This census not only comprehended lands and houses, but all unemployed and employed capital, slaves, raw and manufactured materials, cattle, household furniture, in short all money and money's worth were estimated, as may be easily seen by comparing the property left by Demosthenes the father[163], with the valuation of the son's property. It is evident that the resident aliens were also entered in this register, although, with the exception of the proxeni and isoteles, they were not included in any register of landed property; but they were undoubtedly entered in a separate register, in the same manner as when the symmoriæ of the property taxes were introduced, the resident aliens composed separate symmoriæ*: for they were taxed upon a different scale from the citizens.

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[159] Harpocrat. Suid. Hesych. Schol. Aristoph. Lex. Seg. p. 242.

[160] Book ii. ch. 3, iii. ch. 2.

[161] It is to be observed also that the demarch had the duty of delivering in an account of the property of public debtors with reference to the confiscation. Etym. in v. *δήμαρχος*: *Ἀπεγράφετο τὰς οὐσίας ἑκάστῳ πρὸς τὰ δημόσια ὀφλήματα*, conf. Lex. Seg. p. 237. Zonaras, p. 494, who goes upon the authority of Chrysippus. The Lex. Seg. is more explicit p. 119, in v. *ἀπογράφειν*: *Τοῦ μὴ βουλομένου ἐκτίνειν τὸ ὄφλημα, ὃ ὀφείλει, διπλοῦται τὸ ὄφλημα, καὶ ὁ δήμαρχος σὺν τοῖς βουλευταῖς τοῦτον εἰσπράττει καὶ ἀπογράφεται αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ ἐνεχυριάζει. καὶ τοῦτο καλεῖται ἀπογράφειν.* In the mean time it is well known that any other citizen was free to do the same, and the demarch probably had only to perform this duty if no other person took it upon himself.

[162] Out of many passages only comp. Isæus de Apollod. Hered. p. 187, de Dicæog. Hered. p. 110, 111, Æsch. c. Timarch. p. 117.

[163] Demosth c. Aphob. i. p. 816. Concerning slaves see Isocrat. Trapez. 25. Of cattle it is evident.

*See below, note 239.

It deserves a particular consideration how the dowries were entered in the register of property, and who it was that paid taxes for them; they composed a considerable part of the moveable property, even with poor people they amounted to 10, 20, and 25 minas, not unfrequently to 30 (which sum the state gave to the daughters of Aristides), and even to 40, 50, 60, 80, 100, or 120 minas[164]. The daughter of Hipponicus received 10 talents at her marriage, and 10 others were promised her. Yet, according to Demosthenes[165], an Athenian seldom gave so much as 5 talents, which sum, however, Pasion's widow asserted that she brought to Phormion. Dowries of 5 or 10 talents in Lucian[166] and the comic poets must be ascribed to the liberal donations of comedy. If it is considered that generally the husband was obliged to give security by a pledge for the dowry, when it was made over to him[167], and that the person who held the security used to receive the income arising from it, it may be thought that it was the kinsman who endowed the wife, and not the husband, who paid the tax for the dowry. But this view of the case is untenable. The very reason why the husband received the dowry was that he might have the usufruct of it; if it was not made over to him, he received the interest from it[168]; if then he gave a security for it, the interest of this security he must have still retained, and therefore have paid the tax for the dowry. This view is confirmed by the relation which the dowry bore to the property of the son. If the mother lived after the death of the father in the same house with the son, the law was that in case of the *ἀντίδοσις* or exchange, the dowry followed the property of the son[169]; consequently it belonged to

[164] Isæus de Ciron. Hered. p. 199, de Hagn. Hered. p. 292, de Menecl. Hered. p. 212, 213, ed. Orell. Epist. Plat. xiii. p. 361 E, Orat. c. Neær. p. 1362, 9, Lys. Apol. pro Mantith. p. 116, Demosth. c. Spud. p. 1029, 24, Isæus de Dicæog. Hered. p. 104, Lys. c. Diogit. p. 896, 897, Demosth. c. Aphob. i. p. 814 sqq. c. Onetor. i. ii. passim, c. Bœot. de Dote, p. 1009, 28, c. Aphob. de Falso Testim. p. 858, 25, c. Bœot. de Dote, p. 1015, 23, c. Aphob. i. p. 834, 13, ii. p. 840, 12 sqq. Concerning Aristides' daughters see book ii. ch. 18.

[165] C. Stephan. p. 1110, 4, p. 1124, 2, p. 1112, 19.

[166] Dial. Meretr. 4.

[167] Harpocrat. in v. *ἀποτίμημα*, Lex. Seg p. 201.

[168] Demosth. c. Onetor. i. p. 866, 4

[169] Orat. c. Phænipp. p. 1047, 10—15.

the taxable property of the son. In like manner in the estimate of the property of Demosthenes, amounting to 15 talents, according to which his valuation was fixed, the dowry of the mother was included[170].

CHAPTER VII.

The Valuation in the Archonship of Nausinicus (B.C. 378).

AFTER these observations upon the different registers of property, we come to a new valuation made in Olymp. 100, 3, during the archonship of Nausinicus (B.C. 378); concerning which, although a point of the first importance in the Athenian system of taxation, we have nothing but obscure and unconnected accounts, like the legends of mythical history. Nevertheless, by a comparison of the scattered information now extant, although there appear at first to be some contradictions in the statements, it will nevertheless be found that the question admits of historical precision.

At the beginning of the investigation I will set down a passage from the oration against Aphobus, in which Demosthenes, in order to prove that his father had left him a considerable property, makes use of the following words: "My guardians returned me to the symmoria as contributing 500 drachmas for every 25 minas, as much as Timotheus the son of Conon and those who had the highest valuations contributed;" a declaration which is several times repeated, but in rather a concise manner, and expressed in less accurate words[171]. From this

[170] See above, chap. 3.

[171] C. Aphob. i. p. 815, 10, Εἰς γὰρ τὴν συμμορίαν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ συνετάξαντο κατὰ τὰς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μνᾶς πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς εἰσφέρειν, ὅσονπερ Τιμόθεος ὁ Κόνωνος καὶ οἱ τὰ μέγιστα κεκτημένοι τιμήματα εἰσέφερον. ii. p. 836, 25, Ἔτι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀφοβος μετὰ τῶν συνεπιτρόπων τῇ πόλει τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καταλειφθέντων χρημάτων ἐμφανὲς ἐποίησεν, ἡγεμόνα με τῆς συμμορίας κατασ-

τήσας, οὐκ ἐπὶ μικροῖς τιμήμασιν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις, ὥστε κατὰ τὰς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μνᾶς πεντακοσίας εἰσφέρειν. C. Aphob. de Fals. Testim. p. 862, 7, Ὅτι πεντεκαίδεκα ταλάντων οὐσίας μοι καταλειφθείσης τὸν μὲν οἶκον οὐκ ἐμίσθωσε, δέκα δ' ἔτη μετὰ τῶν συνεπιτρόπων διαχειρίσας πρὸς μὲν τὴν συμμορίαν ὑπὲρ παιδὸς ὄντος ἐμοῦ πέντε μνᾶς συνετάξατ' εἰσφέρειν, ὅσον περ Τιμόθεος ὁ Κόνωνος καὶ οἱ τὰ μέγιστα κεκτημένοι

statement it has been inferred that the guardians of Demosthenes returned as a property tax (*εἰσφορὰ*) either the fifth part of his property, or the fifth part of his yearly income[172]. The former upon a superficial view might appear to be the meaning of the passage; the latter is wholly devoid of all foundation, for the orator speaks of the fifth part of the property, and not of the income. The time moreover in which this tax may be supposed to have fallen, has been fixed at about the 103rd Olympiad, the orations against Aphobus having been spoken in Olymp. 104, 1 (B.C. 364). But this is incorrect. Demosthenes speaks of the contribution to the symmoriæ as having been made by his guardians, at a time when his property still amounted to 15 talents, which could only have been the case in the beginning of the guardianship. If the return had taken place later, they could not have rated it so high, since they gradually either squandered away the property, or got fraudulent possession of it. Moreover Demosthenes was for ten years of his minority the leader of a symmoria[173], viz., of a symmoria of the property taxes, and not of the trierarchy, for orphans did not serve any trierarchy: and in the second oration against Aphobus he expressly speaks of being leader of a symmoria of the property taxes during his minority. Now Demosthenes' father died when his son was seven years old; the son was born, according to the correct statement in the Lives of the Ten Orators and in Photius, in Olymp. 98, 4 (B.C. 385), during the archonship of Dexitheus, and not, as is supposed by others, in Olymp. 99, 4 (B.C. 381)[174]. Consequently the son first became an orphan, and first fell into the hands of guardians, in Olymp. 100, $\frac{3}{4}$ (B.C. 377), at the same time also he became the leader of a symmoria, and continued to be so for ten years. This return made to the symmoriæ coincides therefore exactly with the period at which the valuation in the year of Nausinicus had been just taken, and it is to this impost that the statement of Demosthenes evidently refers.

τιμήματα εἰσέφερον· χρόνον δὲ τοσοῦτον τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα ἐπιτροπεύσας, ὑπὲρ ὧν τηλικαύτην αὐτὸς εἰσφορὰν ἠξίωσεν εἰσφέρειν, &c.

[172] Herald. vi. 1, 7. Wolf, p. 99, particularly in note 80.

[173] Demosth. in Mid. p. 565, 12.

[174] See Wolf, p. 62 sq.

But who can imagine that at that time, or indeed in any state, and at any time, a property tax of 20 per cent. was levied? If such an event occurred frequently, the property of the citizens must in a short time have either been entirely annihilated, or reduced to a very small amount, as was actually the case in Syracuse, during the reign of Dionysius, who in five years nearly reduced the citizens to indigence, by means of taxes[175]. Without therefore stating those conclusions which the reader himself will be able to deduce from what follows, I only remark, that, according to Demosthenes, the Athenians did not willingly pay large property taxes, and that an immense sum would have been raised if the tax had been a fifth part of the property; whereas that imposed in the year of Nausinicus did not produce much more than 300 talents[176].

Demosthenes, in fact, returned to the symmoria a fifth part of his whole property (*εἰσέφερεν εἰς τὴν συμμορίαν*), which he inaccurately calls *to contribute*, or *to pay taxes* (*εἰσφέρειν*); the sum returned was not however his tax, but his taxable capital (*τίμημα*): "for a property of 15 talents," he says, "the taxable capital or the valuation amounts to 3 talents: a tax of this amount is what I ought justly to have paid;" *i. e.*, whatever was the proper per-centage of this sum[177]. The valuation (*τίμημα*) is here accurately distinguished from the property, and just as distinctly from the tax. For how many taxes did Demosthenes pay? His guardians had, according to their own statement, paid 18 minas in the ten years of their guardianship for extraordinary taxes[178]: therefore the taxes of these years amounted *altogether*, and not merely for *one* year, to the tenth part of the valuation, or to the fiftieth part of the property.

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[175] Aristot. Polit. v. 11.

[176] Demosth. c. Androt. p. 606, 27.

[177] This is evidently the meaning of the words in the first speech against Aphobus, p. 815, 26. *Δῆλον μὲν τοίνυν καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐστὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς οὐσίας. πεντεκαίδεκα ταλάντων γὰρ τρία τάλαντα τίμημα. ταύτην ἠξίουν εἰσφέρειν τὴν εἰσφοράν.* It is to this that the useless interpretation in the grammarians refers, that *τίμημα* was also called *τὸ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας εἰσφερόμενον παρ' ἑκάστου*, for example, in Photius, p. 433, ed. Leips.

[178] C. Aphob. i. p. 825, 7. *Εἰσφορας δ' εἰσενηνοχέναι λογίζονται δυοῖνδεούσας εἴκοσι μνᾶς.* I may remark, by the way, that in the accounts of the guardians there is no mention of the regular payment of a duty according to the valuation (*τέλος*); a strong proof that no such thing existed at Athens.

From this simple explanation it is evident, that in the valuation taken in the archonship of Nausinicus, the principle of Solon's valuation was followed in three points, viz., in the registration of the property itself (*οὐσία*), the taxable part of it, or the valuation (*τίμημα*), and, lastly, the tax fixed according to the valuation (*εἰσφορὰ* in the limited sense). The estimate of the property was obtained by a valuation of all moveables and immoveables; the valuation, or the taxable capital, was only a certain part of this general census, and in the highest classes, to which Timotheus and Demosthenes belonged, was the fifth part; in the others, however, it was a smaller portion; for Demosthenes expressly says, that only those who had the highest valuations were rated at 500 drachmas for each 25 minas. If, for example, we reckon four classes, the valuation of the second may perhaps have been one-sixth of the property, of the third one-eighth, and of the fourth one-tenth, in order that the poor might be taxed in a fair proportion. It should be also observed, that those persons in the same class whose property was different did not contribute an equally high valuation, but only the same part of their property; in the first class it was 5 for every 25 minas; thus the possessor of 15 talents contributed 3, of 25 contributed 5, of 50 contributed 10; for the reason that the estimate of the whole property of Demosthenes amounted to 3 talents was, that for 25 minas 5 was in his class the rate of the taxable capital. But of the taxable capital each person paid the same part, whenever any tax was imposed; and how large a part was to be taken could be easily determined, as the sum total of all the valuations was known, which in the archonship of Nausinicus amounted to 5750 talents.

In order to make this clear, let us assume, for the sake of example, four classes, and in the second one-sixth, in the third one-eighth, in the fourth one-tenth, as the portion on which the tax was imposed: farther, as the least property from which taxes were paid, 25 minas; so that the latter is the lowest estimate of property in the last class; as the lowest estimate in the third class 2 talents, in the second class 6, in the first 12; which are arbitrary assumptions, except that, as we shall remark below, 25 minas were probably taken as the lowest property

which was subject to taxation. If, then, a twentieth was to be raised, the tax would have fallen in the manner shown by the following table:—

Classes.	Property.	Of which was Taxable.	Taxable Capital.	Property Tax of One-Twentieth.
First of 12 talents and over	500 talents	One fifth	100 talents	5 talents
	100 talents	One fifth	20 talents	1 talent
	50 talents	One fifth	10 talents	30 minas
	15 talents	One fifth	3 talents	9 minas
	12 talents	One fifth	2 tal. 24 min.	720 drachmas
Second of 6 talents and over, under 12 talents	11 talents	One sixth	1 tal. 50 min.	550 drachmas
	10 talents	One sixth	1 tal. 40 min.	500 drachmas
	8 talents	One sixth	1 tal. 20 min.	400 drachmas
	7 talents	One sixth	1 tal. 10 min.	350 drachmas
	6 talents	One sixth	1 talent	300 drachmas
Third of 2 talents and over, under 6 talents	5 talents	One eighth	37½ minas	187½ drach.
	4 talents	One eighth	30 minas	150 drach.
	3 talents	One eighth	22½ minas	112½ drach.
	2½ talents	One eighth	18¾ minas	93¾ drach.
	2 talents	One eighth	15 minas	75 drach.
Fourth of 25 minas and over, under 2 talents	1½ talents	One tenth	900 drachmas	45 drachmas
	1 talent	One tenth	600 drachmas	30 drachmas
	45 minas	One tenth	450 drachmas	22½ drachmas
	30 minas	One tenth	300 drachmas	15 drachmas
	25 minas	One tenth	250 drachmas	12½ drachmas

An arrangement such as this cannot be considered as very skilful for a state, in which from the beginning of the Peloponnesian war many experiments might have been made as to the collection of property taxes: the mismanagement of its finances must not, however, be attributed to a want of political knowledge, but to the endeavours of the government to effect more than it was able; while the passions of individuals and of the populace interrupted the most beneficial measures, and the whole state was frequently blind to its real interest; at the period, however, of this valuation, there was no want of good intentions either in the Athenian state itself or among foreign powers towards it.

CHAPTER VIII.

What proportion of the Property and the Valuation was levied as an Extraordinary Tax, in the year of Nausinicus.

SINCE in the two valuations, concerning which some sufficiently accurate accounts are extant, that of Solon in the 46th Olympiad, and that of the year of Nausinicus in the 100th Olympiad, a distinction, as has been already shown, was made between taxable capital and property, we may infer that this was a fixed principle at Athens, and that the rate of charge was the only thing that varied. If in Olymp. 88, 1 (B.C. 428), the total of the taxable capital of Attica was that which Euripides assumed as the basis of his proposal for the levying of a property tax, viz., 20,000 talents, the first property tax, as Thucydides states, must have been a 100th (ἑκατοστή), since it produced 200 talents, in the same manner as that calculated by Euripides to produce 500 talents was a fortieth (τεσσαρακοστή). In the Ecclesiazusæ of Aristophanes[179], which was acted in Olymp. 96, 4 (B.C. 393), a 500th (πεντακοσιοστή) is mentioned: this was probably a small property tax levied at that time in order to meet the public expenses, and its highest produce could not have exceeded 40 talents. At that time, however, the taxable capital, if it really amounted to so high a sum, came much nearer to the whole property than in the archonship of Nausinicus, since in that year it amounted only to 5750 talents. Demosthenes[180], estimating the taxable capital in round numbers at 6000 talents, reckons, according to this new method of taxation, the 100th at 60, and the 50th (πεντηκοστή) at 120 talents. "Shall I suppose," he proceeds to say, "that you will

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[179] Vs. 999. Although this passage is extremely obscure, the reading is unquestionably correct: Εἰ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν Τὴν πεντακοσιοστὴν κατέθηκας τῇ πόλει, and τῶν ἑτῶν, which was proposed by Tyrwhitt, is highly absurd. In order to obtain the meaning of these words, something appears to be wanting to us from the Athenian law, upon which the conclusion is founded which Aristophanes supposes the young man to draw. I have intentionally omitted to pay any regard to the interpretation of the scholiast.

[180] De Symmor. p. 185, 18.

contribute a twelfth (δωδεκάτη), which would produce 500 talents? but a tax so high as that you would not endure." From this passage it is plain beyond a doubt, that the Athenians, at that time, never taxed themselves so high as a twelfth part of the valuation, which, however, for the most wealthy only came to $1\frac{2}{3}$ per cent., and for other persons far less.

Two property taxes are known, which can be calculated with great accuracy from the valuation in the year of Nausinicus. The one was imposed a year after Demosthenes' speech upon the symmoriæ, in which the taxable capital is stated at 6000 talents; and occurred when the Athenians, in Olymp. 106, 4 (B.C. 353), in the month Maimacterion, on account of Philip's siege of the Heræon Teichos, decreed to send out forty ships, and to raise a property tax of 60 talents[181]. It was a 100th (ἑκατοστή), which the orator states to have been charged at that precise rate, that is, one-fifth per cent. of the property of the most wealthy. The other is the tax in the archonship of Nausinicus, which produced rather more than 300 talents; this must consequently have been a 20th (εἰκοστή)[182]. It might, indeed, be thought improbable that the 100th produced any more than $57\frac{1}{2}$, or the 20th more than $287\frac{1}{2}$ talents, since the valuation, according to Polybius, amounted exactly to 5750 talents; but it must be remembered, that the resident aliens also were taxed, who are not included in this valuation; and they not only made good what in the former case was wanting to the 60, in the latter to the 300 talents, but were obliged to contribute a large additional sum; with this addition, therefore, the whole taxable capital would doubtless have amounted to 6000 talents. Demosthenes also unquestionably contributed to the tax of a 20th, in the year of Nausinicus; those 18 minas

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[181] Demosth. Olynth. iii. p. 29, 20.

[182] Demosth. c. Androt. p. 617, 22, uses the word δεκατεύειν with reference to the payment of the taxes in the archonship of Nausinicus, and the same word in the oration against Timocrates, p. 758, 4. This, however, is a general expression, when the object is to denote the collection of taxes by a vituperative term. If, however, any person should wish to attribute to this word its literal sense, he should bear in mind, that the orator also says, διπλᾶς πράττοντες τὰς εἰσφοράς, and that a tax of a 20th twice collected makes a 10th.

which the guardians charged in their account were however, as he himself says, for several taxes; to that tax he could not have contributed more than 9 minas, which was the 20th part of his taxable capital; the other 9 were either for another tax of a 20th, or two of a 40th, or for two 50ths and one 100th. These property taxes were, therefore, by no means excessive; in ten years Demosthenes only paid the 10th part of his taxable capital, or the 50th part of his property, and indeed at the first tax in the archonship of Nausinicus only half this rate, or 1 per cent.; his property, however, even if we deduct a 6th part as paying no interest, must have returned a premium of 10 per cent.: 1 per cent. of his property is consequently the 10th part of his income. Or, in order to place the subject in a more striking light, while in ten years he only paid 2 per cent. from his whole property, the same brought in, if it was tolerably managed, 100 per cent.

This clearly shows the absurdity of the assertions respecting the exorbitant taxes of the Athenian citizens, more particularly if we take into consideration the low rates of the custom duties, and the cheapness of the chief necessaries of life, by which they were enabled to live upon very small means. If notwithstanding this there was a great disinclination to pay property taxes, as may be plainly seen from the Olynthiacs and the oration concerning the Chersonese, the fact cannot cause any astonishment, as no one willingly taxes himself; and as to the decrease of the national wealth, the causes originated in other circumstances, the consideration of which does not belong to this place.

It is, indeed, true that we find instances of large property taxes, as, for instance, one mentioned in Lysias of 30, and another of 40 minas; but the great expenses of the payer prove the large amount of his property[183]; in proportion to which the tax may have been very moderate, particularly since it only occurred twice. Aristophanes, as is mentioned in the same orator, likewise paid 40 minas as his share of the property tax, although this was not for himself alone, but for his father also;

[183] See book iii. ch. 22.

nor upon one occasion, but for several taxes, and in times of the greatest exertions, during the four or five years after the battle of Cnidos (Olymp. 96, 2, B.C. 395); and that Aristophanes (Lysias may conceal it as he will) must have been very wealthy, is proved by the choregias, which he served for his father and himself; the three years' trierarchy, upon which he expended 80 minas; by his having given 5 talents for land, and being possessed of much furniture; and also by his having, even before the times of the Anarchy, subscribed 100 minas to the expedition against Sicily, and subsequently 30,000 drachmas to the auxiliary fleet for the Cyprians and Euagoras, which sum was, without doubt, paid by Euagoras in the island of Cyprus, where his father was settled[184].

At the same time, I will not deny that many persons voluntarily contributed more than their means allowed, and that many were oppressed by too high valuations, while others concealed their property; as, for instance, Dicæogenes, mentioned in Isæus, who from an income of 80 minas contributed nothing to many property taxes, as he concealed his property, except that he once voluntarily gave 3 minas[185]; nor, lastly, that a frequent repetition of these taxes at short intervals of time, particularly when, as was the case after the Anarchy, the channels of industry were blocked up, was a great national calamity[186]: from which fact the complaints as to the oppression of the property taxes are sufficiently explained.

CHAPTER IX.

Symmoriæ of the Property Taxes after the Archonship of Nausinicus. The Advance of Property Taxes, and other Regulations relating to the Payment of them.

IN the year of Nausinicus, the symmoriæ (classes or companies[187]) were introduced with reference to the property taxes.

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[184] Lysias pro Aristoph. bonis, p. 642 sqq. cf. p. 633 sqq. and p. 637.

[185] Isæus de Dicæog. Hered. pp. 109—111.

[186] Cf. Lys. c. Ergocl. pp. 818, 819.

[187] See Heraldus vi. 2, 4, concerning the name, which also is frequently applied to other sorts of companies.

These are what Harpocration[188] means when he quotes from Philochorus the institution of the symmoriæ in the archonship of Nausinicus, since the symmoriæ of the trierarchy were not introduced till afterwards; and Demosthenes became immediately after his seventh year in Olymp. 100, $\frac{3}{4}$ (B.C. 377), the leader of a symmoria[189]: at that time, therefore, they had been already established. After they had been once introduced, they continued uninterruptedly until the 108th Olympiad. The fact of Demosthenes having been for ten years a leader in the symmoriæ of the property taxes, proves their existence up to Olymp. 103, $\frac{1}{2}$ (B.C. 367): they were, however, still in existence in Olymp. 106, 4 (B.C. 353), which is the date of the speech against Meidias, since Demosthenes says of this person, that "up to the day on which he was speaking he had never been the leader of a symmoria[190]." Whether they were still in existence in Olymp. 107, 4 (B.C. 349), has been questioned[191], because Demosthenes, in the second Olynthiac[192], says to the Athenians, that "formerly they paid taxes by symmoriæ, but now they administered the state by symmoriæ;" these words, however, distinctly prove their existence at that time. For an institution, like the symmoriæ, might very easily obtain a powerful influence upon the public administration, as the different classes of property, and above all, the divisions of people created by them, would produce political parties, and parties could only retain their activity so long as the division existed. Since then, as Demosthenes ironically says, the state was governed by symmoriæ, the symmoriæ must have been established by law. The custom of paying taxes by symmoriæ they had disused; for the obvious reason, that no one will pay taxes if he has any means of avoiding them. The object of Demosthenes evidently is, as the whole oration proves, to raise a tax;

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[188] In v. *συμμορία*, and thence Photius, Suidas, Schol. Demosth. vol. ii. p. 55, Reiske and Scaliger in his *ἀλυμπ. ἀναγρ.*

[189] See above, book iv. ch. 7.

[190] *Μειδίας δὲ πῶς; οὐδέπω καὶ τήμερον συμμορίας ἡγεμὼν γέγονεν;* Demosth. c. Mid. p. 565, 19.

[191] Wolf, p. xcviii. note.

[192] P. 26, 21, *πρότερον μὲν γὰρ, ὦ ἄνδες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰσεφέρετε κατὰ συμμορίας, νυνὶ δὲ πολιτεύεσθε κατὰ συμμορίας.* And thence in the oration *περὶ συντάξεως*, p. 172, l.

but, seeing the disinclination of his hearers, he says to them ironically, that the institution of the symmoriæ had lost all its meaning, and instead of taxes being raised according to it, that they only used it for political purposes. If the oration against Bœotus *περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος* belongs to the first year of the 108th Olympiad (B.C. 348), as has been supposed, we should have a proof that at that time the symmoriæ of the property taxes were still in existence, since they are there mentioned[193] in opposition to the trierarchy. The date of this speech may, however, be placed with much greater probability in Olymp. 107, 1 (B.C. 352)[194]: yet I entertain no doubt that this constitution of taxes was still in existence at the later period.

It should be observed, that Petit, and those who follow him, have not recognised any connexion between the sym-

[193] P. 997, 1.

[194] Corsini F. A. t. iv. p. 30, and Wolf, p. cix. sq. note, suppose this speech to belong to Olymp. 108, 1, after Dionysius: but preponderating reasons compel me to dissent from this opinion. Dionysius places the birth of Dinarchus about the archonship of Nicophemus, in Olymp. 104, 4, and states that at the time of the oration against Bœotus *περὶ ὀνόματος*, Dinarchus was thirteen years old, as this oration belongs to the archonship of *Θούμηδος* or *Θεόμνητος*; the latter because in the oration *περὶ ὀνόματος* the expedition of the Athenians against Pylæ is mentioned as having lately taken place. No such fact, however, is mentioned in this oration: Dionysius clearly meant the expedition against Tamynæ, p. 999, and Dionysius should evidently be corrected from this passage, *τῆς εἰς Ταμύνας ἐξόδου γεγενημένης*, and the hiatus *ἡ δ' εἰς . . . Ἀθηναίων ἔξοδος* should be supplied with *Ταμύνας* and not with *Πύλας*. The probability is, that there was also an hiatus formerly in the former words *τῆς εἰς . . . . ἐξόδου γεγενημένης*, the copyist being unable to read, in either place, the name *Ταμύνας*, of which he was ignorant. Some corrector then inserted *Πύλας* in the former place, who had some vague notion of the well-known expedition against Pylæ. Now Dionysius was only acquainted with the expedition and the battle of Tamynæ from the oration against Meidias, which speech he falsely attributes to Olymp. 107, 4, allowing himself to be misled by the Olynthian expedition there mentioned; and from that he places the birth of Demosthenes four years too late. For the same reason he also places the battle of Tamynæ four years too late; since it probably was fought in Olymp. 106, 4 (comp. below chap. 13). That the date he assigns is 108, 1, whereas agreeably to his calculation it should have been Olymp. 107, 4, is in fact no objection, as two successive civil years are always confounded from their being included in the same natural year, reckoned from spring to spring. Consequently, on account of the Eubœan expedition, and the battle of Tamynæ, the oration against Bœotus *περὶ ὀνόματος* must be placed four years earlier, viz., about Olymp. 107, 1.

moriæ and the property taxes. Wolf has the merit of having remarked after Heraldus the introduction of the symmoriæ, and of having distinguished between the passages which treat of the symmoriæ of the property taxes, and the symmoriæ of the trierarchy. But after we have examined all the statements concerning the property taxes and the valuation, and although the solution will appear to possess sufficient clearness and simplicity, the chief question as to the mode in which the symmoriæ of the property taxes were arranged, will not be answered in a manner at all satisfactory.

The only detailed account of their constitution occurs in the ignorant interpreter of Demosthenes[158], whom we usually call Ulpian, in a passage upon the second Olynthiac, wherein we may follow Wolf in separating the first from the second part, as being more ancient. "Each of the ten tribes," he says, "was obliged to specify 120 of its own members who were the most wealthy. These 120 then divided themselves into two parts, so that there were 60 whose property was very large, and the other 60 less rich. They did this in order that if a war should suddenly break out, and the less wealthy should not happen to have any money at their disposal, those who were more rich might advance the taxes for them, and be afterwards repaid at the convenience of the others. This body of 60 was called a symmoria." In the second part, which is the work of a different hand, it is stated, that "since each of the ten tribes specified 120, the whole number of liturgi (as they are here called) was 1200: that these were distributed into two divisions, each of 600 persons, or ten symmoriæ; that these two great divisions were again sub-divided into two smaller, each of which was composed of 300 persons of five symmoriæ. One of these bodies of 300 was made up of the most wealthy, who paid the taxes either before the others or for them (*προεισέφερον τῶν ἄλλων*), the other 300 being in all things subject to them." So far the account is, in some measure, intelligible: that which is further added is both absurd and foreign to our purpose.

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[158] P. 33, ed. Hieron. Wolf. See F. A. Wolf, p. xcv.

According to this, then, it appears that two classes of 300, under similar arrangements, were instituted, the members of which were of nearly equal property, and advanced money for the payment of taxes for two others equally poorer. There is, however, no intelligible reason why the 600 most wealthy were to be divided into two equal portions, if in all other respects they were similarly constituted; it is far more probable that the first 300 were a higher class; therefore to *pay taxes among the* 300, means the same as *to pay taxes among those who contributed the largest amount*[196]. The only passage from which it might be inferred that there existed two classes of 300 persons similarly constituted, is that already quoted from the second Olynthiac[197] (and it is from this that Ulpian has principally formed his view of the subject, and drawn many other erroneous conclusions): "Now you administer the state by symmoriæ, an orator is the leader of both, and under him a general, and the 300, who are always ready to clamour, while the rest of you are assigned, some to one and some to the other." I confess that I do not entirely understand this passage, but I can only explain it by supposing that two classes of different degrees of wealth were the highest, since the immediate effect of a different scale of property would be to create a spirit of party between the classes; while the contest which in ancient days always existed between the superior and inferior, the rich and the poor, would necessarily be combined with it, although in a less degree. Upon this point, however, we need give ourselves no trouble; but that 1200 was the entire sum of those who paid taxes is wholly incredible, and can by no means be assumed upon the testimony of such a writer as Ulpian.

The passages of the ancient writers and of the grammarians bearing on this subject are extremely indefinite; in several of them we do not even know whether they refer to the Twelve

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[196] Isæus de Philoctem. Hered. p. 154, Orat. c. Phænipp. p. 1046, 20, p. 1039, 17. The account given in Lex. Seg. p. 306, is too vague to be of any service. [That the 300 were the most wealthy appears from Demosth. de Corona, p. 235, 17. See below, note 394.—TRANSL.]

[197] P. 26, and thence in the speech *περὶ συντάξεως* with some alterations.

Hundred of the property taxes, or of the trierarchy[198]. The Thousand, whom Harpocration quotes from Lysias and Isæus, and considers as identical with the Twelve Hundred, can neither be referred to the symmoriæ of the property taxes after the year of Nausinicus, nor to the symmoriæ of the trierarchy[199], since Lysias died in Olymp. 100, $\frac{2}{3}$ (B.C. 378)[200]. Philochorus treated of the symmoriæ in the archonship of Nausinicus, in the fifth book of the Atthis[201], but of the Twelve Hundred in the sixth book[202]: they were therefore wholly distinct, so that he rather appears to have mentioned the latter in connexion with the trierarchy according to symmoriæ which was subsequently introduced. Isocrates[203] however calls those who paid taxes and performed liturgies "the Twelve Hundred;" where from the context all liturgies, and particularly the trierarchy, may be understood; so that twelve hundred must have borne all the property taxes and all liturgies, including the trierarchy.

But this passage again proves nothing, as it is perfectly fair to suppose that an orator might express himself in such terms in speaking of an exclusive class like the rich, who paid the largest portion of taxes, and to whom the state on every occasion first looked for assistance. And although similar statements are highly embarrassing to the writer who endeavours to reconcile all contradictory statements, yet the reasons for considering that all the inhabitants of the state not included in the Twelve Hundred, whose property was at all considerable, were subject to taxation, are so preponderating, that it is impossible to refuse our assent to them. If we supposed that only twelve hundred rich persons paid the property taxes, the result would

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[198] As *e. g.* of Harpocration in v. *συμμορία* (although in this passage the symmoriæ of Nausinicus are the symmoriæ of the property taxes) and in v. *χίλιοι διακόσιοι*.

[199] The latter is the opinion of Wolf, p. ex. note.

[200] Taylor, Vit. Lys. p. 150, vol. vi. Reiske.

[201] Harpocration, and thence Phot. Suid. and Etymol. in v. *συμμορία*.

[202] Harpocrat. in v. *χίλιοι διακόσιοι*.

[203] De Antidosi p. 80, ed Orell. *Εἰς δὲ τοὺς διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους τοὺς εἰσφέροντας καὶ λειτουργοῦντας οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν παρέχεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν υἱόν· τρὶς μὲν ἤδη τετριηραρχήκατε, τὰς δ' ἄλλας λειτουργίας πολυτελέστερον λελειτουργήκατε καὶ κάλλιον ὧν οἱ νόμοι προστάττουσιν.* Similarly Harpocration in v. *χίλιοι καὶ διακόσιοι : οἱ καὶ ἐλειτούργουν.*

be in the highest degree improbable. In the oration against Leptines, which was delivered in Olymp. 106, 2 (B.C. 355), when the symmoriæ of the property taxes were in existence, the rich both served the trierarchy and paid property taxes[204]. Thus, if there were only twelve hundred who contributed to the property taxes, none but the trierarchs, as they were twelve hundred in number, would have paid this impost; which is evidently absurd. Demosthenes says himself that those also paid taxes who were too poor for the trierarchy. And how could it have happened that no more than twelve hundred possessed a sufficient amount of property to enable them to pay taxes, since in the 94th Olympiad there were only five thousand citizens not possessed of some landed property, and so late as in Olymp. 114, 2 (B.C. 323), nine thousand citizens had more than 2000 drachmas[205]? And moreover how liberal would the assembly have been with property taxes, if all the burden fell upon twelve hundred! Lastly, as has been proved, the property tax was a fixed part of the total valuation after the year of Nausinicus, and it is frequently considered as such by Demosthenes, in the oration concerning the symmoriæ[206]; but at that time (Olymp. 106, 3, B.C. 354), the symmoriæ of the property taxes were in existence. The total valuation of 5750 or 6000 talents was not the property of only twelve hundred citizens, but the valuation of the *whole* country (*τίμημα τῆς χώρας*), according to the statements of Demosthenes and Polybius; although Ulpian[207] infers from the obscure and difficult exposition of Demosthenes in the speech concerning the symmoriæ, that it was only the valuation of the twelve hundred trierarchs.

It might indeed be easily proved by calculation, that twelve hundred could not be the possessors of the whole valuation, if an assumption which has already involved the supporters in such evident contradictions needed farther refutation. Demos-

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[204] See above chap. 1.

[205] See chap. 3.

[206] See chapters 4, 7, and 8.

[207] P. 141. *τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν τὴν τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων τριηράρχων τετιμῆσθαί φησι ταλάντων ἑξακισχιλίων.* I will return again to this subject in the twelfth chapter, when speaking of the trierarchy. Budæus indeed *ut sup.* p. 539, considers the 6000 talents as the whole valuation, and in p. 540 sqq. as the valuation of the Twelve Hundred.

thenes was in the highest class, to which those who had the largest valuations belonged; his valuation however only amounted to 3 talents. Assuming now that there were four classes, which together made up twelve hundred persons, and that each class contained about three hundred taxable members; that moreover the valuation of the highest class was upon an average greater than that of Demosthenes, for example, 5 talents (which supposes a property of 50 talents for each person, and therefore is more likely to be too high than too low), the total valuation of the first three hundred only amounted to 1500 talents. Now evidently the three other classes could not have had three times 1500 talents, because not only was their property less, but the valuation was of a smaller part of that property[208]. Let any person reckon as he pleases, let him assume a greater or less number of classes, he never can obtain 6000 talents for twelve hundred men, if in the highest class there were persons whose valuation only came to 3 talents, unless indeed assumptions altogether groundless are admitted.

The calculation of Budæus is wholly unfounded[209]. He considers the Twelve Hundred alone as the superior class to which Demosthenes belonged, and assumes that others had higher valuations, for example, four hundred upon an average 3 talents, another four hundred 4 talents, and another four hundred 8 talents, which altogether gives 6000 talents. But if twelve hundred individuals were the sole owners of the whole taxable property, the classes of valuation must have referred to these alone. If the class of Demosthenes was that which had the highest valuations, there must have been inferior classes; and in fact if twelve hundred possessed the whole valuation, the lower classes must have been classes of the twelve hundred; thus the hypothesis of the learned writer falls to the ground.

It is therefore far more probable that many others besides the Twelve Hundred paid taxes, who, although their property was less considerable, were assessed in the total valuation; and this supposition receives considerable support from a fact mentioned in an oration of Demosthenes. Androtion was employed

[208] Book iv. ch. 7.

[209] Ut sup. p. 542.

to collect some outstanding taxes which belonged to the impost laid on in the archonship of Nausinicus, 7 out of 14 talents; they were however small sums, not one amounting to a mina, as Demosthenes says, but a little more than 70 drachmas from one person, and from another 34[210]. That these were the arrears of payments which had been made by instalments is very improbable; we are nowhere informed that the payments were ever made in this manner; nor is it indeed credible, since the necessities of the state required prompt payment. We should not therefore be justified in assuming that such a liberty was granted by the state; and even if it did exist, what rich man would have remained 34 drachmas in debt? It follows therefore that these were taxes due from persons of small fortune, who, from their inability to pay them, were forced to submit to be insultingly treated by Androtion, and to be unjustly thrown into prison; and since Androtion collected 7 talents, and as no one paid a whole mina, he must have collected taxes from at least four or five hundred persons. Now if we reckon that the other 7 talents were in like manner chiefly made up of small sums (which is the only probable supposition), it gives about twelve hundred people whose taxes were in arrear; these however cannot have been the twelve hundred wealthy persons, but citizens of a lower valuation, who paid even such small sums as these with difficulty. In addition to this the lands of corporations were subject to the property taxes, as an inscription of the 114th or 115th Olympiad shows[211]: the corporations however cannot well have been among the Twelve Hundred. Or shall we assume that the symmoriæ had been at this period for the second time abolished? For that however we should be compelled first to assume, contrary to all probability, that the property of the corporations had not been before subject to taxation.

From the whole of this argument it follows that a number of persons with small fortunes or valuations were distributed into

[210] Demosth. c. Androt. p. 606 sq. particularly p. 611, 21. In the speech against Timocrates, p. 751, 4, only 5 talents are mentioned, although in other respects nearly the same account is given in both places.

[211] See above note 156.

symmoriæ, and in such a manner that equal parts of the valuation were contained in them (in the same way that Demosthenes proposed to distribute the valuation with regard to the trierarchy)[212], and that the Twelve Hundred composed the first class. There were according to Ulpian twenty symmoriæ, and of these each one must have made up 300 talents, each could be again subdivided into a fifth, and each fifth into a third, so as to make three hundred, in the same manner that Demosthenes makes one hundred divisions. The three hundred most wealthy can only have been the presidents of these divisions; next to these would come three hundred, whose wealth entitled them to the second rank; and after these two other divisions of three hundred classed in like manner according to the value of their property; and these twelve hundred together composed a body that managed the affairs of the symmoriæ, which duty however fell chiefly upon the first three hundred. The members of less property who were assigned to these, were not taken into consideration, as the more wealthy were always compelled to bear the chief part of the burden, and to manage the business of the whole body. Thus at least the constitution of the symmoriæ assumes an intelligible form, and the statements of the ancients can be in some measure reconciled. If however any other person can explain the subject in a more satisfactory manner, to no one would it be more acceptable than to myself.

That the Three Hundred were, in a certain sense, managers of the symmoriæ there can be no doubt; but whether those who are called the leaders of the symmoriæ (*ἡγεμόνες συμμοριῶν*)[213] are the same, or whether they were only included in them, is a point which I shall leave undetermined. Whichever we suppose to have been the case, they must have been the most wealthy, in the same way that in the trierarchy the second and the third classes are opposed to the leaders[214]. The symmoriarchs[215] were either the same with the leaders, or with the

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[212] See chap. 13.

[213] Concerning whom see book iv. ch. 7, and Harpocrat. Suid. in v. *ἡγεμὼν συμμορίας*, although in the latter place the leaders of the symmoriæ connected with the trierarchy are meant.

[214] Demosth. de Corona, p. 260, 20.

[215] Hyperides ap. Poll. iii. 53. Heraldus (vi. 2, 8) understands the sym-

superintendents of the symmoriæ (*ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν*), who occur in connexion with the trierarchy, and without doubt they also belonged to the symmoriæ of the property taxes. Of the manner in which these persons conducted the affairs of the symmoriæ we are entirely ignorant: it is however natural to suppose that they presided over the meetings and proceedings of the symmorites. It is certain that they kept the diagramma of their symmoriæ, which was a register of the properties of the members, and of the amount which each one was respectively required to pay, in the symmoriæ of the property taxes as well as in those of the trierarchy: but whether the persons who kept this register (*διαγραφεῖς, ἐπιγραφεῖς*) were again different, or were a committee of the superintendents of the symmoriæ, is unknown. If the speech of Hyperides against Polyeuctus concerning the diagramma, or that of Lysias concerning the property taxes, which however is anterior to the institution of the symmoriæ, had come down to our days, we should be better informed with regard to the valuation and all the subjects relating to it[216].

The chief persons were moreover compelled to pay the taxes in advance (*προεισφορὰ*), which obligation Ulpian ascribes to his two bodies of three hundred under similar arrangements: this however may be with more probability understood of the first three hundred[217]: in the same manner as in modern times forced loans have been taken from the rich, with which this advance of taxes may be aptly compared, although the differences of the two are manifest. The advance of taxes was always claimed; in the archonship of Nausinicus the duties were collected by the state itself, as is proved by the fact of Androtion's gathering the taxes that were still unpaid; whereas in cases where the taxes were to be paid in advance,

moriarch to be the person who contributed the most, for which there is not sufficient foundation.

[216] Harpocrat. in v. *διάγραμμα*, where observe the words *πρὸς τὴν τίμησιν τῆς οὐσίας*, and thence Suidas in vv. *διάγραμμα, διαγράμματα, διαγραφεὺς, διαγραφὴ*, also Lex. Seg. pp. 236, 241, Harpocrat. in v. *ἐπιγραφεῖς*, Zonaras in vv. *διάγραμμα* and *ἐπιγραφεῖς*.

[217] Orat. c. Phænipp. p. 146, 20 sq. This Demosthenes *περὶ συμμοριῶν*, p. 185, 14, calls *μέρος τῶν ὄντων ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν προεισενεγκεῖν*. The *ἀλληλέγγυον* in the Byzantine empire was of the same nature.

the payer had afterwards to recover the money which he had advanced[218]. For the imposition of a tax to be paid in advance, a decree of the people was necessary[219], and sometimes even the persons were appointed by the senate, who were to advance the taxes for their fellow demotæ, as well as for all others who possessed landed property in the demus (*οἱ ἐγκεκτημένοι*). The client of Lysias in his oration against Polycles had landed property in three demi, and was rated for all three to the advance of taxes, although, as he was trierarch, he was under no obligation to pay them.

It should be observed that the relation with regard to this point which existed between the demi and the symmoriæ cannot be accurately explained, nor is it of any importance for our inquiries; but so much is clear from this example, that the landed property was taxed according to the demi, a fact which is not irreconcileable with the other regulations respecting property taxes. In the same way in Potidæa the owners of more than one estate paid taxes for each respectively to the demus in which the land lay, and not collectively for all to the demus in which he was himself entered; as this was the only method of determining with certainty whether the less wealthy had been justly taxed[220]. It is manifest that there was a right of action for recovering the money which had been advanced[221]. The whole property was liable for the payment of taxes, the state having the power of confiscating it in case of failure[222].

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[218] Demosth. c. Polycl. p. 1209, 4.

[219] Ibid. p. 1208, 25.

[220] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. 2, 5, and there Schneider.

[221] This is the meaning of Demosth. c. Pantænet. p. 877, 19, *ἂν προεισφορὰν μὴ κομίζηται*, if a person was not repaid the money which he had advanced.

[222] Demosth. c. Androt. p. 609, 23, and c. Timocrat. p. 752. To this Photius and Suidas in v. *πωλητὴς* also refer; *ὑπέκειντο δὲ τοῖς πωληταῖς καὶ ὅσοι τὸ διαγραφὲν ἀργύριον ἐν πολέμῳ μὴ εἰσέφερον*. I may observe in this place that a fragment of an inscription in Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 354, refers to an *εἰσφορά*. The inscription belongs to the time of the Romans, since *ἀργυροταμίαι* was not the name of any Athenian authority before their rule, which it was in the reign of Hadrian (see the law, Ib. No. 355), and *ἑκατοστιαῖοι τόκοι* is evidently a translation of the Latin phrase *usuræ Centesimæ*, as in the Basilica, ix. 3, 87, and in Zonaras Gloss. p. 650, and therefore the *εἰσφορὰ* may be something totally different from the ancient property tax, as the word signifies any contribution or direct tax whatever. We may ob-

Moreover, if any person thought that he could show that he had been unjustly included among the three hundred who paid the taxes in advance, and that some other could with greater justice be substituted in his place, the legal remedy for the aggrieved party was the *ἀντίδοσις* or exchange, to which the speech against Phænippus refers.

There still remain two points to be discussed, the explanation of which we have intentionally deferred to the end of this investigation.

In the first place, it appears singular that in the valuation made in the year of Nausinicus a fixed sum, viz. 2500 drachmas, was taken as the taxable capital for all persons indiscriminately; and that it was then determined what portion of this amount was in each class to be paid as a tax[223]. For this I can find no other reason than that this amount of property was the lowest which came into consideration on the imposition of the tax; it being fixed how much the valuation of each person should amount to, if his property was only 2500 drachmas; and for properties of greater amount, what the proprietor was to pay for every 2500 drachmas. When Antipater made the rights of citizenship depend upon the amount of property, the lowest rate was 2000 drachmas, which agrees well with our assumption. Demosthenes[224] indeed asserts, that "whereas his family used formerly to perform trierarchies, and to pay large property taxes, now that he had only received from his guardians 31 minas and his father's house, by means of their shameless frauds, he could not even afford to pay *small* property taxes:" but an expression of this kind, spoken in the feelings of bitterness, and

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serve that from what is to a certain degree intelligible in this inscription it may be seen that at this period whoever did not pay this *εἰσφορὰ*, was obliged to pay interest for it and provide sureties, and that after the expiration of the term the property might be confiscated which had been given as security; *Ἐπιτίμιον ὁριζέτωσαν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀπειθίας ἀξίαν. [ἐὰν δὲ] ..... εἰσφέρειν μὴ βούλωνται — — — πρῶτον μὲν ἑκατοστιαίων τόκω[ν] ἀφ' οὗ δέον ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰσ[φορὰ]ν οὐκ ἐποιήσαντο, μέχρι μηνῶν ἄλλων δύο τῆς τελευταίας ἀποδόσεως. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς [μῆνας] τούτους εἰ μένοιεν μὴ πειθόμενοι, ἀποδόσθωσαν οἱ ἀργυροταμίαι μετὰ τοῦ κήρυκος τὰς ὑποθήκας — — — — πρῶτον μὲν τῶν [μὴ] δεδωκότων, εἶτα καὶ τῶν ἐγγυητῶν*, &c.

[223] See book iv. ch. 7.

[224] C. Aphob. i. p. 833, 24, cf. 825, 6.

in the consciousness of the injury which he had sustained, cannot be understood literally to mean that no taxes were imposed on a property of this amount; especially as it cannot be denied, that a property tax upon so small an estate was oppressive, and consequently a person might say that he could not bear it, even if he was bound to pay it.

The other question is, for what reason Demosthenes[225] should propose in two places that all should pay taxes, every one in proportion to his property, if, as we have assumed, this was already the case according to the actual regulations. As it is the unpleasant duty of the inquirer into ancient history to collect every expression that may be accidentally thrown out, he is often unable to explain such indistinct allusions as these, since the author wrote for contemporaries, and not for posterity. At the same time, our orator gives thus much to be understood, that the public administration was left to some; while others were compelled to perform the trierarchy, to pay the taxes, and to serve in the army; and he proposes that it should not be permitted that one party should be always passing decrees merely for the disadvantage of the other, as the injured one would be always indolent, and never perform as much as was required of it[226]. But who then are these who administered the public affairs? They can have been no others, as has been before stated, than the three hundred in the symmoriæ, who composed the political parties. If then there were some who did not pay taxes, these appear to have been the very persons; and if this was in fact the case, the irregularity was at variance with the principles of the constitution. It almost appears as if the wealthiest in the symmoriæ had at that time unjustly thrown the burden upon the poorer, exactly as was the case in the symmoriæ of the trierarchy[227]. Let any person who may hope to find a clue suggest some other solution of the difficulty.

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[225] Olynth. i. p. 15, 1. Ἔστι δὴ λοιπὸν, οἶμαι, πάντας εἰσφέρειν, ἂν πολλῶν δέῃ πολλά, ἂν ὀλίγων ὀλίγα. Olynth. ii. p. 27, particularly in the words λέγω δὴ κεφάλαιον, πάντας εἰσφέρειν ἀφ' ὧν ἕκαστος ἔχει τὸ ἴσον. Wherefore the meaning of τὸ ἴσον of course is, *one person like another, in equal proportion.*

[226] Olynth. ii. ubi sup.

[227] See below, chap. 13.

CHAPTER X.

The Property Taxes imposed upon, and the Liturgies performed by, the resident Aliens.

WE have hitherto been treating of the liturgies and the taxes of the citizens, which fell upon (though only for the property which they possessed in Attica), even if they lived abroad[228]. That those who had been created citizens (*δημοποίητοι*), such, for instance, as Pasion the rich banker, and Apollodorus his son, paid taxes and were in the symmoriæ (unless, like Leucon, the king of the Bosporus, they had an immunity), is hardly worth remarking; and the only reason that Harpocration[229] quotes out of Hyperides that the *δημοποίητοι* were in the symmoriæ of the trierarchy is, that they were not admitted into the genea and phratriæ, but only into the tribes and demi.

But the resident aliens (*μέτοικοι*) and the isoteles (*μέτοικοι ἰσοτελεῖς*) also performed public services which were different from the liturgies of the citizens[230], and paid property taxes. The resident aliens could, as well as the citizens, obtain an exemption from the liturgies, particularly the choregia[231]; and not only this, but there even occurs a case, apparently in the age of Demosthenes, of some Sidonian citizens resident a Athens having been allowed an exemption from the property taxes[232]; at the same time we have but little knowledge of these liturgies of the resident aliens. Their choregia, according to the testimony of the Scholiast to Aristophanes[233], took place at the Lenæa: Lysias[234] speaks of the choregias which he had performed; but, since he was an isoteles (though from what

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[228] Demosth. c. Lept. § 31, (p. 469, 5,) cf. § 25, (p. 466, 10 sqq.)

[229] In v. *συμμορία*.

[230] Thence *μετοίκων λειτουργίαι* and *πολιτικαὶ λειτουργίαι*.

[231] Demosth. c. Lept. § 15 sqq. (p. 462, 13 sqq.) § 50, (p. 475, 23 sqq.) Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 87 ad fin.

[232] Inscript. ubi sup. Concerning the *ἀτελεῖς μέτοικοι*, as Pollux (iii. 56,) calls them, also see book iii. ch. 7 and 21.

[233] Plut. 954, where the doubts of Hemsterhuis are of no importance.

[234] C. Eratosth. p. 396.

time we are ignorant), this does not prove that the common resident aliens performed several choregias. Of the trierarchy and gymnasiarchy of the resident aliens nothing is known; in fact it is impossible to conceive that they existed. On the other hand, an account in Ulpian[235], taken from some ancient commentator, that they provided a banquet (ἑστίασις) in the same manner as the tribes, has every probability on its side, since they had their own Jupiter (Ζεὺς μετοίκιος), and separate religious rites, and consequently their own festivals, at which banquettings of this kind used to be given. Lastly, there remain to be mentioned the scaphephoria[236], the hydriaphoria, and sciadephoria, which were inferior and dishonourable services imposed upon the resident aliens.

With regard to the property taxes, Lysias[237], a resident alien or an isoteles, boasts of having paid several; and they are often mentioned in connexion with the resident aliens[238]. This class of settlers composed distinct symmoriæ (μετοικικαὶ συμμορίαι)[239], which had treasurers of their own, and a fixed contribution was settled for each one by persons appointed for that purpose (ἐπιγραφεῖς)[240], which was of course only to be paid upon the moveable property in Attica, since, with the exception of the proxeni and isoteles, no resident alien had the right of possessing land. What however was the average amount of this tax for any given rate cannot be determined; and there can be no doubt that the total valuation of the resident aliens was very different at different times, as they were not domiciliated in Attica. Probably the larger number of them were poor. As examples of rich aliens we may mention Dinarchus the orator, Cephalus, and his sons Polemarchus and Lysias[241]: the latter not only had three houses and 120 slaves, but, in addition to vessels of silver and other articles of furniture and

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[235] Ad Lept. § 15.

[236] Lex. Seg. p. 280, p. 304, and others.

[237] Ubi sup.

[238] E. g. Lysias c. Frumentar. p. 720.

[239] Hyperides ap. Poll. viii. 144.

[240] Harpocration in v. ἐπιγραφεῖς, Isocrat. Trapezit. 21.

[241] Concerning Dinarchus see Dionysius Halicarnassensis in the Life of Dinarchus, and of the others Plat. Rep. init. Lys. c. Eratosth. p. 386 sqq.

manufactured goods, was possessed of 3 talents of silver, 400 cyzicenics, and 100 darics, in ready money. Other rich aliens are mentioned to have been executed by the Thirty Tyrants for the sake of their property. It cannot be supposed that a large sum could ever have been collected from them, however strict the laws may have been against concealment, as their property was easily concealed, and they were naturally ill-inclined to the state[242]. They were besides more severely pressed for money than the citizens; hence Demosthenes speaks of the unfortunate aliens: thus, for instance, in the tax levied during the archonship of Nausinicus they contributed the sixth part[243], which is mentioned in such a manner that it is plain that this was a higher rate than that which the poor citizens paid. The tax in the year of Nausinicus was a twentieth, and are we to suppose that while the citizens paid a twentieth, the resident aliens contributed the sixth part of the valuation? This cannot appear probable. If a tax of a twentieth had been imposed upon the taxable property of the citizens, a larger amount could not have been raised from the resident aliens, as the injustice and severity of such a measure would have been too evident. To understand with Ste. Croix[244] the sixth part of the property itself is not less absurd than to suppose that the citizens paid a fifth part. *To contribute* (εἰσφέρειν) does not merely mean to *pay taxes*, but to enter a certain taxable capital into the symmoriæ[245]. The citizens of the first class returned the fifth part of their property as taxable capital; the other classes a smaller part: the resident aliens however appear upon an average to have been rated with the sixth part of their property, which probably in the far greater number of cases was very oppressive*.

Of the aliens who were resident in Attica there was a par-

[242] Lys. c. Frument. ubi sup.

[243] Demosth. c. Androt. p. 612, προσήκειν αὐτῷ τὸ ἕκτον μέρος εἰσφέρειν μετὰ τῶν μετοίκων. Cf. p. 609, extr. where he uses the expression, τοὺς ταλαιπώρους μετοίκους.

[244] Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, t. xlviii. p. 185, in his Memoir upon the μέτοικοι.

[245] See above chap. 7, particularly note 171.

* In England the rates of taxation upon aliens were formerly double those upon natives. Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 310.—TRANSL.

ticular portion that enjoyed certain rights and privileges called Isotelia, the nature of which, on account of the scarcity of information, is involved in some obscurity. The isoteles (*ἰσοτελεῖς, ὁμοτελεῖς*)[246], after the proxeni, were next in rank to the citizens, without being in fact citizens; they were neither entered into the tribes and demi, nor into the phratriæ and genea; and, like other foreigners and resident aliens, they were, together with the proxeni, subject to the jurisdiction of the archon Polemarchus[247]. Hence it may be justly wondered how so acute a writer as Wolf could imagine that they had the right of voting, and were eligible to public offices[248]. No one but a citizen could vote in the Assembly, and for this it was necessary that he should have been entered into a tribe and demus: in like manner no isoteles could sit in a court of justice. The testimony of Ammonius and Thomas Magister, who assert that they had all the privileges of citizens, with the exception of the offices of government, is wholly undeserving of credit, unless among the offices of government (*τὸ ἄρχειν*) they include, contrary to the usual custom, the rights of voting and judging (*τὸ ἐκκλησιάζειν καὶ δικάζειν*). With regard to the latter point, indeed, they certainly had some privileges; for they could be appointed diætetæ[249]: it is however by no means probable that they could have been appointed by lot public diætetæ; since there can be no doubt that they had no patron (*προστάτης*), which is evident without any express testimony; they could transact business directly with the people and the proper authorities, without it being necessary for that reason that they should have the right of voting in the public assembly. They had moreover the right of possessing both land and mines[250]. With regard to the liturgies and taxes, they were, as their name shows, on the same footing as the citizens; they neither paid

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[246] Pollux iii. 56. Concerning them in general see also the Memoir of Ste. Croix above cited.

[247] Pollux viii. 91.

[248] Wolf, p. lxix. sq.

[249] Demosth. c. Phorm. p. 912, extr. See Hudtwalcker von den Diäteten, p. 2, who in pp. 40 sqq. makes it probable, from the authority of Suidas, that aliens could not be public diætetæ. An isoteles was however only a *μέτοικος*, and so far an alien.

[250] Book i. ch. 24, iii. ch. 3.

any protection-money, nor were they subject to the same obligations as the resident aliens[251], but were upon the same level with the citizens[252]; and from these taxes they could be exempted in the same manner as the citizens, for the law of Leptines expressly mentions the exemption of the isoteles. Their valuation must therefore have been entered in the register of the citizens, more particularly as they possessed landed property; and it was according to this rate that they paid property taxes, and not according to the scale of the resident aliens. With regard to the liturgies, they were unquestionably exempted from the degrading services performed by the resident aliens; and in reference to this point, as well as to the military service, they may have been entered in the registers of the tribes. Moreover, as to whether the isoteles, as is asserted[253], were compelled to give a larger sum for these distinctions, or whether they gave less than the resident aliens[254], a determinate judgment appears impossible, since, according to the different circumstances of the case, either the one or the other may have existed. It is however evident that in the property taxes the majority of the citizens, with whom the isoteles were equal, were rated lower than the resident aliens. A more exact account as to the obligations of the isoteles with regard to the liturgies, was contained in the speech of Isæus against Elpagoras, which is unfortunately lost[255].

CHAPTER XI.

General Nature of the Trierarchy.

WE will now proceed to consider the extraordinary liturgy, the trierarchy, which, although it has been frequently treated of by

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[251] Harpocrat. in v. *ἰσοτελής*.

[252] This is the *τέλος ὡρισμένον*, of which Suidas (in v. *ἰσοτελής*) speaks, i. e. a duty determined according to the valuation, when the time occurred. The other passages of the grammarians and modern writers may be seen in Wolf, p. lxx. The article in the Lex. Seg. p. 267 upon this subject is quite correct: *Ἰσοτελεῖς: μέτοικοι τὰ μὲν ξενικὰ τέλη μὴ τελοῦντες, τὰ δὲ ἴσα τοῖς ἀστοῖς τελοῦντες.* See also Photius.

[253] Wolf, p. lxi.

[254] See Ste. Croix, p. 190.

[255] Harpocrat. in v. *ἰσοτελής*.

the early scholars[256], and its nature more fully ascertained by the inquiries of Wolf, must nevertheless be submitted to a new examination, in order to explain what the person who provided it furnished to the state; what changes it underwent in the different periods, and when these took place; and, lastly, what proportion the services bore to the property of the trierarch.

The object of this liturgy was to provide for the equipment and management of the ships of war. Whoever undertook it, was called, by virtue of his office, trierarch, and attended the ship wherever it went in person, or, what is the same, by means of a deputy. This institution produced great advantages to the state, on account of the competition to fill the office of trierarch; but since in war the opportunity of victory, if not seized when it presents itself, will not wait for the dilatoriness of the combatants, the favourable instant was frequently lost, by the want of dispatch necessarily connected with the trierarchy[257]; and since the division of the burdens was frequently made upon unfair principles (until Demosthenes introduced the only just method of allotment), many individuals were grievously oppressed. The first disadvantage they sometimes remedied by appointing trierarchs beforehand, especially in early times. And we may, in the first place, consider that the duties of those to whom Themistocles transferred the building of the ships, were of this kind[258]; and again, the trierarchs who in Olymp. 87 2, (B.C. 431), were required to provide the 100 triremes, which were always to be kept prepared for the defence of Attica, in case of an attack by sea[259]; and, lastly, the 400 annual trierarchs mentioned in Xenophon[260]. But in Olymp. 107, 1, (B.C. 352), when Demosthenes delivered the first Philippic, the

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[256] I may mention Sigonius (de Rep. Ath. iv. 4), who is so clear on all the other subjects which he has treated, Petit, who is always confused (Leg. Att. iii. 4), Budæus (de asse et partibus ejus v. p. 531 sqq.), Scheffer (Mil. Nav. ii. 4, and particularly vi. 6), Tourreil (Notes to his Translation of the Oration for the Crown in his Works, Paris, 1721, t. iv. p. 501 sqq.), and Barthélemy (Anacharsis, t. iv. chap. 56).

[257] Demosth. Philipp. i. p. 50, 18.

[258] Polyæn. Strateg. i. 30, 5. The other passages relating to this point, and some observations suggested by them, may be seen in my Dissertation upon the Silver Mines of Laurium.

[259] Thucyd. ii. 24.

[260] Xenoph. Rep. Ath. 3, 4.

appointment of the trierarchs did not take place till the fleet should have been in readiness to sail[261]. They were nominated by the generals, who[262], as being the legal authorities for military affairs, brought the causes relating to the trierarchy into court.

The amount of expense was unquestionably fixed according to the rate actually required by law, by means of the diagramma of the trierarchy. If any one thought that he was too heavily burdened in comparison with another who could bear the liturgy better than himself, the *ἀντίδοσις*, or exchange, was open to him. In extreme cases they fled for refuge to the people, or to the altar of Diana at Munychia[263]. Those who were in arrear could be put into prison by certain officers, whose duty it was to expedite the business relating to the trierarchy, and to despatch the fleet (*οἱ ἀποστολεῖς*)[264]. On the other hand, whichever trierarch first brought his ship off the stocks, or distinguished himself in any other way, received as a reward the crown of the trierarchy; on which account a considerable degree of competition existed between the different individuals. The trierarch was also exempted by law from all other liturgies[265], the advance of the property taxes included.

The duration of the trierarchy was limited by law to one year, after which the successor elect (*διάδοχος*) entered upon the office. The latter was obliged to join the ship, in case it was absent, and to take charge of it and succeed to the duties of his predecessor, on pain of a severe penalty in case of non-compliance. If any one had continued his trierarchy beyond the legal period, he could charge the additional expenses, which he was no longer bound to pay (*τοῦ ἐπιτριηραρχήματος*), to his successor[266]. The trierarchy was legally dissolved, if the

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[261] Demosth. ubi sup.

[262] Demosth. c. Lacrit. p. 940, 16, c. Bœot. de Nomine, p. 997, 2, comp. Suidas in the passage quoted by Matthiæ Misc. Philol. vol. i. p. 249.

[263] Demosth. de Corona, p. 262, 15, and there Ulpian. Concerning the place see Lysias, c. Agorat. p. 460.

[264] Demosth. ubi sup. and there Taylor, also Demosth. de Coron. Trierarch. p. 1229, 6, where the orator mentions a decree by which it was ordained that those persons should be imprisoned who did not bring their vessel to the pier (*χῶμα*) before the last day of the month.

[265] Book iii. ch. 21.

[266] Demosth. c. Polycl. To this the article in Lex. Sex. refers (*δικ. ὀνόμ.* p. 193, 30,) *τριηράρχημα*: *ὅταν ὁ τριή-*

general gave out no pay to the sailors, and also if the ship had run into the Piræus, as then it was not possible to keep the crew together[267]. In general no person was bound to serve a liturgy for more than the alternate years[268]; but in the later times of Isæus[269], the citizens could only be compelled to serve the trierarchy after an interval of two years, although many made no use of this immunity.

Exemption from the trierarchy was prohibited by an ancient law, which was still in force in Olymp. 106, 2 (B.C. 355), when Demosthenes spoke against Leptines; nor was it even allowed to the successors of Harmodius and Aristogiton; it was, however, granted to the nine archons, as being the highest public officers[270]; whence it is easy to see that nothing but necessity induced them to except those whose property was below the amount required for the trierarchy. Demosthenes also evidently leaves out of his consideration those exemptions which were not personal, but founded upon causes sanctioned by law; the abolition of which appears not to have even come within the scheme of Leptines, since the orator would not have failed to touch upon this point. Demosthenes, in the speech concerning the symmoriæ[271], which was delivered in Olymp. 106, 3 (B.C. 354), mentions the circumstances under which a citizen was exempted from the trierarchy. These were if a person was *incapable* (*ἀδύνατος*); by which we certainly must not understand bodily incapacity (which could only have exempted from

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ραρχος περισσὸν δίδωσι τοῖς ναύταις; an extremely incorrect explanation, but not too incorrect for the compiler of this Lexicon. The proper name is moreover *ἐπιτριηράρχημα*, and not *τριηράρχημα*. Photius in v. *τριηράρχημα* gives a somewhat better interpretation.

[267] Demosth. ibid. p. 1209. Cf. Isocrat. c. Callim. 23.

[268] *Ἐνιαυτὸν διαλιπὼν*, says Demosthenes against Leptines. See book iii. ch. 21.

[269] Isæus de Apollod. Hered. p. 184, *δύο ἔτη καταλιπών*. See also b. iii. c. 22.

[270] Demosth. c. Lept. § 15 (p. 462, 15), § 22 (p. 464, 29), § 23 (p. 465, 18).

[271] P. 182, 14. That the following words are neuter is shown by the expression *ὀρφανικῶν*, which, if the masculine gender were meant, would be *ὀρφανῶν*. Pollux understood this point correctly, as well as Harpocration in v. *κληροῦχοι*; but the same grammarian in v. *κοινωνικῶν* inaccurately considers this word as masculine. Cf. Poll. viii. 134, 136. Photius in *κληροῦχοι* and *κοινωνικὸν* has only transcribed Harpocration.

personal services, and not from contributions to the symmoriæ), but insufficiency of property, since a man of sufficient property for the trierarchy might by misfortune be reduced in his circumstances; also the property of heiresses (*ἐπίκληροι*), of wards (*ὀρφανικὰ*), of cleruchi (*κληρουχικὰ*), and of companies (*κοινωνικά*); for which exemptions he deducts altogether 800 persons from the 2000 whom he proposes to bring into the symmoriæ of the trierarchy. It is natural to suppose that heiresses could only be exempted so long as they remained unmarried; if the heiress was married, the husband bore the burdens and obligations attached to the property, as in the case of the dowry. Wards were free from all liturgies during their minority, and one year over[272]; hence Demosthenes, for the ten years that he was in the hands of guardians, paid property taxes, but no liturgies; nor did he perform any trierarchy, although his family was capable of supporting the expenses of that service[273], and he himself became a trierarch after the expiration of his minority. By the property of cleruchi, Harpocration, perhaps, rightly understands the property of those who were sent out by the state as cleruchi, or colonists, and while they were absent upon the public service could not perform the trierarchy. I should, however, conjecture that the exemption was limited to the property which they had taken with them. What kind of property is meant by the property of companies admits of some doubt. Pollux[274] states that it was a legal term, and classes it with other words which signify a property in common, and not of individuals; by which explanation little is gained. The most probable conjecture is that in Harpocration, viz., that the property of brothers, which had not yet been divided among them, is meant, from which the father might be able to perform the liturgy, although the sons were not sufficiently rich separately to bear the expenses of trierarchy[275]. Perhaps, he adds, it

[272] Lysias c. Diogit. p. 908.

[273] Demosth. c. Aphob. p. 833, 26. Cf. Lucian. Demosth. Eulog. 11.

[274] viii. 134, where it is joined with *ἀνέμητα χρήματα, καὶ κοινὰ, ἐπίκοινα, οὐ διηρημένα.*

[275] Cf. Orat. c. Euerg. et Mnesibul. p. 1149, 20, *ἠρόμην αὐτὸν, πότερα μεμερισμένος εἴη πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν, ἢ κοινὴ οὐσία εἴη αὐτοῖς*, and immediately afterwards, *ὅτι νενεμημένος εἴη.*

may refer to persons who had entered into a voluntary association for trade, or for any other object, each member of which was possessed of less than the whole valuation of the property of the company. Is it, however, conceivable that persons in this situation could have ever obtained an exemption by such means; since, had it been the case, every person would have so disposed of his property, or have vested it in similar associations, in order to exempt himself from the liturgies? Lastly, it hardly deserves to be observed, that mines, since they could not be exchanged, did not impose upon their possessors the duty of serving the trierarchy.

A peculiarity with respect to the trierarchy, which must not be passed over, is the liability of the trierarchs to render an account of their expenses[276], which naturally excites our astonishment, when we find it remarked in Æschines that the trierarch applied his own property to the service of the community in a manner unknown to the public; yet our surprise is diminished, and we perceive that the provisions of the law were both wise and necessary, when we consider how manifold were the relations in which the trierarch stood to the state with regard to money and money's worth. The ship he always received from the state, and at times ready equipped; and are we to suppose that he was not required to account for this public property? He also received money out of the public treasury, whether it was for the payment of the sailors and soldiers, or other expenses. Thus we find in Demosthenes 30 minas paid to each trierarch, and an equal sum is stated in an inscription, the date of which is Olymp. 92, 3 (B.C. 410), to have been given to a trierarch[277]. Thus even in the age of Themistocles the receipts from the mines were distributed among a number of rich men, at the rate of a talent apiece, in order to build and equip vessels for the use of the state. The trierarch supplied pay and provision money to the whole crew, which the general was bound to provide him with[278], or he

[276] Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 407 sq. Demosth. c. Polycl. p. 1222, 11.

[277] Demosth. de Trierarch. Coron. p. 1231, 13, Corp. Inscript. No. 147, Pryt. 9.

[278] Demosth. c. Polycl. p. 1209, 10.

furnished the necessary stores[279], which were paid for at the public cost.

Those also who were appointed to manage the accounts were called treasurers of the trierarchs[280], although we are ignorant whether all vessels, or only the sacred triremes, had officers of this description; nor can it be inferred from the statement of Demosthenes' client in the oration against Polycles[281], who himself kept the accounts of his expenses in the trierarchy, that he had no treasurer. In the case of the trierarchs of the sacred triremes, it was still more natural that they should be responsible for their expenses, as the state was there the party that performed the liturgy[282]. The fund belonging to these triremes, which was under the management of the treasurer, and from which all the expenses were defrayed, was a public fund. Trierarchs of this description[283] were only the representatives of the state in the character of commanders and officers; and how large the sums were which they received, we see from the instances of the trierarchs of the trireme Salaminia, and of the Delian theoris, which latter, for the voyage to Delos alone, received 7000 drachmas from the funds of the temple in that island.

Supposing however that the trierarch paid everything at his own expense (though he was by no means bound to do so, and it was an event of rare occurrence), even then it was necessary that he should inform the state of his course of proceeding, and deliver in an account, which would merely have stated that no public money had been advanced to him, and would have given him an opportunity of defending himself, if any one called his

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[279] Plutarch. de Gloria Athenarum, 6.

[280] Eupolis ap. Harpocrat. in v. ταμίαι, and the grammarians who transcribe him. [Meineke, Fr. Com. Gr. vol. ii. p. 505]. Compare too particularly book ii. ch. 6, note 94.

[281] Demosth. c. Polycl. p. 1216, 15.

[282] Ulpian ad Demosth. c. Mid. p. 636, ed. Wolf.

[283] In order that there may be no doubt as to the fact of the sacred triremes having trierarchs, I may mention the trierarchs of the Salaminia in Plutarch Themist. 7, of the Paralos in Isæus de Dicæog. Hered. p. 90, and of the Delian theoris in Corp. Inscript. No. 158. No ship of war could be without a trierarch; for he not only provided for the expenses, but also commanded the vessel.

statement in question. And, lastly, it was probably necessary for the trierarch to show that he had performed the required services correctly.

CHAPTER XII.

First Form of the Trierarchy, or the Trierarchy of a single Person. Second Form of the Trierarchy, or the Trierarchy in part of a single Person and in part of two Syntrierarchs, from Olymp. 92, 1 (B.C. 412) *until Olymp.* 105, 3 (B.C. 358).

THE trierarchy is as ancient as the regular constitution of Athens, since it is mentioned in the time of Hippias[284], and it probably belonged originally to the forty-eight naucrarias of Solon and the fifty naucrarias of Cleisthenes, according to some fixed regulation, since each naucraria was obliged to equip a ship[285]; so that the trierarchy of each tribe would have been of 5 vessels. But when the naval force was gradually increased to 200 vessels, which was the number at sea at the time of the battle of Salamis, the trierarchs also became more numerous.

For a long time each ship had only one trierarch; subsequently it was allowed that two persons should fill the office together (*συντριήραρχοι, συντριηραρχοῦντες*), in order to divide the expenses, and either of them commanded on board the vessel for different portions of the year, as they agreed with one another[286]. When this was first permitted we are not informed; since however in Olymp. 92, 1 (B.C. 412), after the defeat in

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[284] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. 2, 4.

[285] See book ii. ch. 21. *Ναύκραροι* are properly ship proprietors (*ναύκληροι*) or their deputies; the following appears to have been the method by which it happened that this name was given to the managers of the political associations, which were afterwards replaced by the demi. The Athenian citizens were first distributed into forty-eight, and afterwards into fifty corporations, and to each of these a ship was allotted, which they were bound to man. They then selected some one member of the corporate body, who, either alone, or with the support of the rest, had in his turn the duty of equipping the ship, and thus was for the time being possessor of the ship (*ναύκληρος, ναύκραρος*), and the company allotted to him was the naucaria or naucraria (naucleria), of which he naturally was the principal person. Photius properly compares the naucrarias with the symmoriæ.

[286] Demosth. c. Polycl. p. 1219, sup. p. 1229, extr.

Sicily, the union of two persons for the choregia was allowed[287], the same may have been permitted at the same period for the more expensive trierarchy. The most ancient account of a trierarchy performed jointly by two persons, or a syntrierarchy, is later than Olymp. 92, 3 (B.C. 410), since Lysias speaks of the syntrierarchy which the guardian accounted for to the brothers of Diogiton, who perished at Ephesus under Thrasyllus in Olymp. 92, 3 (B.C. 410)[288]: the next, which is in Isocrates[289], belongs to the year of the battle of Ægospotamos (Olymp. 93, 3, B.C. 406); and the same form of the trierarchy is alluded to in a passage in Xenophon[290], which refers to some time anterior to Olymp. 95, 1 (B.C. 400). This usage continued for a very long period: for when Demosthenes instituted the suit against Aphobus (Olymp. 104, 1, B.C. 364), we still meet with the syntrierarchy[291]; also in Olymp. 104, 4 (B.C. 361)[292], and even so late as in Olymp. 105, 3 (B.C. 358). The latter year is that of the Eubœan war, in which the Athenians supported a party against the other states, and against Thebes[293]; and there were then at Athens for the first time voluntary trierarchs, the terms of service for those appointed by law having expired[294]. Demosthenes, who was one of them, had a

[287] Book iii. ch. 21. Manso (Sparta, vol. ii. p. 501) also supposes that there were four trierarchs to one ship, by erroneously combining different accounts which have no connexion with each other.

[288] Lys. c. Diogit. pp. 907—909. The date may be seen from pp. 894—897, compared with Xenoph. Hell. i. 2.

[289] Isocrat. c. Callimach. 23.

[290] See chap. 15, at the end.

[291] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 564, 20, cf. c. Aphob. ii. p. 840, 26, sqq. c. Mid. p. 539, extr.

[292] Demosth. c. Polycl. p. 1218, 14, cf. p. 1219 sup. and l. 18, also p. 1227.

[293] Diod. xvi. 7. The following passages in Demosthenes also refer to this fact, c. Androt. p. 597, 18, pro Megalop. p. 205, 25, de Cherson. p. 108, 12, c. Mid. p. 570, 23, *ὅτε τὴν ἐπὶ Θηβαίους ἔξοδον εἰς Εὔβοιαν ἐποιεῖσθε ὑμεῖς*, where Ulpian correctly notes, *ἐγένετο γὰρ καὶ διὰ τὸν Πλούταρχον ἑτέρα*: for the expedition made for the sake of Plutarch is not alluded to, concerning which see chap. 13, but that which took place in Olymp. 105, 3 (B.C. 358). For in the expedition of Olymp. 106, 4 (B.C. 353), Meidias was trierarch of his vessel at his own expense, but in the earlier expedition was treasurer of the Paralos. Spalding (ad Mid. p. 131) corrects the passage of Ulpian without any reason; for the only way in which he can be understood is, that he supposed that more than one campaign was undertaken for the sake of Plutarch; he does not however appear to have had any clear notion of the question.

[294] Demosth. de Corona, p. 259, 12, c. Mid. p. 566, 23.

syntrierarch by name Philinus[295]; and although this was a voluntary service, yet there can be no doubt that it followed upon the whole the regulations which were then in existence for the regular trierarchy. Also in the oration against Euergus and Mnesibulus[296], mention is made in connexion with an event of Olymp. 105, 4 (B.C. 357), of two syntrierarchs by name Theophemus and Democharès, who were indebted to the state for ship's furniture belonging to a prior trierarchy, and thus this syntrierarchy could only have been performed a short time before, for instance, in the second, or more probably in the third, year of the 105th Olympiad (B.C. 359—8); nor, lastly, can it appear strange that even after the introduction of the symmoriæ two syntrierarchs should have been employed for the immediate direction of the trierarchy.

It is perhaps scarcely worthy of remark, that the syntrierarchy of two persons was at most only a means of relief, in case there did not happen to be a sufficient number of wealthy citizens who could singly bear the expense, and numerous examples occur between Olymp. 92, 1 and 105, 3 (B.C. 412—358), of trierarchies performed by one individual; of which I will only mention that of Apollodorus in Olymp. 104, 3 (B.C. 362)[297]; and in two passages of Isæus, which refer to this period, the trierarchy of individuals and the syntrierarchy are mentioned as contemporaneous[298]. It is therefore not difficult to conceive that during this period about 400 trierarchs may have been employed every year, which is the number stated by Xenophon (or whoever is the author of the Treatise on the State of Athens) as being annually appointed.

Concerning the services to which the trierarch was liable

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[295] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 566, 24.

[296] P. 1145, 22 sqq. where *πολὺν χρόνον* (p. 1146, 20) must only be taken relatively, for it cannot mean any long period of time.

[297] Demosth. c. Polyclem.

[298] De Dicæog. Hered. p. 110, *ἀλλὰ μὴν τριηράρχων τοσούτων κατασταθέντων οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἐτριηράρχησεν οὔθ' ἑτέρῳ συμβέβληκεν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς* (after the Anarchy). *Συμβάλλειν* is said of the syntrierarchy, cf. *συμβαλέσθαι* ap. Lys. c. Diogit. pp. 908, 909, also Isæus de Apollod. Hered. p. 184, *ὁ μὲν γὰρ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ—τριηραρχῶν τὸν πάντα χρόνον διετέλεσεν, οὐκ ἐκ συμμορίας τὴν ναῦν ποιησάμενος ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν* (after Olymp. 105, 4, B.C. 357), *ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν αὑτοῦ δαπανῶν, οὐδὲ δεύτερος αὐτὸς ὢν ἀλλὰ κατὰ μόνας.*

previously to Olymp. 105, 3 (B.C. 358), there cannot exist the slightest doubt. The state always supplied the vessel. When Themistocles built ships for the Æginetan war out of the funds accruing from the mines, the building and the entire equipment of them was delivered in charge to 100 wealthy individuals, who were the trierarchs appointed for that service; but they were indemnified for the building, since, according to Polyænus, they each received a talent. This law of Themistocles enacted that twenty new ships should be built every year, and the ship-building was continued on the part of the state, as far as we can ascertain, during the independence of Athens[299]. All the ships in the public docks belonged to the state: private individuals of great wealth had indeed triremes of their own, for example, Cleinias, who fought in his own vessel at Artemisium; but since it is particularly remarked[300] that he went out with a trireme of his own, it may be inferred that the state was bound by law to provide it. Those which were in the possession of private individuals, they either built voluntarily for the public service, or for their own use in privateering or similar objects, or else for sale. The same was the case in the Peloponnesian war. The 100 triremes which, according to a decree of the people, were to be kept in readiness from Olymp. 87, 2 (B.C. 431), in case Attica was threatened by sea, were evidently ships provided by the state, and trierarchs were appointed for those in readiness[301]. In the Knights of Aristophanes[302] (Olymp. 88, 4, B.C. 425), Cleon threatens to make his adversary a trierarch, and to contrive that he should receive an old ship with a rotten mast, upon which he would be forced to spend much money for the necessary repairs; it is therefore certain that the hull and mast were at that time furnished by the state. In the expedition against Sicily in Olymp. 91, 2 (B.C. 415), the state provided nothing but the pay of the crew, and the body of the vessel; the trierarchs supplied the entire equipment of the ship, and also gave voluntary contributions[303]; and when a trierarch

[299] Concerning the building of the ships, see book ii. ch. 19.

[300] Herod. viii. 17, Plutarch. Alcibiad. i.

[301] This is the only manner in which Thucyd. ii. 24 can be understood.

[302] Vs. 908 sqq.

[303] Thucyd. vi. 31.

boasts of having, after the battle of Ægospotamos (Olymp. 93, 3, B.C. 406)[304], saved his ship, it is clear that the vessel must have been public property, as otherwise he would have gained no credit by saving it. The same person also states that he and his brother had voluntarily contributed the pay and provision of the crew. We may conclude then that at this time the state furnished both the pay and provision, as well as the hull of the ship together with the mast; the trierarch however had to equip the vessel, and was also bound, as the threat of Cleon shows, to keep it in repair.

We may likewise infer that the same regulations were in force until Olymp. 105, 3 (B.C. 358), although the inaccurate expressions of the ancients, who always presuppose more in their readers than they have the means of knowing, have deceived all modern writers from the ignorant Ulpian down to the acute editor of the oration against Leptines. Demosthenes in his speech against Meidias[305] says, that when he was trierarch in Olymp. 104, 1 (B.C. 364), the trierarchs provided everything at their own expense, and had to furnish the crews (*πληρώματα*); and if we are to give credit to the remarks of Ulpian upon this passage[306], the state must frequently have supplied both the ship and the seamen; and in fact in many instances have provided nothing, but left it to the trierarch to supply the ship together with the pay and provision of the crew. The real state of the case, however, is as follows. Ulpian, as usual, has no authority for his statement, but by a singular process of logic draws all these conclusions from the words of Demosthenes. The orator however, in speaking of the whole expenditure, refers to the later form of the trierarchy in symmoriæ; when these were instituted, the state equipped the vessel and provided the crew, in addition to which the trierarch who commanded the ship received pecuniary assistance from the symmoria; it follows therefore that the whole expense did not fall upon him. Again, when the orator speaks of the whole expenditure, it is evident that he can only mean the entire amount of expenditure which

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[304] Isocrat. c. Callimach. 23.

[305] P. 564, 22.

[306] P. 680 A.

was customary at any time; the state however always provided the pay and provision together with the hull of the ship, as well before the trierarchy of Demosthenes, as in the time of the symmoriæ. Thus no one of the hearers of Demosthenes could have thought that these expenses were alluded to. In short, when Demosthenes speaks of the whole expenditure, he means nothing more than the equipment of the vessel, and the keeping it in repair, as well as procuring the crew, which last was frequently attended with much expense, as the trierarch, not being allowed to employ foreign sailors, was obliged to select the crew from the native population, which produced considerable trouble and vexation, and subjected the trierarch tothe necessity of giving bounties to induce persons to serve. Even in Olymp. 104, $\frac{3}{4}$ (B.C. 361), the state was bound by law to equip the ship.

That this must have been the meaning of the orator is partly evident from the expenses of his trierarchy, and partly from the speech against Polycles. When Demosthenes had attained his majority, and begun to prosecute his guardians, Thrasylochus, the brother of Meidias, wished to compel him either to the exchange of property, or else to take the trierarchy. Demosthenes was willing to adopt the former course, reserving, at the same time, his claims upon his guardians; it being however necessary to confirm this agreement by a judicial decision which could not be obtained in a short time, he voluntarily undertook the trierarchy, which was let to a contractor for 20 minas[307]: it was, however, a syntrierarchy[308], so that the whole

[307] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 539 sq. C. Aphob. ii. p. 840 sq. This Thrasylochus was himself trierarch three years later, Olymp. 104, 4, Orat. c. Polycl. p. 1222.

[308] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 564, 20. Κἀγὼ μὲν κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐτριηράρχουν, εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἐξελθών, ὅτε σύνδυο ἦμεν οἱ τριήραρχοι, &c. From this passage too Ulpian has deduced some ingenious conclusions; thus (p. 660 E—G) he supposes that there existed a syntelia of three members, each of whom contributed 20 minas, in order that he might make the sum a talent, since it is stated in one other place, that a person had let his trierarchy to a contractor for a talent. As if this had been a fixed price, and Demosthenes did not distinctly say that there were only two trierarchs! Spalding also ad Mid. p. 43, has been led into error. It may be observed that the words in the speech against Meidias, p. 540, 18, ὅσοι τὴν τριηραρχίαν ἦσαν μεμισθωκότες, refer

trierarchy only cost 40 minas. Can it, however, be conceived that this was the whole expense of a trierarchy, if the ship, pay, and provision were supplied by the trierarch, the cost of pay and provision for one month alone being as much as that sum? Moreover the speech against Polycles, which belongs to Olymp. 104, $\frac{3}{4}$ (B.C. 361), contains the best information concerning the services which were required by law at that time. There is not however the slightest mention of any obligation to supply the vessel, but the trierarchs were only bound to launch it (*καθέλκειν*)[309]. The crew was appointed out of the demus, but since a few only were obtained, and those inefficient, Apollodorus was glad to hire some sailors of his own[310]: he also voluntarily paid them their wages, the generals having only given him provision-money, and two months' pay out of seventeen[311]: he also subjected himself to many other voluntary expenses, such as having fresh seamen in different places[312]: he also equipped the vessel himself[313]; nor was he single in this respect, for others had likewise supplied the ship's furniture[314], and let it to their successors: other trierarchs however at this period received their vessels ready equipped from the state; and in the oration concerning the crown of the trierarchy[315], which refers to the same form of this service, it is distinctly stated that the state equipped the ship; and this is also evident from the fact that in Olymp. 105, 4 (B.C. 357), ships' furniture which had not been formerly paid for, was claimed from the trierarchs[316]. Apollodorus having supplied the furniture of his own ship, had it in his power to demand of his successor to bring new with him, or to purchase the old from himself[317]: with regard to the ship itself there is nowhere any trace either of selling or letting, but Apollodorus only requires of his successor

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to both Thrasylochus and Meidias, the latter of whom was only connected with it as assistant to his brother, and had no share or partnership in the trierarchy. Meidias was not trierarch before the introduction of these companies, as we learn from Demosthenes, p. 564.

309 P. 1207, 13.

310 P. 1208.

311 P. 1209.

312 P. 1210 sqq.

313 P. 1208, 17, p. 1217, 15.

314 P. 1219, extr.

315 P. 1229, 15.

316 Orat. c. Euerg. et Mnesib. p. 1146.

317 C. Polycl. p. 1215.

to receive it from him according to law, in order that he might be at length relieved from his trierarchy, which he had already performed beyond the legal time.

It is therefore hardly worth repeating that at that time nothing but the repairing and preservation of the ship and ship's furniture was required of the trierarchs by law, all other expenses being merely voluntary; although these were by no means trifling, as the state frequently furnished damaged ships, and on voyages, and particularly in battles, great losses were experienced.

This Apollodorus, the son of Pasion, is a remarkable instance how harshly a man could be treated, if he was rich and ambitious, and moreover, like him, a new citizen: for his statements bear the stamp of truth in a greater degree than the assertion of Phormion, that Apollodorus in the offices of trierarch and choregus had not even expended as much from his own property as was required of himself with an income of 20 minas[318]. Such extreme contradictions are to be found in the same orator, provided that both speeches are the work of Demosthenes. Others again performed their duties at less expense, and only supplied what was absolutely necessary: and even before the institution of the symmoriæ, the trierarchs began to let their trierarchy for a certain sum to a contractor, of which Thrasylochus is the most ancient among the known examples, in Olymp. 104, 1 (B.C. 364). Another instance occurs in Olymp. 104, 4 (B.C. 361), of the same person again[319], and about what amount was given at that time we have already seen. It is evident that they transferred their trierarchy to whoever required the lowest sum[320], a custom detrimental to the state, not only on account of the insufficient performance of the duties, but also because the contractors by their privateering practices gave occasion to reprisals against the state[321]. Upon occasions of defeat, the guilt therefore justly fell upon those who had let their trierarchy, the letting being considered

[318] Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 956 sq.
[319] Demosth. c. Polycl. p. 1222, 26.
[320] Demosth. de Trierarch. Corona p. 1230, 5.
[321] Ibid. p. 1231 sq.

as a desertion of their post (λιποτάξιον)[322], since the trierarch was bound to be on board his ship and to command in person.

Before we proceed further it may be worth mentioning, that even after Olymp. 105, 3 (B.C. 358), the hull of the ship was not supplied by the trierarchs or the symmoriæ, but that the ships of war were in general the property of the public, as Xenophon expressly says in his Essay upon the Revenues[323]; though I do not mean to deny that individual citizens occasionally presented their triremes as a free gift to the state. For since at these later times the trierarchy was often not announced, and the trierarchs not appointed till the campaign was already at hand[324], it was not possible that the trierarch should build a new ship; if, however, it was expected from him to buy one, a delay of this kind would have been most unwise, as the possessors, in order to vex or defraud him, would have been able (unless a maximum was fixed by the state) to demand an exorbitant price; not to mention that of a sale of this description, which must have occurred almost every year, there is not the slightest trace in any ancient author. Or are we to suppose that the person who had built a new ship, delivered it to his successor gratis? It is impossible to imagine that such an inequality as this existed in the distribution of the burdens of the trierarchy. To what purpose moreover had the Senate of Five Hundred, together with the trireme-builders, the duty of inspecting the ship-building[325]? To what purpose did the latter receive their funds from the state, if the trierarchs supplied their own ships? To what purpose was it that about Olymp. 106, 2 (B.C. 355), new triremes were built at the expense of the state (as we see from the speech of Demosthenes against Androtion), and that it was even enacted that the senate should not receive its crown, if the ships were not in readiness? Do we not know that Eubulus superintended the

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[322] Demosth. de Trierarch. Corona p. 1230.

[323] Chap. 3, δημόσιαι τριήρεις.

[324] Demosth. Philipp. i. p. 50, 19.

[325] See book ii. ch. 19, comp. also ii. ch. 6. That the building was paid for by the public is particularly shown by Demosth. c. Androt. p. 599, 13.

ship-building in the capacity of an officer of state[326]? and that Lycurgus provided 400 triremes, partly by repairing old, and partly by providing new[327]? Still further; in the proposal of Demosthenes respecting the symmoriæ, the ships are supposed to be already prepared, and together with the furniture were to be assigned to the symmoriæ by lot[328]. This proposal, however, only had in view a better regulation of the vessels actually in the possession of the state.

There are only two passages which could seem to favour the supposition that the state supplied the hull of the ship. The first is where Ulpian asserts[329] that the trierarch had at times only supplied the ship; this, however, is an erroneous conclusion from the oration against Meidias, in which it is stated that at the institution of the symmoriæ, the state furnished the crew and equipment[330]; whence he infers, and with him the modern writers on the subject, that the trierarchs supplied the ship. But as to this, what I have already remarked upon the subject again applies, I do not consider it necessary to bestow on it a particular examination. The expression used by Isæus[331], of an Athenian, might appear more doubtful, "who did not make the ship (*τὴν ναῦν ποιησάμενος*) by the assistance of a symmoria like the trierarchs of the present day, but at his own expense;" so that, according to this passage, as well before as after the institution of the symmoriæ the trierarchs furnished the vessel. But the expression "to make a ship" must have another meaning in this passage; because, as has been already shown, it is impossible to suppose that the trierarchs supplied the hull of the ship before the establishment of the symmoriæ. Although *to make a ship* may signify *to build a new ship*[332], it does not necessarily

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[326] Book ii. ch. 7.

[327] iii. 19.

[328] Demosth. p. 183 sup. *εἶτα συγκληρῶσαι συμμορίᾳ σωμάτων ἑκάστῃ τὴν πεντεκαιδεκαναΐαν.* l. 24, *τὰς τριήρεις, ἃς ἂν ἕκαστοι λάχωσι, παρεσκευασμένας παρέχειν.*

[329] Ad. Mid. p. 682 A.

[330] Demosth. p. 564 extr. and p. 565 sup.

[331] De Apollod. Hered. p. 184.

[332] So in the speech against Androtion, where *τριήρεις ποιεῖσθαι* is the same as *καινὰς τριήρεις ποιεῖσθαι*, as there the orator is speaking of new triremes; and elsewhere.

bear that meaning; but the expression is general, and the extent of its signification must be determined from the context. Now the trierarch never received a ship actually ready for sailing: the hull was given to him, and he then built upon it, repaired what was damaged, supplied the furniture and decorations[333], and put the whole in perfect condition. This labour is so considerable that I know no reason why it may not be signified by the words "*to make a ship*," or "*to build a ship*[334]:" for by these means the vessel is placed in a fit condition to sail. Without, then, being hindered by this passage (which on account of the indefinite nature of the expression, cannot be considered as sufficient proof against us), we assert that the state always furnished the pay and provision, in addition to the empty vessel, and that all the alterations in the services of the trierarchy, merely refer to the equipment of the vessel, and to the method of levying the crews.

CHAPTER XIII.

Third Form of the Trierarchy. Syntelia and Symmoriæ, from Olymp. 105, 4 (B.C. 357) *to the end of the* 109*th Olympiad* (B.C. 341).

FROM the account of Ulpian[335], who states that besides the two trierarchs, sometimes three or even sixteen persons combined to defray the expenses, it has been incorrectly supposed that this must have been a peculiar kind of trierarchy, whereas Ulpian's

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[333] Cf. Thucyd. vi. 31.

[334] It might with equal justice be called *ναυπηγήσασθαι*, in the sense of a thorough repair and refitting, and yet this expression is also applied to new ships. Merely repairing is *ἐπισκευάζειν*, e. g., in the decree in the Lives of the Ten Orators, p. 278, and Xenoph. Rep. Ath. 3, *εἴ τις τὴν ναῦν μὴ ἐπισκευάζει*, which is also to be understood of trierarchs, i. e., these words relate to the duties of the trierarchs already appointed, and afterwards mention is made of the appointment of new trierarchs, and of their lawsuits. *Τὴν ναῦν* with the article, signifies a well-known and determinate service, with regard to a fixed vessel, which is assigned to an individual, and shows that it relates to the trierarchs.

[335] C. Mid. p. 681, G, p. 682, B. The emendation of Petit, *καὶ ὅτε δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα τριήραρχοι*, for *δὲ καὶ δέκα* rejected by Wolf, p. ciii. is evidently correct.

words only mean that in the symmoriæ of the Twelve Hundred sometimes three, sometimes sixteen, or any other number of persons, managed the trierarchy of a ship[336]; it would be far more consistent with his statement to refer these unions to the symmoriæ; a supposition which indeed can hardly be avoided, as the symmoriæ were instituted immediately after the double syntrierarchy, as will be presently shown; and indeed at the first establishment of the symmoriæ we find that two persons held the trierarchy together, according to the ancient method, a fact which we learn from the oration against Euergus and Mnesibulus[337]. In the mean time, there is no proof that three persons ever performed the trierarchy together: and it is evident that Ulpian has merely fixed upon the latter number, in order to explain how it was possible that Demosthenes should have paid only 20 minas for a trierarchy, as he himself considered it certain that the lease of a trierarchy always cost a talent; notwithstanding that in the first place there could not have been any fixed price, as it must have varied according to the circumstances and expectations of the contractor; and, secondly, Demosthenes unquestionably performed the trierarchy with one person only, and not with two[338], and moreover long before the introduction of the symmoriæ, viz. in Olymp. 104, 1 (B.C. 364).

The introduction of the symmoriæ is immediately connected with the form of the trierarchy, which has been already treated of, according to which this liturgy was borne either by one alone or by two syntrierarchs. For in Olymp. 105, 3 (B.C. 358), it being found impossible to procure any or a sufficient number of trierarchs according to the legal forms, it was considered necessary to summon voluntary trierarchs. As these, however, could only suffice for the current year, it was necessary to consider of some new regulation for the ensuing

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[336] P. 682, B, *χίλιοι γὰρ καὶ διακόσιοι ἦσαν οἱ ταῖς τριηραρχίαις ἀφωρισμένοι. τούτων δὲ λοιπὸν ἢ συνεκκαίδεκα τὴν τριήρη ἐπλήρουν ἢ σύντρεις, ἢ ὁσοιδήποτε.* The remainder of his account is mixed with absurdities.

[337] P. 1162 extr. cf. pp. 1148—1154, in reference to the connection of the fact and the time.

[338] See above chap. 12, and particularly note 308.

year, and as it was impossible to provide for the public service according to the actual system, they agreed to appoint 1200 partners (συντελεῖς) distributed into symmoriæ, who were to perform the duties of the trierarchy. In the case to which the oration against Euergus and Mnesibulus refers, the trierarchs had been already regulated according to the symmoriæ; the trierarchy, however, of the person for whom this speech was written, which was performed after the establishment of the symmoriæ, took place in the archonship of Agathocles, Olymp. 105, 4 (B.C. 357)[339]. Yet even at that time, two persons were sometimes appointed trierarchs out of the symmoriæ, in order to perform their duties in person. In earlier times no trace of symmoriæ exists, but of the syntrierarchy alone. It is, therefore, highly probable that this year was the first in which the symmoriæ came into operation. In the oration of Isæus concerning the inheritance of Apollodorus[340], the date of which might be placed further back, but cannot be brought lower down, in the oration against Leptines[341], which was delivered in

[339] Demosth. c. Euerg. et Mnesib. p. 1152, 18, cf. Petit. Leg. Att. iii. 4, 10. Concerning the syntrierarchs, see p. 1162, extr. The expenses which were then entailed upon the person for whom this speech is written, by his syntrierarchy, were so great that he consumed the money appointed for the fine to be paid to his adversary, amounting to 13 minas and over, p. 1154. I must in this place explain away a passage from which it might appear that symmoriæ were in existence before Olymp. 105, 4. It is the passage quoted above on the subject of the trierarchy, in the oration against Euergus and Mnesib. p. 1145, 21. Δημοχάρης δὲ ὁ Παιανιεὺς ἐν τῇ συμμορίᾳ ὢν καὶ ὀφείλων τῇ πόλει σκεύη μετὰ Θεοφήμου τούτου, συντριήραρχος γενόμενος. It has been already remarked, that the syntrierarchy of these two persons must have taken place in Olymp. 105, 2 or 3. Now Democharès was a member of the symmoriæ in Olymp. 105, 4, and he may thus appear to have served the former syntrierarchy in the symmoriæ, which, if it were true, would give an earlier date to the symmoriæ. But what prevents us from supposing that Democharès was syntrierarch before, and did not belong to the symmoriæ until Olymp. 105, 4? What renders this the more probable is, that he alone is stated to have been in the symmoriæ, while Theophemus is not mentioned as a member of one, and if they had both been members of a symmoriæ when they performed that trierarchy, Theophemus must have been in the same symmoriæ as Democharès; whereas the contrary must be inferred from the words of the orator.

[340] P. 134, comp. Wolf, p. cix. who supposes the speech to belong to the 105th Olympiad. If it was not delivered in Olymp. 105, 4, its date is Olymp. 106.

[341] § 19, p. 463, 24.

Olymp. 106, 2 (B.C. 355), in the oration upon the symmoriæ which was spoken in Olymp. 106, 3 (B.C. 354), and in the oration against Meidias, which belongs to Olymp. 106, 4 (B.C. 353), this institution is recognised as existing. The law of Periander, by which, according to the account contained in the oration against Euergus and Mnesibulus[342], the symmoriæ of the trierarchy were introduced, was evidently, as may be seen from its agreement with what has been stated, the primary and original enactment upon this subject.

The 1200 Partners (*συντελεῖς*)[343] were properly the most wealthy individuals according to the valuation, and among these, as was the case in the symmoriæ of the property taxes, there was a separate body of three hundred, which was still in existence when Demosthenes abolished the symmoriæ[344]; the whole number was divided into twenty symmoriæ or classes[345]: in these classes a number of members combined for the equipment of a ship, which body was called a *Synteleia* (*συντέλεια*)[346]. A body of this kind often consisted of five or six persons[347], so that a symmoria could furnish ten or twelve ships; but there were fifteen persons to each ship, and therefore only four ships were provided by a symmoria of sixty persons. A division of this kind, which, according to Hyperides[348], was itself called a symmoria, was at certain times appointed by law: the most singular fact however is, that before Demosthenes introduced the new law of the trierarchy according to the valuation, when the institution of the symmoriæ was still in existence[349], according to the actual law sixteen persons were appointed out of the syntelias for each ship, for twenty-five or thirty years[350],

[342] P. 1145.

[343] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 564, extr. de Symmor. p. 182, 19, and the grammarians passim, Harpocration, Suidas, Photius, Lex. Seg. pp. 238, 300, also p. 192, 3, which latter article is however very incorrect.

[344] Dinarch. c. Demosth. p. 33; comp. below, ch. 14.

[345] Demosth. de Symmor. p. 182, 19.

[346] Concerning this word see Demosthenes against Meidias and Leptines as above, Harpocrat. and Etymol. in v. *συντελεῖς*.

[347] Hyperides ap. Harpocrat. in v. *συμμορία*, corrupted by Petit iii. 4, 7.

[348] Ibid.

[349] This is evident from the speech for the Crown, p. 329, 17, p. 260, 21.

[350] Law in Demosth. pro Corona, p. 261, extr. Κατάλογος. Τοὺς τριηράρχους καλεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη συνεκκαί-δεκα ἐκ τῶν ἐν τοῖς λόχοις συντελειῶν ἀπὸ εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ἐτῶν εἰς τετταρά-

and these sixteen bore the burden in equal shares. Since this number does not agree with the constitution of the twenty symmoriæ of sixty persons each, we must either suppose an entire change in the internal arrangements of the 1200 Partners, which is by no means probable; or an increase in their number to 1280; or, if neither of these conjectures appears probable, discover some other method of explanation. Might we not assume, since a part only of the law has come down to us, that there were other material additions to it, which made the meaning clear? It is possible that the syntelias did not consist only of fifteen persons, as they are stated by Hyperides (although he calls them symmoriæ), and that to these fifteen another member was purposely added from a different syntelia, in order to prevent any unjust proceeding among the other fifteen members, and to perform the duties of a comptroller over them. The superintendence of the whole business was performed by the most wealthy, upon whom the burdens of the trierarchy chiefly fell, that is to say, the leaders of the symmoriæ (*ἡγεμόνες τῶν συμμοριῶν*)[351], and the managers of the symmoriæ (*ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν συμμοριῶν*)[352].

κοντα, ἐπὶ ἴσον τῇ χορηγίᾳ χρωμένους. Cf. p. 260, 27, p. 261, 3, 16. *Χορηγία* here means any public service in the general sense. But the difficulty in the expression *ἐν τοῖς λόχοις* cannot be solved, nor has F. A. Wolf, p. 112, been able to remove it. It is certain that *λόχος* may mean a civil as well as a military division, and if not from Xenophon (Hieron. 9, 5), where it may be referred to a military division, it is evident from Aristotle (Polit. v. 8): *τοῦ μὲν οὖν μὴ κλέπτεσθαι τὰ κοινὰ ἡ παράδοσις γιγνέσθω τῶν χρημάτων παρόντων πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ ἀντίγραφα κατὰ φρατρίας καὶ λόχους καὶ φυλὰς τιθέσθωσαν.* The lochitæ also occur in Eustathius in a passage where the context is of a similar nature. See the passage quoted by F. A. Wolf from Salmasius, Misc. Defens. p. Salmas. ad I. A. et R. p. 135, where however the information given is extremely confused and unsatisfactory. Hieronymus Wolf is of opinion that farther researches are necessary as to the meaning of the *πολιτικοὶ* and *τριηραρχικοὶ λόχοι*, and considers that Demosthenes uses this expression for the symmoriæ, which is the only method of overcoming the difficulty. I may likewise mention, that at that time, as is seen from note 349, the symmoriæ were actually in existence, and the only reason why in Demosth. adv. Bœot. de Nom. p. 997, 1, about Olymp. 107, 1, the trierarch is opposed to the symmoriæ, is that the symmoriæ of the property taxes were looked upon as the more ancient and important, although there were at that time symmoriæ of the trierarchy.

[351] Demosth. de Corona, p. 329, 17, p. 260, 21.

[352] Orat. c. Euerg. et Mnesib. p. 1145, 15, p. 1146, 10.

In treating of the amount of the services required, we may pass over the passages concerning the hull, and the pay and provision, which have been already examined; with regard however to the equipment and the levying of the crew we find the most satisfactory accounts. For even before the introduction of the symmoriæ, the state provided the ship's furniture, although some trierarchs supplied it at their own cost[353]; whence it happened that in Olymp. 105, 4 (B.C. 358) there was none in the storehouse, the old ship's furniture not having been paid for by the former trierarchs; and even in the Piræus there were neither sails nor tackling to be bought in sufficient quantities; therefore by a decree of Chæredemus the payment of the money due was required, and the names of the debtors were delivered in by the overseers of the docks to the leaders of the symmoriæ, and to the trierarchs whose ships were then about to sail[354]. By the law of Periander it had been enacted that the leaders of the symmoriæ should receive the names of those who were indebted for the ship's furniture, and distribute among the several trierarchs the duty of enforcing the restitution of it for their own use. The names of the debtors were engraven upon tablets, and all disputes arising between the parties were brought before the court of justice by the officers whose duty it was to dismiss the fleet (*ἀποστολεῖς*) and by the overseers of the docks. Any person who had received ship's furniture was obliged to deliver it up according to the inventory (*διάγραμμα τῶν σκευῶν*), either at Athens, or to his successor who was sent from the symmoria[355]. At this time any person's property could be confiscated, if he did not surrender the ship's furniture, or transfer his own by sale to his successor, who probably had power to distrain the property of the former. From all these circumstances, which are stated in the oration against Euergus and Mnesibulus[356], it is evident that the vessels were equipped for the symmoriæ by the state.

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353 Orat. c. Euerg. et Mnesib. p. 1146.

354 *Τοῖς τριηράρχοις τοῖς ἐκπλέουσι τότε.* Reiske's *οὐκ ἐκπλέουσι* is highly absurd.

355 Concerning this expression see Lex. Seg. p. 236.

356 Pp. 1145—1152.

In the same manner Demosthenes, in his speech concerning the symmoriæ[357], proposes that the money still owing for ship's furniture should be collected according to the inventory belonging to the great symmoriæ; that these classes should distribute the money thus received among their several divisions, which should then send out the ships ready equipped. We learn from the same orator, in the speech against Meidias[358], that the state furnished the crew and equipment of the vessel to the syntelias.

The trierarch therefore had only to take care that the vessel, with all its appurtenances, was in proper repair and order as he received it. Yet the trierarchs withdrew themselves even from this duty; for the most wealthy, who were to perform the service for their syntelia, let their trierarchy to a contractor for a talent, and received the whole sum from their colleagues; so that many in reality paid nothing, and yet were exempted by the trierarchy from all other liturgies[359]. Why the leases should have been higher in more recent than in earlier times, when the services required of the trierarchs had been increased, may appear singular; but of this more will be said presently.

The irregularities which soon prevailed in the symmoriæ appear to have prevented them from attaining their end. On this account Demosthenes[360] in Olymp. 106, 3 (B.C. 354), made a proposal to improve the constitution of the symmoriæ: the essential points of which plan are as follows. Instead of 1200 he proposed to take 2000 persons, in order that, subtracting all who had any possible ground of exemption, there would remain without fail 1200. These were, as before, to be distributed into twenty symmoriæ of sixty members, and each again into five divisions of twelve persons, every person being succeeded by another less rich than himself; and upon the whole there were to be 100 small symmoriæ[361]. The number of triremes was to be 300, in twenty divisions, each of fifteen ships; so that of each hundred, either the first, the second, or the third

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[357] P. 183, 17 sqq.
[358] P. 564 extr. p. 565 sup.
[359] Demosth. c. Mid. ubi sup. cf. de Corona, pp. 260—262.
[360] De Symmor. p. 182 sqq.
[361] Cf. Phot. in v. *ναυκραρία*.

(so called because they were to be successively summoned at different times), each great symmoria was to receive five, each small symmoria one ship. Upon the whole each great was to have fifteen and each small symmoria three ships. Moreover the whole valuation of the country, amounting to 6000 talents, was, "in order that the money also should be well regulated," to be divided into one hundred parts, each of 60 talents, of which five parts would come to each large, and one to each small symmoria, in order that if 100 triremes were required, there should be 60 talents of the valuation to supply the expenses, and that there should be twelve trierarchs to a ship. If however there were 200 triremes, he proposed that there should be allotted to each vessel 30 talents and six trierarchs; and if there were 300, that 20 talents should be given to meet the expenses, and that there should be four trierarchs.

Here is a difficulty with reference to the valuation, which has been passed over by most of the commentators, and which can only be explained in the following manner. Since 6000 talents were the valuation of the whole country and of all the citizens whose property was valued (and not only of the Twelve Hundred, as Budæus assumes in his interpretation of this passage)[362], and as in the symmoriæ of the trierarchy there were in reality only twelve hundred, the division of the valuation among the symmoriæ cannot have been made for the expenses of the trierarchy, but only for that which the state supplied for the equipment of the fleet, and the maintenance and pay of the crew. The orator also, if the 6000 talents had been the taxable capital of the Twelve Hundred, must necessarily have spoken of it more distinctly, when he mentions the manner in which they were distributed: he would doubtless have said, that they were to be so divided that each of the symmoriæ was to receive an equal sum of money; that is to say, each of the small symmoriæ 60 talents; although the arrangement could not have been made precisely in this manner. Consequently the orator only sketches out a plan for the distribution of the property taxes according to the valuation, parallel to the symmoriæ of

[362] De asse et partibus ejus, v. p. 534 sqq. Comp. above chap. 9.

the trierarchy, in order that out of the part of the valuation which belonged to each symmoria of the trierarchy all the expenses should be defrayed which the trierarchs did not undergo; a proposal by which the system of naval affairs was first firmly organized, since there was so frequently a deficiency of pay and provision, and of the other articles which were furnished by the state.

Moreover the public equipment was to be furnished to the symmoriæ, according to the same proportion, at the public cost. The generals were also to divide the docks into ten parts, in order that ships' stations to the number of thirty should be situated near to one another; that each part should be assigned to a tribe or two symmoriæ of sixty members, with thirty ships, and a trierarch be appointed to each ship. The place which each tribe received by lot was to be further divided in the same manner among its third part (*τριττῦς*), so that each should receive ten ships. The levying of the crews was to be effected in the same manner.

Whether these good counsels were ever put into execution we are not informed, but we know that this liturgy continued to decline until Demosthenes passed the law concerning the trierarchy according to the valuation, as he saw that naval affairs, particularly with regard to the companies of sixteen, were totally mismanaged; that the rich exempted themselves from the moderate contribution which was required; that the property of the middling or poorer classes was gradually sacrificed, as they contributed an equal sum with the wealthier, without any distinction of property; and, finally, that the preparations were never ready at the right time, and the state lost its opportunity[363].

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[363] Demosth. de Corona, p. 260. The expression *ἀτελεῖς ἀπὸ μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων* admits of a two-fold explanation. In the first place it might mean that they had obtained an immunity by means of small payments, as by this small contribution to the trierarchy they were exempted from liturgies during the time that they were serving the trierarchy. But, in the first place, the words contradict one another; for if these persons contributed small sums they were not entirely free; also it would have been necessary to mention the burden from which they exempted themselves, and *διὰ* would have been better than *ἀπὸ*: I therefore understand the words thus: "they exempted

This last consequence of mismanagement is censured by Demosthenes as early as in Olymp. 107, 1 (B.C. 352)[364], and it was partly to this reason, and partly to the exhaustion of their strength, that a fresh necessity for the existence of voluntary trierarchs was owing. The first voluntary trierarchy (ἐπίδοσις) has been already noticed, the second was used for the fleet against Olynthus[365], and the third for the war in Eubœa, in which the Athenian army at Tamynæ was supposed to have been surrounded, which account, as was afterwards shown, only originated in a stratagem of Phocion; at that time some citizens made free gifts of triremes[366], perhaps together with the hull; although it is possible that to make a free gift of a trireme (τριήρη ἐπιδοῦναι) only means to equip a public trireme lying in the docks, and to manage it at the individual's expense.

This third voluntary trierarchy occurred immediately before the time when Demosthenes was insulted by Meidias at the Dionysia, and composed the speech against that individual[367]. Now Demosthenes, according to the correct view of Corsini, was born in Olymp. 98, 4 (B.C. 385), and not, as Dionysius supposes, in Olymp. 99, 4 (B.C. 381), and when he wrote the oration against Meidias was thirty-two years old[368], which therefore falls in Olymp. 106, 4 (B.C. 353)[369], and not, as Dionysius

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themselves from the expense, which was proportionally small for their property;" for, as has been already shown, the whole expenses were often defrayed by their colleagues, and they themselves contributed nothing. The common expression is indeed ἀτελής τινος, but in an unusual phrase like the present, with the addition of the words μικρῶν ἀναλωμάτων the orator might have added ἀπὸ for the sake of distinctness. [The first of these two explanations is preferred by Schæfer, Apparatus ad Demosthenem, vol. ii. p. 153.—TRANSL.]

[364] Philipp. i. p. 50.

[365] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 566.

[366] Demosth. c. Mid. pp. 566—568.

[367] P. 566, 28, where observe νῦν, and p. 567, 16.

[368] P. 564, 19.

[369] See Wolf, p. cviii. cf. p. lxii. Petit iii. 4, 7, with less accuracy assumes Olymp. 106, 3, not reckoning the thirty-two years complete. My statement may be also supported against that of Dionysius by the testimony of Demosthenes against Meidias, p. 541. Demosthenes, after the suit against his guardians, had brought an action against Meidias for libellous words (δίκη κακηγορίας), on account of the insult which Meidias had offered to him at the very time when the cause against Aphobus was to have been brought before the court. Meidias was condemned *in contumaciam* (εἷλον ἐρήμην, says Demosthenes); afterwards however, as he did not pay his fine, Demosthenes brought against

thinks, in Olymp. 107, 4 (B.C. 349), and the Eubœan war in like manner in Olymp. 106, 4 (B.C. 353), or a short time before, since some interval had elapsed between the offence and the composition of the speech, as several passages of the oration show, and must necessarily be the case from the course of judicial proceedings. I remark besides, that the battle of Tamynæ[370], and other events connected with the Eubœan expedition, have nothing to do with the expedition against Eubœa in Olymp. 109, 4 (B.C. 341), with which it may be easily confounded. Plutarch of Eretria had called upon the Athenians for assistance[371], and having a party in Athens, to which moreover Meidias belonged[372], he was supported against the advice of Demosthenes, (who, in the oration concerning Peace, delivered in Olymp. 108, 3, B.C. 346[373], boasts of having

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him an *actio rei judicatæ* (δίκη ἐξούλης) eight years before the προβολή against Meidias on account of the insult at the Dionysia. One cannot however well reckon that so many years intervened between the action against Aphobus and the institution of the δίκη ἐξούλης, as to make the latter fall in Olymp. 105, 4; it would be more conveniently placed in Olymp. 104, 4; according to which supposition the oration against Meidias was written in Olymp. 106, 4. Taylor (Præf. ad Mid.) and Wolf (p. cviii.) are indeed of opinion that events are mentioned in the oration against Meidias which happened later; but there can be no doubt that none but the expeditions already mentioned are alluded to, which are evidently of earlier date, and have been confounded with the subsequent wars, the Olynthian expedition even having been mistaken by Ulpian ad p. 578, Reisk. Upon the whole there is no reason for supposing that Demosthenes wrote the speech against Meidias a considerable time after the event itself took place; on the contrary, it may be distinctly shown, for which at present I have no room, that the speech was written soon after the προβολή, and before the composition with Meidias, for which reason it was left by him unfinished. [See Clinton's Fast. Hellen. vol. ii. App. c. 20, ed. 3.—TRANSL.]

[370] Æschin. de Fals. Leg. p. 332 sqq. (delivered in Olymp. 109, 2,) and c. Ctesiph. p. 480 sqq. Plutarch. Phoc. 12, 13, is most explicit upon this point; the date however cannot be determined from his account, as the events that follow are narrated very briefly: I only remark that the dismission of Chares to the Hellespont, mentioned in the Life of Phocion, chap. 16, must not, for the purpose of reconciling it with my account, be referred to that which took place in Olymp. 106, 4 (Diod. xvi. 34), but the historian passes over to occurrences of far later date; of which elsewhere. Of the passage in the speech against Bœotus de Nom. p. 999, with regard to the battle of Tamynæ, I have already treated in note 194.

[371] Æschin. p. 480, Plutarch. ubi sup.

[372] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 579, 2, cf. p. 550, extr.

[373] P. 58, 3.

opposed him,) and Phocion being sent as general was successful in the battle against the mercenaries of Philip and those from Phocis. Subsequently Plutarch the Eretrian was himself again driven out by Phocion[374], for having in conjunction with Hegesilaus the Athenian deceived the people, and stimulated Eubœa to revolt; on which account Hegesilaus was brought before a court of justice[375]; the free constitution of Eubœa was re-established; and the people were for a time their own masters, until dissensions arose, which ended with the setting up of three tyrants favoured by Philip; Hipparchus, Automedon, and Cleitarchus, and also of Philistides in Oreus, as Demosthenes[376] relates in the third Philippic, which was spoken in Olymp. 109, 3 (B.C. 340); these same tyrants were however finally driven out by the Athenians, at the persuasion of Demosthenes[377], and Cleitarchus was slain by Phocion in Olymp. 109, 4 (B.C. 341)[378]. So much with regard to the Eubœan expedition.

With reference to the second voluntary trierarchy, for the expedition against Olynthus, it will be seen that it did not occur long before the third; for the war of Olynthus was still going on at the conclusion of the Eubœan war, as the cavalry which had served at Eubœa went from thence immediately to Olynthus[379].

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[374] Plutarch. in Phoc.

[375] Demosth. de Fals. Leg. p. 434, 14, and there Ulpian p. 390 D. To this war the passage in Orat. adv. Neær. p. 1346, 14, refers. Schneider ad Xenoph. de Vectig. p. 151, confounds with it the war of Olymp. 105, 3, concerning which see above chap. 12, and particularly the passages in note 293. The passage there quoted from the speech for the Megalopolitans, which was delivered in Olymp. 106, 4, might indeed be referred to the war of the latter year; the oration however appears to have been spoken before the beginning of the war, otherwise more mention would undoubtedly have been made of it.

[376] See p. 125, cf. de Corona p. 248, 16, p. 324, 16. Concerning Philistides see Demosth. Philip. iii. p. 119, 22, p. 126, 3 sqq. de Corona p. 248, 15, p. 252, 17 sqq.

[377] Demosth. de Corona p. 252.

[378] Diod. xvi. 74. Wesseling, in his note upon this passage, was aware of the difference between the two battles won by Phocion, but he himself, as well as the commentators upon Plutarch, are in error, when they propose to write Κλείταρχον for Πλούταρχον in Phoc. 13, not to mention others, who confound the totally different accounts respecting Plutarch and Cleitarchus.

[379] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 578 sup. Cf. Orat. c. Neær. ubi sup.

We cannot therefore understand the auxiliary troops which Athens furnished to the Olynthians against Philip in Olymp. 107, 4 (B.C. 349), although a body of cavalry was also sent from Athens on that occasion[380]; nor can the war of Timotheus against Olynthus be meant[381], which this general still carried on with the assistance of the Macedonians[382], and which must thus occur even before the first voluntary trierarchy (Olymp. 105, 3, B.C. 358), probably in Olymp. 104, 1 (B.C. 364), when Timotheus took Torone and Potidæa[383], cities which were of the greatest importance to the Olynthians[384]. This expedition more probably belongs to the times subsequent to Olymp. 105, 3 (B.C. 358), in which year Philip made an alliance with the Olynthians, and gave them Pydna, with the promise of Potidæa as well[385]; Athens and Olynthus were afterwards engaged in hostilities[386], for which in the 106th Olympiad the second voluntary trierarchy was doubtless necessary, after the Athenians had exhausted themselves with the Social war.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Fourth Form of the Trierarchy. Trierarchy according to the Valuation, as prescribed by the Law of Demosthenes, after Olymp. 110, ½ (B.C. 339).

DEMOSTHENES, being well aware of the defects in the constitution of the symmoriæ, at the time when he held the office of manager of naval affairs (ἐπιστάτης τοῦ ναυτικοῦ), brought forward in a new law an improved and rational constitution of the trierarchy, having rejected the bribes which the leaders and other wealthy members of the symmoriæ offered him, and withstood the action for illegal proceedings (γραφὴ παρανόμων) which Patroclus of Phlya had brought against him[387].

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[380] Philochorus ap. Dionys. Halicarnass. vol. ii. p. 123, ed. Sylb.

[381] Concerning the latter person see book ii. ch. 24.

[382] Demosth. Olynth. ii. p. 22, sup.

[383] Diod. xv. 81.

[384] Diod. xvi. 8.

[385] Diod. ibid.

[386] Libanius Argum. ad Demosth. Olynth. 1.

[387] Demosth. de Corona, pp. 260, 261. Concerning the office which De-

The symmoriæ and syntelіæ then in existence, the members of which had even given up the names of trierarchs, and called themselves partners or sharers (*συντελεῖς*), were abolished, and the services were again brought back to the valuation. The trierarchs were, according to the words of the law, rated for a trireme according to their property as stated in the register, in such a manner that one trireme was required from 10 talents; whoever was valued at a higher sum was, according to the same proportion, returned to the trierarchy as being bound to furnish three triremes and one auxiliary vessel (*ὑπηρετικόν*); while all those who had less than 10 talents were to unite in syntelias until they made up that sum[388]. The terms of the law, although towards the end they are not expressed with precision, distinctly show that the 10 talents were not merely property, but the property according to the valuation, or the taxable capital, as Budæus before understood it[389]. Thus if the valuation of the year of Nausinicus was still in force, which was the foundation of the proposals made in the speech concerning the symmoriæ in Olymp. 106, 3 (B.C. 354), whoever was possessed of 50 talents was obliged to provide one trireme; of 150 talents and over, as in the case of Diphilus, was to supply three triremes, and, to preserve the proportion, an auxiliary vessel besides: for the sake however of preventing the burden from being too oppressive, this was the highest rate even for the most wealthy; so that if a person was possessed of 500 talents, the number

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mosthenes held when he put his project into execution, see Æsch. c. Ctesiph. p. 614. The law first came before the senate, who referred it to the people. Instead of *εἰσήνεγκε νόμον εἰς τὸ τριηραρχικὸν* in the speech for the Crown, should be read, *εἰσήνεγκε νόμον τριηραρχικόν*; which I mention in order that it may not be supposed that there existed a separate office called *τὸ τριηραρχικόν*.

[388] Demosth. ibid. p. 262, sup. *Κατάλογος. Τοὺς τριηράρχους αἱρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας κατὰ τίμησιν, ἀπὸ ταλάντων δέκα· ἐὰν δὲ πλειόνων ἡ οὐσία ἀποτετιμημένη ᾖ χρημάτων, κατὰ τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν ἕως τριῶν πλοίων καὶ ὑπηρετικοῦ ἡ λειτουργία ἔστω· κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἀναλογίαν ἔστω καὶ οἷς ἐλάττων οὐσία ἐστὶ τῶν δέκα ταλάντων εἰς συντέλειαν συναγομένοις εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα.* On account of an observation of the last editor, I may mention that the ancient form is *τριήραρχος* and *γυμνασίαρχος*, and not *τριηράρχης*, *γυμνασιάρχης*, as is proved by inscriptions, for example, Corp. Inscript. Nos. 147 and 158.

[389] Ubi sup. p. 543.

which he was bound to furnish was the same: all who were possessed of an inconsiderable property contributed according to their valuation, and diminished in a corresponding ratio to the diminution in their property.

By this law a great alteration was effected. All persons paying taxes were rated under the new regulations; while the poor, who had been very much oppressed during the time of the Twelve Hundred, received some relief, which was the intention of Demosthenes[390]; and those who formerly contributed a sixteenth to the trierarchy of one vessel, were now trierarchs of two[391]; that is to say, if their taxable capital amounted to 20 talents. Of persons whose valuation was still higher than this sum Demosthenes says not a word, and it would almost appear as if no higher valuations had been then in existence, although they are allowed for in the law; and if the statements of the property were correctly made, there must have been some of a higher amount.

The consequences were, according to Demosthenes, highly beneficial; during the whole war, which was carried on under the regulations of the new law, no trierarch threw himself on the protection of the people, or took refuge at the altar of Diana of Munychia, or was thrown into prison; no trireme was lost to the state, or remained lying in the docks, from there being no means to send her out to sea, which had formerly been the case, as the poor were unable to perform the necessary services.

What portion of the expense the trierarch was forced to sustain, we are not informed; probably the same as under the symmoriæ: and if the distribution was really made as the law directed, and the trierarchy was performed in turn through the whole valuation, without ever falling a second time upon the same person, however rich, it could not have been oppressive. If we reckon that, as formerly, it cost about a talent, the total expense of the trierarchs for 100, 200, or 300 triremes amounted to an equal number of talents, or a sixtieth, a thirtieth, and a twentieth of the valuation; that is to say, for the first class one-third, two-thirds, and one per cent. of their property; for the

[390] De Corona, pp. 260—262.

[391] Ibid. p. 261.

poorer a proportionally less amount: and of the annual incomes, if they are only taken as a tenth part of the property, $3\frac{1}{3}$, $6\frac{2}{3}$, and 10 per cent. for the most wealthy. But we may reckon that at that time Athens had not more than between 100 and 200 triremes at sea; at least the occasions on which there were 300 must have been extremely rare, although the orators in exaggeration speak of that number: so that this war-tax did not for the richest class amount on an average to more than one-third and two-thirds per cent. of their property.

The arrangement of Demosthenes was upon this occasion, as in his former proposal concerning the constitution of the symmoriæ, calculated for 300 triremes[392]; and for this number 300 trierarchs serving in person must have been necessary. The chief burden therefore naturally fell upon the leaders of the former symmoriæ, and upon the second and third symmorites who were next in order (of whom Demosthenes says that they would have been glad to have given him large sums of money in order to prevent the passing of the law[393]), or upon the Three Hundred, according to an earlier form of trierarchy, as is proved by Hyperides making mention of them[394]; but whether the Three Hundred continued to exist as a corporate body, after the passing of the new law, cannot be ascertained, although it can be hardly doubted that news ymmoriæ and new leaders were created.

Demosthenes boasts of his resistance to bribes in the introduction of this law; while Dinarchus reproaches him with the most disgraceful and rapacious conduct in the proceeding: Demosthenes extols the fortunate consequences of his measures; but, as Æschines thinks that he has proved, he deprived

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[392] Æsch. c. Ctesiph. p. 614.

[393] De Corona, p. 260, 21, cf. Dinarch. c. Demosth. p. 33, where the bribery of the Three Hundred is mentioned. Wolf p. cxv. after Corsini was aware that Dinarchus and Demosthenes allude to the same thing; the points in which we disagree I leave to the consideration of the reader.

[394] Hyperides ap. Harpocrat. in v. *συμμορία*, compare Pollux viii. 100. The Three Hundred mentioned by Demosthenes de Corona, p. 285, 17, in a narration belonging to Olymp. 110, 2 (B.C. 339), appear to be the three hundred of the symmoriæ of the property taxes.

the state of the trierarchs of sixty-five swift-sailing triremes[395]. Which shall posterity believe, when it wishes to form a judgment from the accounts of deceitful orators? It appears to me that the statement of Demosthenes is defended by the fact itself, and the general opinion concerning his whole public life. But instead of entering more largely into this subject, I will only attempt to fix the period at which this law was proposed.

According to a document still extant it was passed on the 16th of Boedromion in the archonship of Polycles[396]; but unfortunately no year bears his name. Corsini[397] places him in Olymp. 109, 4 (B.C. 341), which is called the year of Nicomachus; but if his arguments are closely examined, their weakness is soon perceptible. In Olymp. 109, 4, in the archonship of Neocles or Nicocles, which falls in the year of Nicomachus, it was proposed by Aristophon in the prytaneia of the tribe Hippothontis on the last day of Boedromion, to claim from Philip the ships which he had taken away[398]: the law of Demosthenes was however passed on the 16th day of Boedromion during the presidency of the same tribe; consequently, says he, Polycles must have been archon in the same year. This conclusion is perfectly unwarranted. Nothing more follows, than that in the year in which Polycles was archon, the tribe Hippothontis had the third prytaneia, and likewise in Olymp. 109, 4; only however in case both were common years: if the year in which Polycles was archon was an intercalary year, this agreement could not have existed, but the same tribe must have had the second prytaneia in that year; but even supposing it was a common year, why should not the tribe Hippothontis have been allotted the same prytaneia in two successive years? Do we not find that the tribe Aiantis often held the first place, although there was no necessity that it should be so[399]?

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[395] See Dinarchus and Æschines as above.

[396] Demosth. de Corona, p. 261.

[397] F. A. vol. i. p. 352. He confuses himself however in his inquiry, and this confusion led Wolf into the error of supposing that Corsini meant Olymp. 109, 3, when Sosigenes was archon Eponymus. p. 113 sq.

[398] Demosth. de Corona, p. 250.

[399] The tribe Aiantis had indeed so far the preference that its chorus

Secondly, Corsini asserts that Demosthenes passed the law before the war with Philip, which broke out in Olymp. 110, 1 (B.C. 340), consequently it must belong to the year mentioned before. But I am unable to discover any proof that the law was passed before the war.

Petit[400] on the other hand places the archon Polycles in Olymp. 110, 2 (B.C. 339). For in Olymp. 110, 1, Philip attacked Byzantium and Perinthus; and on this occasion the Athenians, according to the account of Philochorus, equipped a fleet upon the instigation of Demosthenes, who was the author of the decrees, and also continued their preparations in the succeeding year. Now Demosthenes, after having related that Byzantium and the Chersonese were saved by his counsel, mentions the law concerning the trierarchy as the next service which he had rendered the state[401]. The supposition of Petit therefore appears to be well founded.

But it might be assumed with greater probability that the law was passed in Olymp. 110, 1, in the month Boedromion, that is in the autumn, about the month of September. Philip, according to the account of Philochorus, made an attack upon Perinthus in the archonship of Theophrastus in Olymp. 110, 1, and, when this undertaking had failed, upon the city of Byzantium: it appears however that this either took place at the very beginning of this civil year, or at the end of the former year, viz. in the summer of Olymp. 109, 4, and Olymp. 110, 1, which is signified by the new archon of the civil year which began in the middle of this summer, and not by the archon of the preceding year which ended in the middle of the same summer. For the historians reckon the natural year from spring to spring: if then they wish to express the same year by the name of the archon, or, what is the same thing, to compare it with

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could never be the last (Plutarch Qu. Symp. i. 10). In the allotment of the prytaneias, it was however on precisely the same footing as the rest, and might be the last: of which an instance occurs in Demosth. de Corona, p. 289.

[400] Leg. Att. iii. 4, 8.

[401] Philochor. pp. 75, 76, of the collection of his Fragments published by Lenz and Siebelis. Demosth. de Corona, p. 260, 4, *βούλομαι τοίνυν ἐπανελθεῖν, ἐφ' ἃ τούτων ἐξῆς ἐπολιτευόμην.*

the civil year, the natural method would be to choose the civil year of which three-fourths coincided with the natural one, and not the preceding year, which has only three months in common. If this is true, and the next summer of Olymp. 110, ¼ is not meant, the preparations must have been made in the same autumn, in the beginning of Olymp. 110, 1, and Demosthenes carried through the law concerning the trierarchy about the September of Olymp. 110, 1, in order that in the following campaign the war might be carried on in the spring with better success; the archon Polycles must therefore be placed in the year in which Theophrastus was archon Eponymus. There cannot however be any doubt between any other years except Olymp. 110, 1, and 2.

Of the duration of this law we know nothing, as we have no accounts concerning later times. In the oration for the Crown (Olymp. 112, 3, B.C. 330), in which so much is said upon this subject, it is neither mentioned that this law was still in existence, nor that it had been repealed, nor that anything had been substituted in its place; it appears, however, that Æschines, influenced by the bribes of the leaders of the symmoriæ, succeeded in procuring its abrogation[402].

CHAPTER XV.

General Observations upon the Expense of a Trierarchy.

FROM what has been said it is evident that the trierarchy, the most expensive of the liturgies, was not necessarily oppressive, if the regulations connected with it were fairly and properly arranged, though on the other hand no tax was more intolerable, if the burthens were unequally imposed and distributed: for thus it frequently happened that the property of those who from motives of ambition or patriotism were induced to incur greater expenses than were necessary, was exhausted by it. Accordingly, not only were the rich impoverished by the liturgies[403], but they corrupted the people by their lavish

[402] Demosth. de Corona, p. 329.

[403] Xenoph. Rep. Ath. i. 13.

expenditure, as the sailors are said to have been by Apollodorus, the son of Pasion, when trierarch[404]; we must not therefore be surprised at the exaggerations of the comic poet[405], who, in order to show the insecurity of all property which a man did not hold, as it were, between his teeth, says that the payer of property taxes might be utterly ruined by them, the choregus could furnish his chorus with golden dresses, and leave himself afterwards in rags; and the trierarch hang himself in despair.

But similar measures have also been employed in our days, though under other circumstances, and in a somewhat different form. If the ancients had been as well acquainted with the pressure of armies living at free quarter, of war supplies and forced loans, as we in the present time are with their liturgies, they would have had more to apprehend from the introduction of our system than we could have of theirs; especially as the means of legal redress were then far more accessible than in modern times. If we (in Germany) had the same publicity of government and freedom of discussion as existed in Greece, as many stories to our prejudice would descend to our posterity as have been handed down to us in the works of their orators on the subject of the liturgies; and if the persons who were liable to war taxes, or who had soldiers quartered on them, were allowed to challenge an exchange of property with any one who might appear better able to bear these burdens, the same number of courts of justice as existed at Athens would hardly suffice to decide the disputes which would arise in a city of equal extent*.

With regard to the trierarchy, although the expenses required were very different at different times, the statements of the ancients all lead to the same result, viz. that a whole trierarchy did not cost less than 40 minas, nor more than a talent; and that a half trierarchy cost between 20 and 30 minas, except in such a case as that of Apollodorus, where

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[404] Demosth. c. Polyclem.

[405] Antiphanes ap. Athen. iii. p. 103 F.

* [It is to be borne in mind that the original of this work was published in 1817, a time when the reflections in the text might naturally occur to a German.—TRANSL.]

the trierarch supplied the pay, or subjected himself to other unnecessary expenses, or managed his affairs without economy.

A trierarchy which lasted for three years after the battle of Cnidus, cost, according to Lysias, 80 minas[406], that is, upon an average, 26⅔ a year, which was doubtless only a half or syn-trierarchy; in the later times of the Peloponnesian war a trierarchy of two partners cost 48 minas, 24 a-piece[407]. The half trierarchy which was let by Demosthenes, cost 20 minas, the state neither providing the equipment, nor even supplying the crew.

At a subsequent period the lease of a whole trierarchy cost a talent, although the vessels were both manned and equipped by the state[408], which may be explained by supposing that the contractors, who had before reckoned upon captures, and therefore required less assistance, had been taught by former losses to raise their demands; the ship's furniture might also have been damaged and imperfect, and the vessels themselves in want of much repair. A whole trierarchy for seven years in earlier times (from Olymp. 92, 2, until Olymp. 93, 4, B.C. 411—5), had cost a client of Lysias 6 talents, that is, 51⅓ minas a year[409].

But the proportion which the services bore to the property, before a correct allotment had been enforced by law, cannot be ascertained, on account of the absence of a fair scale founded upon fixed principles. The only question therefore of which we can offer any solution is, what was the amount of property which obliged the citizens to the performance of the trierarchy; even upon this point however we are unable to state a determinate sum, although some fixed rate must have existed.

Apollodorus the trierarch had an annual income of 2 talents[410]; the family of Demosthenes, which was liable to the performance of the trierarchy, an estate of 15 talents[411], that produced at the least an income of 90 minas a year, and

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406 Pro Aristoph. bonis, p. 633, p. 643.
407 Lysias c. Diogit. pp. 907—909.
408 See chap. 12 and 13.
409 Book iii. ch. 22.
410 Book iv. ch. 3.
411 Book iv. ch. 3.

Isæus[412] complains that a person with an income of 80 minas, which supposes a property of about 11 talents, had not performed any trierarchy. Critobulus, as mentioned in Xenophon[413], had a property of more than 500 minas, which would subject him, in the opinion of Socrates, among other expenses to the pay of more than one trierarchy, in case a war should break out; that is to say, he would be forced to perform the syntrierarchy, which had been introduced about twelve years before the death of Socrates, and which was in existence when Xenophon wrote this passage. The word *pay* is used because a trierarch who did not command his own vessel, made a payment to the other trierarch who served in person, which appears to be in strictness a remuneration for services performed. I am aware of no instance of liability to the trierarchy arising from a property of less amount than this; and since an estate of 1 or 2 talents never obliged the possessor to the performance of any liturgy[414], what shall be said to the assertion of Isæus[415], that many had borne the expensive office of trierarch, whose property did not amount to 80 minas? If this is not a rhetorical exaggeration, or a deceit on the part of the rich, who, by concealing their property, wished to enjoy the credit of a greater sacrifice, while they only performed their just share, these must have been services performed by ambitious and public-spirited citizens, who did not hesitate to contribute to a syntrierarchy a considerable portion of a small property. The same judgment may be formed on the case of another client of the same orator[416], who defrayed the expenses of a gymnasiarchy from a supposed fortune of about 83 minas.

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[412] De Dicæog. Hered. p. 110.

[413] Œcon. 2, 6, *τριηραρχίας μισθούς*. Pay for the sailors cannot be here meant. Reckoning the pay without the provision at 20 minas a month, although 30 were often given, the result would be such a sum as no trierarch ever paid or could pay; we have also sufficiently proved that the trierarch was never bound to furnish the pay, and if pay were meant, the expression used must have been *μισθοὺς ναυτῶν* and not *τριηραρχίας*.

[414] See book iii. ch. 21.

[415] De Dicæog. Hered. ubi sup.

[416] De Menecl. Hered. pp. 219—223. Orell.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Antidosis, or compulsory Exchange of Property.

AT the conclusion of our researches concerning the liturgies, it will be necessary to say something on the subject of the exchange (*ἀντίδοσις*).

For the purpose of relieving the poor, and particularly those whose property had been diminished by reverses of fortune[417], from the oppression of an unfair burden, and in order to prevent the wealthy from escaping the liturgies, it was enacted by law that whoever named another person to a liturgy, whom he thought to have been passed over, though better able to undertake it than himself, was empowered to transfer it; and in case the latter party refused to take it, he could demand an exchange of property, with the condition that he should then perform the liturgy from the property received by him in exchange; and the party, to whom the exchange had been offered, could no longer be called upon to perform it[418]. Solon was the author of this regulation, which, though obviously subject to many difficulties, was neither unjust nor absurd[419], and it provided a ready means of redress against arbitrary oppression. To assist every man in obtaining his right, and to afford protection to the poor, were the predominant objects of the legislation of Solon, which he pursued without paying any regard to the inconveniences which might arise from the means employed in attaining them.

The exchange most frequently occurred in the case of the trierarchy, and not uncommonly in that of the choregia[420]; it existed, however, in the other liturgies, and could also be had recourse to as a relief from the property taxes, if, for example, any one complained that his means were not greater than those

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[417] Orat. c. Phænipp. pp. 1039, 1040.

[418] Suidas in v. *ἀντίδοσις*, Lex. Seg. p. 197, Ulpian ad Mid. p. 660 A.

[419] Orat. c. Phænipp. init.

[420] Xenoph. Œcon. 7, 3, Lysias *περὶ τοῦ ἀδυνατ.* p. 745, Demosth. c. Lept. § 109 (p. 496, 20), c. Mid. p. 565, 8.

of some other person who was rated to a lower class, or, as was frequently the case, that persons could prove themselves unfairly included in the class of the Three Hundred[421]. This proceeding was allowed every year to the persons nominated for the liturgies by the regular authorities, which in the case of the trierarchy and property taxes were the generals[422], to the great delay of military affairs. The offerer immediately laid a sequestration upon the property of his opponent, and sealed up his house, if he refused to accept the liturgy; the house was however free to the first party. The next step was that both the parties undertook upon oath to give an account of their property, and were bound within the space of three days to deliver in an inventory (*ἀπόφανσις*) to each other. Then the cause was decided by the court[423]. If the decision was unfavourable to the party who made the offer, the proposed exchange did not take place; and it was in this manner that Isocrates gained his cause by means of his son Aphareus, against Megacleides, who had demanded to exchange property with him. If however the decision was in favour of the offerer, the opponent was free either to accept the exchange, or to perform the liturgy. On that account Isocrates undertook the third of the three trierarchies performed by himself and his son, when Lysimachus had claimed to exchange with him[424]; and it is to this the oration concerning the exchange refers, a speech of great length, but barren of information. Lastly, the party to whom the offer was made, could not bring the cause into court, after the seal had been once imposed; but he was then

[421] Orat. c. Phænipp. particularly p. 1046, 24, from whence it is pretty certain that the question in the speech relates to the advance of the taxes. Concerning translation from one class into another, compare also the argument to this oration.

[422] Orat. c. Phænipp. p. 1040, Demosth. Philipp. i. p. 50, 20, Xenoph. Rep. Ath. 3, 4; comp. Suidas in the passage quoted by Matthiæ, Miscell. Philolog. vol. i. p. 249.

[423] Orat. c. Phænipp. cf. Xenoph. ubi sup. (unless it be thought that law suits with regard to ship's furniture are here meant, see the speech against Euergus and Mnesib. p. 1148, 17 sqq.) Suid. in v. *διαδικασία*.

[424] Isocrat. de Antid. 2, ed. Hall, p. 80, ed. Orell. Comp. the inaccurate account in the Lives of the Ten Orators, p. 240, and the more correct one in p. 244. Dionys. Halicarn. Vit. Dinarch. ad fin. Aphareus is also mentioned as trierarch in Orat. c. Euerg. et Mnesib. p. 1148.

obliged to take the liturgy; as was the case with Demosthenes[425].

All immoveable and moveable property was transferred in the exchange, with the exception only of mines[426], which were exempted from the extraordinary taxes and the liturgies, as being already taxed. On the other hand, Wesseling upon Petit maintains that all actions, and Wolf that all civil actions, of the parties making the exchange, were transferred from the one to the other. Both regulations are too absurd to be imputed to the Athenian law. With regard to public actions it is evident at first sight that this could not have been the practice. We will suppose that Demosthenes and Thrasylochus exchanged their property, and that Demosthenes had an action for illegal proceedings pending against him; if then Demosthenes was afterwards condemned to death, is Thrasylochus to be executed? No one indeed imagined this possible; but supposing Demosthenes was condemned to a fine of 50 talents, is Thrasylochus to pay the fine, and in case of failure to be thrown into prison, and to suffer whatever were the other consequences of such omission? A regulation of this kind would be impossible, for the law could only punish the person who actually committed the offence. The case is precisely the same with civil or private cases. If Thrasylochus struck Callias, or injured his property in any manner, and an action was brought against him before the exchange took place, and after it had been completed, was condemned to pay to Callias a certain sum for damages, Demosthenes is evidently not bound to pay this sum; for the liability is personal, and necessarily continues so. Or if Thrasylochus had a private law suit relating to some mining affair, the mines being a species of property which was excluded from the exchange, it is manifest that when the exchange was made, the law suit could not have been transferred to Demosthenes.

Now let us suppose another case. Demosthenes brings an action against Aphobus for having damaged his property, and

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[425] C. Aphob. ii. p. 841, c. Mid. p. 540.
[426] Orat. c. Phænipp. p. 1044. Com. my Dissertation upon the Silver Mines of Laurium.

demands a compensation of 10 talents: while the case is pending, he exchanges his property with Thrasylochus; in this instance it is agreeable to common sense that the cause should pass over to Thrasylochus, who is at liberty either to proceed with it, or allow it to fall to the ground; and if he adopts the former course, he has no one to blame for the issue of it but himself. In other words, the parties making the exchange transferred their property, mines being excepted, with all claims and obligations attached to it, and particularly all debts, as may be seen from the speech against Phænippus. This holds good of every other transfer of property, even when there was no interchange: whoever received an estate by inheritance, received also the rights and duties belonging to it: and with regard to the exchange the same rule obtained.

The single case from which it has been inferred that law suits were transferred in the exchange, exactly proves what has been stated. When the action of Demosthenes against his guardians (from whom he claimed compensation for the property of which they had defrauded him, and thus in fact demanded restitution of what had formerly belonged to him, as of an unpaid debt) was to have come before the court in a few days, Thrasylochus offered to exchange property with him, having a secret understanding with the guardians, that if Demosthenes accepted the offer, he (Thrasylochus) would not proceed with the cause against them; because these law suits, as the orator expressly says, were transferred to the party who made the exchange[427]. Demosthenes accepted the exchange, reserving, however, his claims upon the guardians, in the hope of a judicial decision, by which the reservation would be granted to him: failing, however, to attain this object, and as there was no time to be lost, he cancelled his agreement to the exchange, and performed the trierarchy, in order that he might not give up the cause against his guardians, to whom his opponent had already yielded the dispute[428].

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[427] C. Aphob. ii. p. 840 ext. ἵν' εἰ μὲν ἀντιδῴην, μὴ ἐξείη μοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀντιδικεῖν, ὡς καὶ τῶν δικῶν τούτων τοῦ ἀντιδόντος γιγνομένων.

[428] Ibid. p. 841, c. Mid. p. 539 sqq.

CHAPTER XVII.

Extraordinary means employed by the Greek States to relieve pecuniary difficulties: namely, Foreign Subsidies, Plunder, Captures, forced and voluntary Contributions.

NOTWITHSTANDING the extensive resources of Athens and her various means of raising money, she shared the common fate of the Grecian states, and was frequently exposed to the greatest difficulty by an inability to pay comparatively trifling sums, arising from the want both of foresight and economy in the management of the revenue[429]. Thus Athens, after the anarchy, at a time when the state was completely exhausted, was driven into hostilities with the Bœotians, by an inability to raise 2 talents[430]; and subsequently the Thebans themselves were prevented from recovering their citadel from the foreigners by being in like manner unable to raise 5 talents; and an expedition of all the Arcadians failed in attaining its object from a want of 9 talents[431]. It is not therefore surprising that the states of Greece resorted to other means of raising money than those that have been already mentioned, and particularly for defraying the expenses of war.

Among these may be mentioned the Persian subsidies, which were chiefly obtained by Sparta for the purpose of being employed against Athens[432]. The occasions upon which the latter state received support from the king of Persia or his satraps were rare, as for example, through Alcibiades and Conon; in the contests against Macedon, when it was the policy of the Persian king to assist the Athenians with money, he at first refused it in a coarse and barbarous epistle; and shortly afterwards, when it was too late, and the Athenians no longer ventured to accept any aid, he offered them 300 talents.

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[429] Instances of embarrassment see in Thucyd. viii. 4, and above book iii. ch. 19.

[430] Lys. c. Nicomach. p. 860.

[431] Æsch. c. Ctesiph. p. 633.

[432] More than 5000 talents; see book i. ch. 3. This took place later than Olymp. 91, 4 (B.C. 413), as is shown by Andoc. de Pace, p. 103, cf. Thucyd. viii. 5.

Another productive source of revenue[433] was the plunder obtained in war; for according to the international law of the ancients, the bodies of all prisoners, together with their wives, children, and slaves, and their whole property, moveable and immoveable, became the property of the conqueror; and it was only by particular stipulations that milder conditions were obtained; for example, that the free population of a conquered city should be permitted to go out with a single garment each, or to pay a large contribution, or to cultivate their own lands upon the payment of a rent. The troops were also frequently paid out of the plunder; and the conquered land was then immediately sold. The Athenian generals also in one instance received 60 talents for nine triremes, which had been captured from Dionysius[434]. For reprisals against the enemy they were in the habit of taking prisoners (*ἀνδρολη̃ψία*, *ἀνδρολήψιον*)[435], and granted, both against states and individuals, permission to privateer (*σῦλα*, *σῦλαι*)[436]. A prize-court decided upon the plunder which was taken[437]; the tenth part of which was allotted to the temple of Minerva[438], and the rest must have belonged to the adventurers: under certain circumstances however it fell to the state[439], and the proceeds were frequently considerable. Thus a ship of Naucratis, which the court had adjudged to the state, was estimated at 9½ talents[440].

The contributions, which were imposed upon conquered states, were sometimes of large amount; Pericles raised 80 and at another time 200 talents from the island of Samos as a fine and compensation for the expenses of the war, for which indeed they were not sufficient[441]; at times they were taken not from the whole state, but from individuals whose principles were not

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[433] Æschin. ubi sup. p. 632 sq. cf. Dinarch. c. Demosth. p. 14, where the same occurrence is probably alluded to.

[434] Diod. xv. 47, xvi. 57.

[435] See Petit Leg. Att. vii, l. 17, Lex. Seg. p. 213.

[436] Concerning the *σύλας διδόναι*, comp. e. g. Demosth. c. Lacrit. p. 931, 23.

[437] Cf. Salmas. M. U. p. 211 sqq. Liban. Argum. ad Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 694, 20.

[438] See book iii. ch. 6.

[439] Demosth. c. Timocrat. and Libanius ubi sup.

[440] Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 696, 5, 14, p. 703, 15.

[441] Diod. xii. 27, 28, Thucyd. i. 117.

agreeable to the ruling power[442]. In general, however, these contributions had the character of mere arbitrary extortions alike from friends and foes; vessels were dispatched in order to collect money (ἀργυρολογεῖν, δασμολογεῖν)[443], and not legal tributes alone but additional contributions, which impoverished the ill-fated inhabitants of the islands; Alcibiades, who had a particular dexterity in business of this description, and to whom they were most willing to give contributions, raised 100 talents in Caria alone[444]. The Athenians went about as pirates, in order to defray the expenses of war; and this even in the earlier and better times of Athens, for we find that Miltiades undertook an expedition for plunder against Paros, in order to raise 100 talents[445]. They also imposed fines upon different states for particular offences; thus for example the Melians, (or according to another reading, the Tenians,) were required to pay a fine of 10 talents, for having harboured pirates in their island, which sum was collected with violence[446].

Lastly, a source of revenue by no means unproductive existed in the calls frequently made in the assembly[447] for voluntary contributions (ἐπιδόσεις), either in money, arms, or ships; and these, as they smoothed the way to popular favour, and as many were either willing to sacrifice all they had to the good of their country, or expected advantage to themselves from its prosperity, were bestowed largely by citizens and foreigners, especially such as were endeavouring to obtain the rights of citizenship. The voluntary trierarchies and the great sacrifices which were made in the earlier times for the expedition to Sicily, have been already mentioned; Pasion the banker furnished 1000 shields from his own manufactory, together with five triremes which he manned at his own cost[448]; Chrysippus presented a talent to the state, when Alexander moved against Thebes, and afterwards the same sum for the

[442] An instance occurs in Diod. xiii. 47.

[443] Thucyd. iii. 19, and frequently in the Historians.

[444] Xenoph. Hellen. i. 4, 4.

[445] Herod. vi. 136.

[446] Orat. c. Theocrin. p. 1339, 2—28.

[447] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 567, Plutarch. Alcib. 10, Theophrast. Char. 22, Athen. iv. p. 168, E. Plutarch. Phoc. 9.

[448] Demosth. c. Steph. p. 1127, 12.

purpose of purchasing corn[449]; Aristophanes, the son of Nicophemus, gave 30,000 drachmas for an expedition against Cyprus[450]; Nausicles, general of the hoplitæ in Imbros, supplied 2000 men with pay without requiring any compensation from the state; Charidemus and Diotimus, two other commanders, made a free gift of 800 shields[451]; Demosthenes not only performed voluntary liturgies and contributed money for the public works, but gave on different occasions three triremes, and also at one time eight talents, to which he afterwards added three more for the building of the walls, one talent after the battle of Chæronea, and another for the purchase of corn[452]. As they were accustomed to give presents upon so large a scale, Isæus[453] might well reproach Dicæogenes, who was possessed of an income of 80 minas, with having given no more than 300 drachmas, even less than Cleonymus the Cretan. It is singular that voluntary contributions were not claimed for wars only, or to assist the people during a scarcity of provisions, but even for sacrifices[454].

CHAPTER XVIII.

Public Loans.

OF the other measures by which the Greeks endeavoured to provide for any temporary difficulty of the state, and of which the second book of the Œconomics attributed to Aristotle furnishes a considerable collection, I will now mention some of the most remarkable, although many are not better than common tricks of roguery and swindling.

Of these the most frequent, and indeed the least objectionable, is the borrowing of money, which was not so extensively practised in ancient as in modern times, both because credit was at a low ebb, and also because the high rate of interest was a great obstacle to the creation of a national debt; besides which their system of finance had not the solidity nor was of

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[449] Demosth. c. Phorm. p. 918, inf.
[450] Lys. pro Aristoph. bonis p. 644.
[451] Demosth. de Corona, p. 265.
[452] Decret. ap. Vit. x. Orat. p. 275 sq.
[453] De Dicæog. Hered. p. 111.
[454] Plutarch. Phoc. 9.

the artificial nature which this method of raising money requires; hence they preferred procuring the necessary supplies immediately by a property tax, to borrowing the necessary sum and afterwards repaying it at a high interest. We do however find examples of loans of various kinds (either from foreign states and individuals, or from the inhabitants of the state itself), as of property sacred or not sacred, paying or not paying a rent, with or without security, voluntary or compulsory, and sometimes with a certain allowance of a currency of tokens.

The loans of most frequent occurrence were those obtained by a state from its own citizens, as they required the least credit and were most easily effected: rich aliens at Athens under the protection of the state sometimes made a voluntary offer of lending money[455]: a loan to one state from a citizen of another occurs in an Orchomenian Inscription*. Sparta furnished the Samians, who endeavoured to reconquer their native country, with a sum of money which they raised by a public decree in a manner which seems more amusing to us than it could have been agreeable to the Spartans. It was effected by the inhabitants fasting for one day together with their slaves and cattle, and each person was obliged to contribute to the state the same quantity that he would have consumed[456], for which probably no repayment was required. This state also lent 100 talents to the Thirty Tyrants at Athens; which the people, whether from love of justice, as Demosthenes affirms, or through fear of the Spartans, redeemed by a general property tax, though some persons required, and not without an appearance of justice, that those who had incurred the debt should pay it[457]. In this loan there was doubtless neither interest nor security. Loans of money belonging to the temples frequently occur, and, for the

[455] It was however necessary for them to avoid committing any solecism in their language which could shock the Athenian ear, if they wished their proposal to be accepted. Photius in v. θεριῶ.

* Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 1569.

[456] Aristot. Œcon. ii. 2, 9, Plutarch. (de Discrim. Amic. et Adul. 33), relates the same story of a present of corn sent by the Spartans to the Smyrnæans. Are we to suppose that this generous action was repeated, or that one of the accounts is untrue?

[457] Demosth. c. Leptin. § 10, 11, Isocrat. Areop. 28, Lysias c. Nicom. p. 860, Xenoph. Hell. ii. 4, 19, Plutarch. Lysand. 21.

most part without interest[458]. Besides the large sums of money which Athens borrowed from its temples, it may be also mentioned, that the temple of Delos, which was under the power of Athens, had lent money upon interest to private individuals, and even to many states[459]. The money deposited in the hands of Lycurgus, and advanced by him for the use of the administration, may be considered as a loan of private individuals without interest.

Of a security or pledge in the case of public loans there are but few examples: Memnon of Rhodes, the governor of Lampsacus, assigned to the creditors the national revenues which were next due; Tachus, the king of Egypt, did the same, upon the advice of Chabrias[460]; the Oreitæ of Eubœa are stated to have pledged the public revenues to Demosthenes for a debt bearing interest[461]; and at Orchomenus the cattle-pastures appear to have been given to an Elatean, as a security for a loan of money[462].

Compulsory loans are all those which were imposed upon certain persons by a decree of the people, or the command of a tyrant, either because they were particularly rich or in the possession of those objects which were required. The advance of taxes made by the wealthy Athenians[463] belongs generically to this class, although there is a difference in the form, for the state was not, in this instance, the debtor, but the poorer citizens, who escaped the equal proportion of the taxes. The Chians obtained a forced loan, which fell solely upon the capitalists, in the following manner: they ordered that all the money lent out to private individuals, which in this island was entered in a public register, should be delivered up by the debtors to the state, which then undertook their obligations, and engaged itself to pay the interest out of the public revenue until it was able to redeem the principal[464]. Dionysius the elder, and Tachus, required all the uncoined gold and silver to be lent to the state: the Mendæans, wishing to

[458] Corp. Inscript. Nos. 76 and 144.
[459] Corp. Inscript. No. 158.
[460] Aristot. Œcon. ii. 2, 20, 25. Cf. Polyæn. v. 11, 5.
[461] Æschin. c. Ctesiph. p. 496.
[462] Corp. Inscript. No. 1569.
[463] See book iv. ch. 9.
[464] Aristot. Œcon. ii. 2, 12.

raise money for the war against Olynthus, decreed that every person should sell all his slaves, with the exception of one female and one male, in order to lend to the state the money which accrued from the sale: the Clazomenians passed a decree compelling private individuals to advance all their stock of oil, a commodity which was produced in that state in great abundance, in consideration of the payment of a sum of money, with a view to remedy the scarcity of corn: the Ephesians prohibited the women from wearing gold ornaments, and compelled them to deliver what they had as a loan to the state[465]. The Clazomenians owed 20 talents to their mercenaries for arrears of pay, for which they paid a yearly interest of 4 talents to the commanders; thus they were continually making useless payments, without arriving any nearer to the redemption of the debt. They, therefore, coined 20 talents of iron money, to which they arbitrarily gave the value of silver, distributed it proportionally among the most wealthy, and received an equal quantity of silver in return, by which they redeemed the debt[466]. The iron, which was thrown into circulation by the possessors, replaced the silver as a currency of tokens, and therefore the quantity of money in circulation was not diminished; the iron money performed the same service at home as the silver formerly, and whatever silver they possessed besides that furnished to the state, could be used for foreign exchanges. So far then this iron coinage stood to them in the same relation as the paper money of modern days. But the state also paid an interest to those persons whose silver it had received, and gradually redeemed the iron for silver: thus these iron coins also served the purpose of a certificate of debt. It is manifest that the interest must have been small; for they probably gave less than the common rate, as the creditors also possessed the current tokens: if the state paid 10 per cent., with the 4 talents which were formerly given to the commanders every year, it might have both paid the interest and redeemed the principal in about eight years.

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[465] Aristot. Œcon. ii. 2, 20, 25 (cf. Polyæn. v. 11, 5), 21, 16, 19.

[466] Aristot. Œcon. ii. 16.

It hardly deserves to be mentioned that states as well as private individuals gave bonds of debt, which were sometimes deposited in the hands of private individuals[467], particularly of bankers, and sometimes, if the money had been borrowed from sacred corporations, in temples, &c[468].

CHAPTER XIX.

Alterations in the Currency, as a Financial Expedient.

A FRAUDULENT method of assisting the finances, which was only effectual for the moment, and in the sequel produced the most pernicious consequences, was the coining of base kinds of money.

Many Grecian states, even in the time of Solon, openly made use of silver money alloyed with lead or copper[469], which, although it was not productive of any disadvantage to the inland traffic of the country, was either wholly or nearly devoid of value in foreign exchanges. It happened, however, but seldom that the state was an intentional coiner of false money; a charge which nevertheless falls with justice upon Dionysius the Elder, who left no evil means untried of putting his tyrannical projects into execution. In order to pay a sum of money which he had borrowed from the citizens for defraying the expenses of ship-building, he compelled the creditors to receive a coinage of tin, which, according to Pollux, who probably follows Aristotle in the constitution of the Syracusans, passed for 4 drachmas, and was only worth 1[470]. The same person, on another occasion, being unable to repay a loan which was claimed of him, commanded his subjects upon pain of death to produce all their silver, which he coined and reissued at twice its former value, and then paid the debt at this standard[471].

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[467] Corp. Inscript. No. 1569.

[468] Ibid, No. 76.

[469] Demosth. c. Timocrat. p. 766, 10. Cf. Xenoph. de Vectig. 3.

[470] Aristot. Œcon. ii. 2, 20; Pollux, viii. 79. That Dionysius the Elder is here meant, is shown by the siege of the Regini, the date of which is Olymp. 98, 2 (B.C. 387). Cf. Diod. xiv. 111.

[471] This is the meaning of the passage in the Œconomics. The two accounts

An action of similar dishonesty had been before committed at Athens, by Hippias the Pisistratid. He called in all the silver in circulation, which was taken at a fixed value; and afterwards, a new device having been agreed upon, he reissued the silver at a higher value than that at which it had been paid in[472]. Republican Athens, on the other hand, anxiously maintained the purity of her silver coin; and although the fineness of the standard was latterly somewhat diminished, the state, which had made the forging of coins a capital offence[473], never chose to derive any profit from the debasement of her silver coinage.

It is, however, true that Athens, in the archonship of Antigenes (Olymp. 93, 2, B.C. 407), there being at that time a great difficulty in raising money for the extensive military preparations in progress, was reduced to the necessity of coining gold with strong alloy from the statues of Victory[474]; and in the year which succeeded the issuing of this adulterated money, in the archonship of Callias (Olymp. 93, 3, B.C. 406), a coinage of copper was struck[475], which was soon afterwards recalled[476]. This copper was doubtless intended to supersede the silver oboli, and must have been issued below its real value, as otherwise there could have been no reason for recalling it from circulation: Athens, however, had some copper coins which were always current, viz., the chalcus, having the value of an eighth obolus, and also the lepta, it being impossible to

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are totally different, although they have been confounded by the same writer. Salmasius (M. U. p. 247) confounds them with one another, and arbitrarily mutilates the words of Pollux.

[472] This is the manner in which Aristot. Œcon. ii. 2, 4, should be understood.

[473] Demosth. c. Lept. p. 508, 13, c. Timocrat. p. 765 extr.

[474] See book i. c. 6. It is to this that Demetrius alludes, περὶ ἑρμην. § 281, and thence Quintilian I. O. ix. 2, 92, "Victoriis utendum esse."

[475] Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 737.

[476] Aristoph. Eccles. 810 sqq. The Commentators upon Aristophanes and Eckhel (see book i. ch. 6, note 78) have confounded the gold coins alloyed with copper and the copper coins; and if the words of Aristophanes are correctly explained, it will be seen that the poet speaks of the former in the Frogs, and of the latter in the Ecclesiazusæ: the distinction is also shown by the difference in the years, which the Scholiast states upon good authority.

coin silver in such minute pieces. These copper coins were perhaps introduced by the statesman and elegiac poet Dionysius surnamed the Brazen, who in Olymp. 84, 1 (B.C. 444), went as leader of the colony to Thurii[477], and consequently can hardly be considered as the originator of these monetary regulations, which were made in the 93rd Olympiad. Lastly, passing over the copper-money of Athens, in the times of the emperors, I may mention the coinage in that metal issued by Timotheus, for the purpose of extricating himself from a pecuniary embarrassment; this, however, must be considered in the same light as paper-money, and not as a false coin, since its value was secured by the engagements of the general to take it in the stead of silver, and to redeem whatever remained[478].

The employment of base kinds of money derives its origin either from fraud, a scarcity of the precious metals, or from the notion that the precious metals are a source of corruption, and that therefore their home circulation must be prohibited. From this latter cause, Plato in his second State imagines, according to the Doric model, a money circulating in the country, and devoid of value abroad (*νόμισμα ἐπιχώριον*), deriving its currency from the countenance of the state; and together with this another coinage, not in circulation, but kept in the public coffers, of universal currency (*κοινὸν Ἑλληνικὸν νόμισμα*), for the uses of persons travelling in foreign parts, and the carrying on of war[479].

This is not mere theory, but was actually put into practice in Sparta[480]. Even in the time of the Trojan war, the precious metals were well known in the Peloponnese, and the Achaic Spartan Menelaus is particularly mentioned to have possessed both gold and silver; but the former remained scarce for a long time[481]; whereas silver in the Grecian, as well as in all other

[477] Athen. xv. p. 669 E. Cf. Plutarch. Nic. 4. For specimens of his poetry see Aristot. Rhet. iii. 2, Athen. xv. p. 668 E. p. 702 C. x. p. 443 D. xiii. p. 602 C.

[478] See book ii. ch. 24.

[479] De Leg. v. p. 742 A.

[480] In the following account I differ somewhat from Manso (Sparta, i. 1, p. 162): I leave to the reader to decide which of us is the most correct.

[481] See book i. ch. 3.

nations, must have been the most general medium of exchange, as there were few places in which it could not be procured; in the more early times indeed it was not coined, but circulated in bars of a certain weight. But the Dorians, a people inhabiting a mountainous district, and carrying on no trade, were doubtless scantily supplied with the precious metals; and since it was a national principle, which existed both by usage and institution, and was afterwards confirmed by what is called the legislation of Lycurgus, to prevent as much as possible all intercourse with other races, they strictly prohibited, at a time long anterior to the coining of money, the use of silver and gold as a medium of exchange, and thus effectually prevented their introduction into the country. If this regulation had not been made in early times, the interdiction of silver and gold could not have been ascribed to Lycurgus; no modern institution would have been attributed to so ancient a name. The Spartans therefore were driven to the use of some other metal as the common medium of exchange, and iron being abundantly obtained in the country, they made use of bars of that metal (*ὀβελοὶ, ὀβελίσκοι*), which were stamped with some mark in the iron furnaces of Laconia; while in other countries bars of copper[482] or silver were current; whence the obolus or *spit*, and the drachma or *handful*, received their names. When afterwards Pheidon abolished the use of metallic bars[483], and introduced coined money, the Spartans also began to stamp their iron in large and rude pieces; for which purpose they either used, as the author of the Eryxias asserts, lumps of this metal, which were useless for other purposes, such perhaps as are now used for making cannon-balls, or, according to other accounts, they softened the best iron, so as to render it unfit for working, by plunging it when hot in vinegar.

But when Sparta began to aim at foreign dominion, it had need of a coinage that should be current abroad, for which purpose it imposed tributes upon the inhabitants of the islands, and demanded a contribution of a tenth from all the Greeks: a

[482] Plutarch. Lysand. 17. Concerning the words obolus and drachma see the passages quoted in book i. ch. 15.

[483] Cf. Etymol. in v. *ὀβελίσκος*.

large quantity of the precious metals was also brought into the country by Lysander; and, as we learn from the first Alcibiades of Plato, the wealthy possessed much gold and silver; as, when once imported, they were never suffered to leave the country. Nevertheless, at this very time the prohibition of all private use of the precious metals was re-enacted, and the possession of gold or silver made a capital crime, the government remaining by law the exclusive possessor, as in the ideal state of Plato; a sufficient proof that this was an extremely ancient custom of the Spartans[484]; although it again fell into disuse in the times which immediately succeeded, it being found impossible to maintain so unnatural a prohibition after the advantages of gold had been once made known to the people.

In this instance the iron money was founded upon ancient usage and moral views. The iron coinage of the Byzantians was of a totally different character, and was similar to the money of the Clazomenians, with this difference that it was not also a certificate of debt. Byzantium, notwithstanding the fertility of its territory and its favourable situation for commerce, was for the most part in unprosperous circumstances. The Persian, and afterwards the Peloponnesian war, as well as the wars of Philip, shattered its power and resources; it was engaged in continual warfare with the neighbouring barbarians, and was unable to keep them off either by resistance or tributes; and to crown the other evils of war, they suffered this additional torment, that after having by much trouble and expense obtained an abundant harvest, the enemies either destroyed or carried off the produce of their labour; until in Olymp. 125, 2 (B.C. 279), they agreed to pay the Gauls a yearly tribute of 3000, 5000, and 10,000 pieces of gold, and at last the large sum of 80 talents, on condition that their lands should not be ravaged[485]. This annoyance compelled them to have

[484] The whole of this may be seen by comparing the following passages, Plutarch. Lysand. 17, Lacon. Apophthegm. Lycurg. 9, 30, Polyb. vi. 49, Pollux vii. 105, ix. 79, Xenoph. Rep. Laced. 7, Porphyr. de Abstin. iii. p. 350, Eryxias 24, cf. Salmas. Usur. p. 320.

[485] Polyb. iv. 45, 46. Compare Liv. xxxviii. 16, Herodian. iii. 2, and others concerning the fertility of the country and its favourable situation.

recourse to many extraordinary measures for procuring money, and finally, to the imposition of the transit duties, which in Olymp. 140, 1 (B.C. 220), involved Byzantium in the war with Rhodes.

Among the means resorted to in early times for relieving the financial distresses of the Byzantine state, was the introduction of iron money for the home circulation, that the silver might be used for foreign trade and the purposes of war[486]. It was current in the times of the Peloponnesian war, and bore the Doric name Sidareos, as the small copper coin of the Athenians was called Chalcus[487]. As it is stated that it was thin and worthless[488], it appears to have been only a plate of iron stamped or pressed in upon one side.

The Greeks were acquainted with no other kind of money but the metallic. There is no necessity for entering into a refutation of the writers[489] who mention the leather-money of the Lacedæmonians, a fable which we must at once reject, without attempting to remove the testimonies of ancient writers by incorrect alterations[490]. The same may be said of the leather-money in use among the Romans prior to the reign of Numa: Carthage however made use of a token of this description, as we find that some unknown substance of the size of a stater, enveloped in leather and marked with the public seal, supplied the place of metal[491].

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[486] See Heyne Byzant. p. 11, whose opinion is nearly the same.

[487] Aristoph. Nub. 250, Plat. Comic. ap. Schol. Aristoph. ubi sup. Strattis ap. Poll. ix. 76. [See Meineke, Fr. Com. Gr. vol. ii. p. 649, 775.—TRANSL.]

[488] Λεπτὸν, ἐλάχιστον πάντων καὶ φαυλότατον, Schol. Aristoph. ubi sup. Pollux ubi sup. (cf. vii. 105,) Hesych in v. σιδάρεοι. The word ἐλάχιστον does not mean smallness of size, but of value, according to an Attic idiom already remarked by other writers. This iron coin also occurs in Aristid. Plat. Orat. ii. p. 241, vol. iii. ed. Cant.

[489] See the passages quoted by Fischer ad Eryx. ubi sup.

[490] Which is the method adopted by Salmasius with a passage in Pliny, Usur. p. 464 sqq.

[491] Concerning which see Salmasius ut sup. p. 363 sqq.

CHAPTER XX.

Other Financial Expedients employed by the Greek States.

THE sacred property was held in much respect by the Grecian republics; and although some instances occur in which they seized the possessions of foreign temples, as was done by the Phocians and also the Arcadians in Olympia[492], yet in these cases offence was given not only to the Greeks in general, but even to many of their own fellow-citizens. The Athenians indeed borrowed money from the temples, and Pericles counselled them even to remove the golden ornaments of the statue of Minerva, pledging themselves at the same time to replace what they took[493]: none however but the tyrants, such as Dionysius, Lachares, and others, who hesitated not to commit any kind of sacrilege, ever ventured to plunder the property of the temples. But although it may be true that the Greeks, until the period of their final decline, were upon the whole a religious people, yet the confiscation of sacred property is of Grecian origin. Tachus, upon the advice of Chabrias, acquainted the Egyptian priests, that on account of the impoverished situation of the country, it was necessary that some of their offices should be abolished. Upon which communication (every priest being unwilling that his own situation should be suppressed), they readily furnished him with considerable sums of money; these he exacted not from particular individuals but from their whole number, and allowed all their offices to remain as before; he then limited their expenses to a tenth of the former amount, and required the other nine-tenths as a loan until the conclusion of the war. At the same time, by the advice also of Chabrias, he imposed a tax upon houses, a poll tax, a tax upon corn, viz., of 2 oboli upon each artabe of corn sold, one to be paid by the seller, the other by the buyer, and an income tax of 10 per cent. upon the captains of vessels, the possessors of workshops, and all other persons

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[492] Xenoph. Hell. vii. 4, 33 sqq. [493] Thucyd. ii. 13.

engaged in trade[494]. Also Cleomenes, the satrap of Alexander, threatened the Egyptians with diminishing the number of the priests, and, as was the case with Tachus, obtained large contributions from them, each one wishing to retain his station[495].

Another favourite measure in pecuniary difficulties, and one well known to the Athenians, was the appropriation by the state of a monopoly of certain commodities, of which I have already spoken in the first book[496].

The measure of the tyrant Hippias had an appearance of justice, when in order to raise money he ordered those portions of the houses to be sold, which projected into and over the public street, upon the plea that the street was public property and ought not to be overbuilt: the possessors then repurchased their own property, by which he raised a considerable sum[497]. The same method was adopted in after times by the Assembly, with the same object and consequence, upon the counsel of Iphicrates[498]. Another unjust measure was introduced by the same Hippias, who for a moderate sum liberated any citizen from the trierarchy, choregia, and other liturgies, which then pressed heavily upon the other contributors[499].

The Byzantines[500] in some financial difficulty sold the unproductive lands of the state (by which we are to understand uncultivated and wooded land) in perpetuity, and the productive lands for a term of years, so that in the latter case they in fact only received in advance the rent which would have been annually owing: the same course was pursued with the property of sacred corporations and the phratrias (*θιασωτικὰ καὶ πατριωτικὰ*), particularly with that which was surrounded by the estates of private individuals, since the proprietors of these would naturally give a high price for lands thus situated: as a

[494] Aristot. Œcon. ii. 2, 25.
[495] Ibid. 33.
[496] See chap. 9.
[497] Arist. Œcon. ii. 2, 4.
[498] Polyæan. iii. 9, 30.
[499] Aristot. Œcon. ubi sup.
[500] See Aristot. Œcon. ii. 2, 3, *τεμένη δημόσια* are public lands which were not connected with temples, in which case they would be *ὅσια*. In everything else I have followed the text of Schneider, except that I place a stop after *ἀλατοπωλίων*, and omit *δὲ* after *τρίτον*. There are however probably other false readings in the passage, so that the account given in the text cannot be relied upon as certain.

compensation for which a portion of the public lands in the gymnasium, the market, and harbour, the places of sale, the sea-fishery, and the sale of salt, were allotted to these corporations. It was also resolved to impose a tax upon jugglers, fortune-tellers, &c., amounting to a third part of their gains; the money-changing business, which, if the iron coin was in existence, must have been of considerable importance, was farmed out to a single bank; and it was prohibited to buy money from or sell it to any other bank upon the penalty of forfeiting the amount. The rights of citizenship were sold also for money; for whereas the law required that a citizen should be of pure descent both on the father's and the mother's side, they were granted to those who were descended from citizens only on one side, upon the payment of 30 minas. Also several resident aliens had lent money upon mortgage, and as the law stood they were unable to take possession of the lands thus pledged, upon which the state granted them the right of holding landed property, on condition that they paid to the state a third part of the principal. In a scarcity of corn they kept back the ships coming out of the Pontus, and when the merchants began at last to complain that they had been detained for the sole purpose of selling corn to the Byzantines, a compensation of 10 per cent. was allowed to them, which was paid by imposing upon sales a tax of equal amount[501].

CHAPTER XXI.

Xenophon's Proposals for Promoting the Welfare of Attica.

THE defects in the Athenian system of finance were not unperceived by the acute observers of antiquity; its most striking peculiarity was that the revenue was derived chiefly from foreign contributions: the managers of public affairs were indeed aware of the injustice committed against the allies, but they conceived that it was rendered necessary by the poverty of the Athenian people[502].

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[501] This is the meaning of the account, which Salmasius M. U. p. 219, has completely misunderstood.

[502] Xenoph. de Vectig. init.

It was with this view that Xenophon wrote his Essay on the Revenues, or the Sources of National Prosperity (*περὶ πόρων*), about the close of his life, probably in Olymp. 106, 1 (B.C. 356), after his sentence of exile had been reversed at the instigation of Eubulus; and it is even possible that he wrote it to serve the cause of Eubulus, as it exactly coincides with the known opinions of that statesman, his desire of peace, and love for the theorica, as well as his attention to the welfare of the people, by which he obtained so great popularity[503].

[503] That this short treatise was written for Eubulus was first remarked by Schneider, p. 151, with great probability, who has sufficiently disproved the date assigned to it by Weiske (Olymp. 89, 3), both in the discussion p. 139 sqq. and in the notes. Some observations which I had made in writing with regard to the date of this treatise before the appearance of Schneider's edition mostly agree with the inquiries of this editor, but as there are some discrepancies between us I will shortly explain my notion.

It is evident from 2, 7, and 6, 1, that Xenophon had returned from banishment, nor should Schneider (ad 4, 43) have allowed himself to be misled by Weiske into the idea that this treatise was written at Scillus or Corinth, from the circumstance of Thoricus being placed to the north, and Anaphlystus to the south, which might have been as well said in Athens as in the Peloponnese; concerning this point however I may defer any detailed examination until another place. We do not indeed know the time of his recal, nor how long he remained at Athens, for he is said to have died at Corinth; but it appears to me that Eubulus could not have had any influence before Olymp. 102, or 103, or even later still.

The following events are mentioned in the course of the treatise, which took place after the 100th Olympiad: the voluntary election of Athens to the supreme command by sea (5, 6), the voluntary recognition of the Athenian ascendancy over Thebes on the part of the Thebans themselves (5, 7), after the latter had received benefits from Athens; both these events took place in Olymp. 100, $\frac{3}{4}$ (see book iii. 17, concerning both; Schneider, p. 173, states it differently); Sparta having been supported by Athens, allows the latter to maintain its ascendancy as it chooses (5, 7), viz. in Olymp. 102, 4 (Xenoph. Hell. vii. 1. Diod. xv. 67, see Schneider, p. 174), when Athens had supported the Spartans against the superior force of Epaminondas. Athens assists the Arcadians under the Athenian general Lysistratus, who does not occur elsewhere (3, 7), an event which cannot have happened before the alliance concluded in Olymp. 103, 3 (cf. Xenoph. Hell. vii. 4, 2 sqq. Diod. xv. 77, Schneider, p. 150). Also the expedition under Hegesilaus, who commanded at the battle of Mantinea (Diogenes Laert. in Vit. Xenoph. Schneider, p. 150), in Olymp. 104, 2; for the expedition against Plutarch in Eubœa, on which occasion Hegesilaus was condemned to death, is not here meant, nor did it take place as Schneider (p. 138, p. 150) supposes in Olymp. 105, 3, but in Olymp. 106, 4 (see book iv. ch. 13). The confusion prevalent in Greece (5, 8), he correctly places (p. 174) after the battle of Mantinea.

Immediately before the composition of this essay a war took place, and a

He begins with considering whether it could not be possible for the Athenians to obtain sufficient subsistence from their

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peace was concluded, by means of which quiet was re-established by sea (4, 40; 5, 12, which latter passage has no reference to the duration of the war by land; it is only to be understood of the ill consequences of the past war): therefore the peace which followed the battle of Mantinea (Olymp. 104, 2) cannot be here intended. It would be better to understand that with Philip in Olymp. 105, 2 (Diod. xvi. 4); it appears to me however most probable that the peace which terminated the Social war in Olymp. 106, 1, is meant, as this was the war which had such a disastrous effect upon the finances of Athens (see book iii. ch. 19), and by this peace the security of the sea was restored; both facts agree particularly well with 5, 12.

According to my idea, then, the treatise was written in this year; and at the same time Isocrates laboured to attain the same object as Xenophon in his oration περὶ Εἰρήνης, and also makes similar complaints of the diminution of the revenue: and moreover the object of the whole treatise being to improve the situation of the Athenians without oppressing the allies, agrees exactly with this period of impoverishment, and with the peace between the Athenians and their allies; and finally, since Schneider (ad Xenoph. Hell. p. 10) has proved that Xenophon was alive in Olymp. 105, 4, it is only necessary to lengthen his life by one year.

On the other hand, Schulz (de Cyrop. Epilog. p. 27), and after him Schneider (p. 139 sq. 174 sq.), propose to refer this treatise to so late a date as Olymp. 106, 2, upon the idea that the Phocian war is mentioned in it: it may however, in my opinion, be shown that it was written before that war. The passage in question (5, 9) is as follows: —"If the Athenians, without being parties to any war, would, by sending ambassadors to the different states of Greece, use their influence to make the temple of Delphi independent, as before, they would have all the Greeks on their side against those who had endeavoured to seize the temple after the Phocians had quitted it (ἐκλιπόντων τῶν Φωκέων)." The Phocians had taken the temple of Delphi in Olymp. 106, 2, and since they remained in possession of it during the whole of the Sacred war, the plundering of the sacred property was gradually completed, and they retained possession until the termination of the war in Olymp. 108, 3, which may be seen from Diod. xvi. 23—59, cf. Demosth de Fals. Leg. p. 356, 17. Now since Xenophon cannot have written this passage after Olymp. 108, 3, it must refer to some period antecedent to Olymp. 106, 2, for it is expressly stated that the Phocians had quitted the temple; and even if any one were to object that ἐκλιπόντων means, *they had become effeminate, they had degenerated*, the result remains the same.

But it may be asked, why are the Phocians mentioned in this place? The state of the case appears to be as follows. The temple of Delphi was, according to the agreement of the Greeks, an independent sacred possession, the chief management of which was exclusively vested in the council of Amphictyons and the sacred assembly at Delphi; but the Phocians were always putting in claims for the direction of this temple, which they affirmed to belong to them, and that they had even once been in possession of it (Diod. xvi. 23), an assertion which they also strengthened with the authority of Homer (Il. B. 518); and these claims were according to Diodorus again

own country; for which purpose, he observes, the land is excellent, the climate mild, the soil capable of yielding the best products; and those districts which do not produce corn, are made infinitely richer by the presence of mineral treasures; the sea is also productive, and Attica is most favourably situated for commerce both by sea and land; and is moreover by her remoteness from barbarian nations relieved from any apprehension of an injury which had been felt by most other states.

Having thus gone through the natural adva ntages of Athens, he next proposes some plans for improving the general welfare of the country, and creating revenues by which the needy citizens might be maintained; proposals which are neither remarkable for their acuteness or depth, nor capable of being put into practice with advantage, however benevolent and praiseworthy the motives may have been from which they proceeded. The first[504] refers to the resident aliens; these, he says, maintain themselves without receiving anything from the state, and also pay a protection-money; in his opinion the best

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brought forward in Olymp. 106, 2, when they were assisted by the countenance of Sparta (Diod. xvi. 29).

In the time of Cimon, the Lacedæmonians had given the temple to the Delphians, that is to say, had made it independent; but Athens immediately afterwards transferred it to the Phocians (Thucyd. i. 112). In the peace of Nicias (Olymp. 89, 3) independence, a native jurisdiction, and freedom from all foreign tribute, were secured by treaty to the sacred property of Delphi, the temple of Apollo, and the city together with the territory belonging to it (Thucyd. v. 18), as in the preceding armistice the free use of the temple and the oracle had been guaranteed, and assistance against sacrilege had been promised to the Delphians (Thucyd. iv. 118); with regard to the first article of this armistice, Sparta particularly invited Bœotia and Phocis to accede to it. The Phocians, however, may have frequently repeated their claims, until they at last ceased, as it is stated by Xenophon.

In Olymp. 106, before the renewal of these claims, the Thebans played the chief part in the council of the Amphictyons; by their means the Spartans were condemned to the enormous fine of 500 talents, and afterwards to double that amount (Diod. xvi 23, 29). Thebes at that period was still the predominant power, whence Sparta and Athens combined against her, and from their hatred towards Thebes took the side of the Phocians. It is therefore more than probable, particularly since Xenophon speaks so briefly and obscurely of the transaction, that it was the Thebans who had endeavoured to obtain possession of the temple, and this before Olymp. 106, 2. Of the claims of the Phocians renewed in this year, and asserted with violence, the author was entirely ignorant.

[504] Cap. 2.

of all revenues. For these reasons it is fit that they should receive some farther encouragement: to which end it would be sufficient to relieve them from some degrading liturgies, that were of no advantage to the community, and from serving as hoplitæ; for the state would be more benefitted if the armies were composed of citizens, than if they were mixed with Lydians, Phrygians, Syrians, and other barbarians; and again, it would be honourable to the Athenians to rely in battle rather upon themselves than upon foreigners. He also proposes that those who on application might appear worthy, should be allowed to serve in the cavalry, and should receive permission to build houses, in order to cover the empty spaces within the walls; also that protectors of resident aliens (μετοικοφύλακες) should be appointed, and rewards given to those who brought more persons of this class into the city; which would have the double effect of increasing the good-will of the aliens actually resident, and of bringing all refugees under the protection of Athens.

If the Athenians followed the counsels of Xenophon, the prosperity of Athens would have been in imminent danger of being destroyed by internal causes. The citizens would in that case have singly carried on a perpetual war, and have been swept away in battle; while the resident aliens passed their life in security: and although the latter might have borne some share in the dangers of war, would not all the noble families have gradually become extinct? The citizens would have been compelled to give up their occupations, and submit to an entire loss of property, while the resident aliens, having obtained possession of all commerce, all industry, and at last of the land, would have become sole proprietors of all wealth at the expense of the Athenians. They would also have received the rights of citizenship in greater numbers than was actually the case, and the state thus have suffered the severest injury. Nothing contributed more to the destruction of Athens, than the gradual extinction of the descendants of the ancient Cecropidæ; and a foreign race, enriched by banking and other usurious practices, destitute of all noble motives, and bent only upon momentary gain, forced themselves into the rights of citizenship, and the

administration of the state. If the Athenians had deliberately sanctioned this course of policy, they must either have been beyond measure philanthropic and benevolent, or been willing to sacrifice their real prosperity for the purchase of a trifling benefit. A comparatively large number of resident aliens may indeed have been advantageous for commerce, for industry, and the public revenue; but higher considerations of policy could not permit that they should be favoured in the degree proposed by Xenophon.

The unquestionable advantages, he proceeds to say, which Athens possessed for commerce[505], arose not only from its favourable situation, its magnificent and commodious harbours, but also from the excellence of its coin, which could always be exchanged with profit; so that the merchants of Attica, instead of being, like the traders of other places, obliged to export commodities for the purpose of barter, had the option of carrying out money. The first suggestions that our author makes for the improvement of trade are, that prizes should be appointed for the commercial court, to be awarded to whichever member should give judgment with the greatest rapidity and fairness: the object of this proposal was afterwards effectually gained by the introduction of the monthly suits[506]: also that particular honours should be given to the merchants and the masters of vessels, in order that with the increased number which these distinctions would attract, the amount of the exports and imports, of the sales, of the wages of labour, and the public duties, might be augmented[k]. He also recommends a particular plan, which required a contribution of money, from a conviction that the Athenians, who had been so often taxed

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[505] Xenoph. chap. iii.

[506] See book i. ch. 9.

[k] [The sentence in the original is, *δῆλον ὅτι τοσούτῳ ἂν πλεῖον καὶ εἰσάγοιτο καὶ ἐξάγοιτο καὶ ἐκπέμποιτο καὶ πωλοῖτο καὶ μισθοφοροῖτο καὶ τελεσφοροίη*. The last editor, Dindorf, proposes to expunge the words *καὶ ἐξάγοιτο*, comparing i. 7, *προσάγεται δὲ ὧν δεῖται καὶ ἀποπέμπεται ἃ βούλεται*. Thus also Aristotle Polit. i. 3, *ξενικωτέρας γὰρ γιγνομένης τῆς βοηθίας τῷ εἰσάγεσθαι ὧν ἐνδεεῖς καὶ ἐκπέμπειν ὧν ἐπλεόναζον, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἡ τοῦ νομίσματος ἐπορίσθη χρῆσις*. And again vii. 6, *τὰ πλεονάζοντα τῶν γιγνομένων ἐκπέμψασθαι*. vii. 12, *τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης πεμπομένοις*. Thucyd. iv. 26, *ἐσπέμπειν τὰ σιτία*, iv. 30, *σῖτον ἐσπέμπειν*.—TRANSL.]

for the maintenance of fleets and armies, and had expended large sums without any sure prospect of benefit resulting to the state, and with a certainty of never recovering their money, would willingly contribute to this undertaking. He proposes to build public inns and warehouses, in addition to those already in existence, for the entertainment of captains of vessels and merchants, as well as some conveniently situated market-houses; and to purchase some public trading-vessels, which, like other property belonging to the state, were to be let out for hire upon the production of sufficient security. The author supposes that the profit upon this speculation would amount to 3 oboli a day; so that the subscribers would obtain a very high per-centage upon their shares: a subscriber of 10 minas would receive nearly 20 per cent. (*ναυτικὸν σχεδὸν ἐπίπεμπτον*), exactly 180 drachmas for 360 days; and of 5 minas more than the third part of the principal (*ἐπίτριτον ναυτικόν*). The larger number however would receive annually more than their original contributions; for example, subscribers of 1 mina nearly double that sum, and this in their native country, which appears to be of all others the safest and most desirable method of investment. Foreigners also might be expected to contribute, if in return for their contributions they were registered among the eternal benefactors of the Athenians, an honour of which some kings, and tyrants, and satraps, might wish to partake.

In all this exposition there is nothing obscure, but nearly the whole is without any foundation in reality. Xenophon supposes unequal contributions, according to the different amount of property, agreeable to the principles of a property tax, but an equal distribution of the receipts for the purpose of favouring and aiding the poor; the reason which induced him to fix upon the rate of 3 oboli, appears to have been that this sum was just sufficient for the most scanty subsistence; the common daily wages were likewise 3 oboli, as were also the salaries, for example, the pay of the judges and the assembly; but the payment of the wages of the judges is no more in question than the wages of sailors; what Xenophon is speaking of is an income annually arising upon each share, either equal

to or exceeding the interest of loans on bottomry[507]. Where however was the security that the undertaking would produce 3 oboli a day to each subscriber? This most essential point is entirely wanting to these airy speculations of the Athenian philosopher.

The most important and explicit part of this short Essay is the chapter upon the silver mines[508]. According to Xenophon, the Athenian mines were inexhaustible: "they have," he says, "been worked from time immemorial, and yet to how small a portion of the hill in which the metal is found have the works already extended! nor is the place which contains the silver narrowed by the further progress of the mining, but is evidently increased as more of the soil is exposed. Even at the time when the number of persons labouring there was at the highest, there was enough, and more than enough, employment for all. And at the present time no proprietor of slaves in the mines reduces their number, but, on the contrary, keeps increasing it to the utmost of his power. The value of silver," he proceeds to say, "is not diminished by an increase in the quantity, for the uses to which it can be applied are manifold, and no one is satisfied with the amount which he actually possesses. Gold," he allows, "is equally useful with silver; this, however, I

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[507] Salmasius M. U. chap. 1, falls into innumerable errors, by considering the triobolon to be the pay of the dicasts, from which however he excludes the Pentacosiomedimni and the Thetes (the latter of whom were the very persons who had the chief share in it); but, not to mention that to allow of this interpretation it must have been τὸ τριώβολον, the whole explanation is so senseless, that it is unintelligible how a rational being could have hit upon it. Of a part of this confused investigation, Heraldus, his victorious adversary, justly says (Animadv. in Salm. Observ. iii. 15, 17), "*Somnium est hominis harum rerum, etiam quum vigilat, nihil scientis.*" Heraldus (ibid. ii. 20, 2), refutes the absurdities of Salmasius, but understands it just as absurdly himself to mean the pay of the seamen (§ 3), and considers ναυτικὸν to mean *salarium nauticum* (§ 4), whereas it is evidently to be taken, with Salmasius, for money lent upon sea security, which Schneider has also observed against Weiske. Who would agree to give a sum of money, exceeding indeed that contributed by others, in order to receive a share in a salary given for labour on board a vessel, without any distinction being made as to the different amount of the deposit, and this only three paltry oboli, which he might have had without contributing anything!

[508] Chap. 4.

know," he says,* "that when it appears in large quantities, it becomes itself cheaper, and makes silver dearer. Now although the state sees that many private individuals grow rich by their mines, who by hiring out the slaves working in them obtain a net profit of an obolus a day for each slave, it does not imitate their example: it might, however, secure a permanent revenue, by purchasing public slaves, until there were three to each Athenian (that is, about 60,000); and by letting these, like all other public property, upon proper security. In this proceeding there would be no danger of loss; for if the slaves were marked with the public seal, it would not be easy to steal them: nor would the state be injured by the competition of other slave-proprietors." He then proposes first to purchase 1200; "from the profits arising from these the number might in five or six years be raised to 6000[509], which would produce an annual income of 60 talents; of this sum, 20 talents might be applied to the purchase of fresh slaves, and 40 used for other expenses. When the number shall have been brought to 10,000, the income will be 100 talents; but that it would be possible to procure and maintain a number far greater than this, is proved by what happened before the war of Decelea. It might also," he then suggests, "be advisable to undertake new works, in which there would be some hazard of loss, from the various success experienced in searching for ore; as this uncertainty deterred many private individuals from purchasing new mines from the state." In order, therefore, that the danger might not fall upon single persons, he proposes to give an equal number of slaves to the ten tribes; that each tribe should open new mines, and that they should bear the good or ill success in common; and former experience did not justify the expectation that all the trials would be unsuccessful. He also observes, that it would be safer for private persons to form associations of this kind; an arrangement which was subsequently adopted.

Now it was impossible that all these proposals should attain their object. In the first place, it is inconceivable that, in

[509] See above book i. ch. 13.

addition to the private slaves, 60,000 public slaves could have continued for any length of time to work the mines with profit, but either the state or individuals must soon have been losers. That Xenophon's belief in the inexhaustibility of these mines was a mere delusion, has been proved by subsequent experience; not to mention that in bad seasons the dearness of corn, joined to the imperfection of the smelting processes known to the ancients, would have precluded any profitable employment of capital in this business: and in fact many proprietors did cease working, and the mining was at length discontinued[510].

Xenophon then properly remarks, that it would not be prudent to attempt all these schemes at the same time, both from the large amount of contributions requisite, and the necessary result of purchasing any considerable number of slaves, viz., that their quality would be bad and price high. Whereas, if they were tried in succession, the profit derived from one undertaking might be applied to the execution of another. "But," he proceeds to say, "if it should be supposed that on account of the property taxes raised in the preceding war, it would be impossible to obtain any contributions from private individuals, the expenses of the administration for the coming year might be defrayed from the smaller revenues, as had been done in the last war, and the surplus which would be created by peace, the encouragement shown to the resident aliens, and the improvements in trade, might be applied to these undertakings. Nor would the arrangements proposed be useless in case of war, for by reason of the increased population, the state would be enabled to augment the number of sailors and soldiers: the mines again, being already protected by fortresses, might be easily put in a state of greater security; and partly on account of their situation, partly from the difficulty which an enemy would find in obtaining provisions there, and his inability to profit by the ore, they would be but little exposed to attack. Lastly, the state would not only derive a greater revenue from the slaves, but with the increased

[510] The proofs of all these assertions may be seen in my Dissertation upon the Mines of Laurium.

numbers of those dwelling near the mines, a large income would be obtained from the market, from the public buildings, and several other sources; and the land in their neighbourhood might acquire as great a value as that around the city; and not only this, but the citizens would be made more tractable, regular, and warlike, by the increase of the public prosperity, as they would receive daily wages for exercising in the gymnasia, for garrison duty, military service, &c."

Among all his schemes and recommendations, the exhortation to peace[511] is the only one which is entirely unobjectionable; it is not, however, peculiar to him, for the same proposal was made by Isocrates at the same period, and is perpetually inculcated by the orators, who sometimes repeat it at very unseasonable moments. "The prosperity of Athens will," in his opinion, "be thus raised above that of any other state; for," he continues, "would not ship-captains and merchants flock thither? where would those who are rich in the various products of the earth, together with all who are able to gain their livelihood either by talents or money, handicraftsmen, and sophists, and philosophers, poets, and those who minister to the productions of poetry, with all who are desirous to hear or to see the spectacles and splendour of Athens, both sacred and profane, as well as persons whose object it is to buy and sell with dispatch—where would all these obtain their several ends so well as at Athens? The ascendancy or empire over the Greeks would be more easily preserved by mildness and peace, than by wars and violence. In war not only are several branches of revenue deficient, but all the money paid into the treasury is consumed in defraying the expenses of it. And," he urges, "it may be seen that the revenue has always fallen off in time of war, and that the whole receipts were immediately consumed. And if any one were to ask me," he says, "whether, if another nation commits an injury against the state, I should dissuade any revenge of the wrong, my answer would be no: but I must remind you, that it would be far more easy to punish the offenders, if we have

[511] Chap. 5.

committed no injury ourselves; for in that case they would have no ally."

"If these proposals are put in practice[512]," he continues to say, "we shall obtain the good will of the Greeks, an increase of security, and a more lasting fame; the people will be well supplied with food, the rich be relieved from the expenses of war; from the abundance and plenty that would exist, the festivals will be celebrated with greater splendour, the temples will be restored, the walls and docks repaired, and the priests, the senate, and public officers, and knights, receive their former dues. If these proposals should meet with the public approbation, I would counsel you," he says, "to send messengers to Delphi and Dodona, and consult the gods as to the expediency of these plans: for if they are done with the favour of the divinity, it is to be expected that the measures of the state will always have a fortunate issue." This pious conclusion reconciles the reader with his author, notwithstanding the many weak points in the work itself; at the same time, it is hardly possible to forgive him for not advising the Athenians to be more sparing in their festivals, instead of which he flatters them with the prospect of increasing the expense and magnificence. This wish, however, proceeds from the most sincere conviction and earnestness; Xenophon's own disposition coincided with the inclinations of his patron, and the pernicious tendencies of the Athenian people.

CHAPTER XXII.

General View of the Financial System of Athens.

IF we now take a general survey of the financial system of Athens, which more or less resembled that established in all the other Grecian republics, with the exception of Crete and Sparta, we shall perceive that in many parts it was both planned and executed with acuteness and judgment; and that even its imperfections were so blended with its excellences, that

[512] Chap. 6.

by their removal, liberty, the source of all public virtue, would have been endangered.

Although the Greeks were neither poor nor indifferent to riches, the quantity of the precious metals in circulation was proportionally far less than in the European states of later times. Much therefore was effected with little money; and as property returned high profits, individuals could contribute largely to the state without infringing upon their capital. Moreover the financial system of the Athenians was in itself simple; their views seldom reached beyond the service of the current year, unless indeed the command of some extraordinary resources, such for example as the tributes, led to the adoption of an extended plan of operations. To peculation and the embezzlement of money they were frequently indifferent; and from ignorance of the limited extent of their resources, they incurred great expenses, and soon became involved in difficulties. The numbers of the popular assembly embarrassed their statesmen in the management of public affairs, and prevented the execution of prompt or decisive measures. A large portion of the public money was through piety devoted to the worship of the gods; much of it also was expended upon monuments which will form a lasting record of their elevated thoughts, their heroic deeds, as well as of their consummate taste for the arts.

But though they executed the most splendid works which have ever been conceived by the mind of man, their resources could not be altogether applied to such noble objects: the craving wants of the lower order of their citizens also required to be satisfied; who by salaries and donatives in time of peace had become accustomed to indolence, and to the idea that the state was bound to maintain them; and as by these means the lowest persons were placed sufficiently at their ease to attend to the administration of the state, the influence of the democracy was insensibly extended. Their statesmen were always endeavouring to discover some method by which the mass of the people might be enriched and supported out of the public revenues, rather than by individual industry and prudence; as the commonweal was considered as a private possession to be

enjoyed in common, the proceeds of which were to be distributed among the members who composed the state. And yet it would appear that donations and salaries are nowhere less necessary than for states in which slavery is established. The degradation of the greater part of the inhabitants enables those who are free to obtain their subsistence by the labour of the slaves; and it is thus that they have sufficient leisure to attend to affairs of state; whereas in countries in which slavery does not exist, the citizens having to labour for their subsistence are less able to employ themselves in the business of government. Plato, therefore, in his sketch of a perfect state, proposed that the governing class should be maintained at the public cost. The pay of the soldiers, which was early introduced in Athens, is less objectionable; but the expenditure incurred on this, as well as on other accounts, far exceeded the internal resources of the state. Extravagance at home, the expense of the military operations, and the maladministration in their foreign possessions, gave rise to the oppression of their allies, whose dependant and tributary condition drew down upon the tyrant state the hatred of Greece. In order to maintain her power which was derived from foreign resources, Athens heaped injustice on injustice, and endeavoured by oppression and terror to assert that dominion, which indeed no state in Greece had so just a claim to, and to which she had, as it were, been led and pressed onward by the natural course of events. As however the galling restraints imposed upon the subject states could necessarily endure only for a time; and as a voluntary combination among the Greeks, such as that against the Persians, could never have been permanent, the Athenian state, and with it the rest of Greece, must in the end have been overthrown, even if Philip of Macedon had not risen up against it.

Of the different revenues of the state, the custom duties were the least oppressive, as having been imposed with suitableness and moderation. On the other hand, the immense fines, although they produced a large income to the state, were a constant inducement to unjust decisions. The power of confiscating property was in the hands of wild and thoughtless

demagogues, a dreadful scourge upon the rich and great; particularly if the proceeds were forthwith distributed among the people. The liturgies, although of great utility, were injurious, because they were not arranged according to any fair proportion. Patriotism, religion, enthusiasm, and not less than these, ambition, stimulated individuals to make great sacrifices for the state. The three first however gradually became extinct; while the latter, being applied to base instead of to worthy ends, exercised only a pernicious influence.

In the history of the Greeks, we do not wish to undervalue their greatness, or to detract from their noble qualities: we allow that much was better than in modern states, better than in the Roman empire when sunk in corruption; better far than under the oppressive and degrading despotisms of the East: but much also was worse than in our times. It is only a partial or superficial view which discovers nothing but ideal perfection in antiquity. The eulogy of past times, and the unqualified censure of everything contemporary, are the results frequently of perverted judgment, or perhaps of a narrow and disdainful selfishness, which considers the heroes of antiquity to be the only associates worthy of its own imagined greatness. There are however parts of the Grecian history less brilliant than those which are commonly brought into view. Even in the noblest races of Greece, among which the Athenians must without doubt be reckoned, depravity and moral corruption were prevalent throughout the whole people. Although their free governments, and the small independent communities into which the different nations were divided, may have produced an intense and constant excitement, they were at the same time the causes of innumerable disturbances; and, if we except those exalted minds, which found sufficient support within themselves, we shall in vain search for that abundance of comfort and charity which a purer religion has poured into the hearts of mankind. The Greeks, with all the perfection of their works of art and the freedom of their governments, were more unhappy than is usually believed; even in the times of their glory, they bore within themselves the seeds of that destruction which was sooner or later destined to befal them. The forma-

tion of large states into monarchies, which has limited the sphere of individual action, and given a greater degree of stability to the principles of government, appears to be an essential advance in the condition of the human race; provided that there be also present that energy of individual character, that free and daring spirit, that implacable hatred of oppression and the arbitrary power of rulers, which so distinguished the Greeks. For without these we should in vain hope to escape that destruction in which the states of Greece were ultimately overwhelmed.

A

DISSERTATION

ON

THE SILVER MINES OF LAURION

IN

ATTICA[a].

§ 1. *Situation of the Laurian Mines, and their relation to the neighbouring Towns.*

If we consider the advantages which Athens derived from the mines of Laurion, a prominent station should undoubtedly be assigned to them among the numerous gifts of nature[1] with which the country of Attica was favoured[2]. The means which they afforded for the profitable employment of capital served at the same time to enrich many private individuals and to maintain large numbers of slaves (who, when occasion required, might be used in manning the fleets[3]); and the state derived from them an income, which, as being productive of injury to no one, an ancient writer[4] justly considers as the best source of public revenue. If we except the happy situation of the country, the freedom of the constitution, and the mental superiority of the inhabitants, no one circumstance perhaps contributed so much to the prosperity of the state as the possession of these mines.

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[a] From the Memoirs of the Berlin Academy for the years 1814 and 1815, p. 85—140.

[1] Æschylus (Pers. 235), mentioning the resources of the Greeks, says, *ἀργύρου πηγή τις αὐτοῖς ἐστι, θησαυρὸς χθονός.*

[2] Cf. Xenoph. de Vectig. 1, 5.

[3] Cf. Xenoph. ut sup. 4, 42.

[4] The author of the Introduction to the second book of the Œconomics falsely attributed to Aristotle.

The power of Athens depended on her fleets, her wealth upon foreign commerce. It was the produce of the silver mines which first enabled Themistocles to found the naval force of his country; and nothing so much promoted her trade as the purity of her silver coin, which, while many other states of Greece circulated a metal current only at home, was every where exchanged with profit[5]. This wise arrangement was doubtless in great measure occasioned by the possession of silver within their own territory.

The mountain, or rather hill, in which the silver mines were situated, was called Laurion or Laureion, but never Lauron; the mines themselves Laureia or Lauria; and the district Lauriotike[6]. Its height is inconsiderable; Attica is of less elevation from Hymettus down to the coast, so that whenever the mountains of this country are spoken of, Brilessus, Lycabettus, Parnes, Corydallus, Hymettus, Anchesmus, and others are named[7], but never Laurion, although the latter was no less remarkable than any of the others. Hobhouse[8] describes it as a high and abrupt hill, covered with pine trees and abounding in marble; Stuart also recognised in Legrina and Lagriona near Sunium, the name Laurion, which has also evidently been

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[5] Xenoph. ut sup. i. 3, cf. Aristoph. Ran. 730—736, Polyb. xx. 15, 16.

[6] Λαύριον, and Λαύρειον, both either with or without ὄρος, frequently occur, the former in Thucyd. ii. 55, where see the commentators, Pausanias i. 1, Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 361, Suidas in v. γλαὺξ ἵπτανται, Hesychius in v. γλαῦκες Λαυριωτικαί, Schol. Æsch. Pers. 237, and Liban. xx.; the latter in Herod. vii. 144, Andoc. de Myster. p. 19, 20, where it is falsely accented Λαυρεῖον (a MS. has however in both places I instead of EI.) In Thucyd. vi. 91, the reading varies in the manuscripts. The first method of writing this word is confirmed by the derivative Λαυριωτικὸς, with a short Iota, in Aristoph. Av. 1106. Plutarch (Nic. 4,) calls the district Λαυριωτικὴ, where Reiske incorrectly proposes to read Λαυρεωτικῆ. Λαύρεια for the mines occurs in Hesychius, and consequently Λαύρια was also in use, but that Λαῦρον was used for Λαύριον cannot be believed on the credit of the same grammarian (in v. Λαῦρον).

[7] Strabo ix. p. 275, (ed. Casaub. 1587,) Pausan. i. 32, Plin. Nat. Hist. iv. 11, &c.

[8] Travels in Albania, &c. vol. i. p. 417. It might be inferred from his account that the silver ore ran into marble; this is however uncertain: the passage in Stuart afterwards referred to is Ath. Ant. vol. iii. p. xiii. Compare the passage from the Unedited Antiquities of Attica, quoted in note 16.

preserved in the names Lauronoris, Mauronoris, Mauronorise (*Λαύριον ὄρος*). According to his statement, it is an uneven line of mountains full of exhausted mines and scoriæ, stretching from Porto Raphti to Legrina: and there forming the Promontory called Mauronise: it appears that the highest part, as laid down in the maps, is near the south-west coast; for according to Pausanias in the commencement of his work, this mountain is seen by a person sailing from Sunium to the Piræus, in the direction of the desert island of Patroclus: but the silver mines stretched from coast to coast in a line of about sixty stadia from Anaphlystus in the south-west, to Thoricus on the north-east sea[9]. To what distance they reached downwards to Sunium and upwards to Hymettus, is unknown. In the age of Xenophon, the extent of the mines was continually increased, as new spots abounding in ore were discovered[10]: but to none of the bordering countries, either towards the sea, or towards the main-land, did any veins of silver extend: Attica alone, says Xenophon, had received this gift of heaven[11].

If we may judge from the dense population of the whole country, it seems evident that the particular district of the mines must have been very populous, and necessarily included several villages, which served for the habitation of the labourers: and by these the situation of the mines might perhaps be more accurately ascertained. Laurion itself was indeed neither a harbour, as is stated by Meletius in his geography, and by Lauremberg in an old map which has now become useless[12]; nor a demus, as Corsini has correctly observed against Meursius

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[9] Xenoph. ut sup. 4, 44. In a letter of Francis Vernon, who had travelled in Greece, translated by Spon from the Philosophical Transactions (Travels, vol. iv. p. 301), the writer observes that he had seen an island between Phalerum and Sunium, called *Phlebes* (*φλέβες*), where the Athenians once had mines. Lest it should be supposed that a place near Anaphlystus is intended, where the veins ran across to an island, I remark that *La Phlega* (Wheler, Travels, p. 424), is meant, which lies farther northwards near Zoster, not far from the harbour of Phalerum, and according to Wheler is the Phaura of Strabo, as the situation shows. It is however more probable that salt was found there than ore.

[10] Ibid. 4, 3.

[11] Ibid. 1, 5.

[12] Melet. Geogr. p. 349, the old edition, Lauremberg Græcia Antiqua, p. 23, in Gronovius' Thes. A. Gr. vol. iv.

and Spon[13]; and the grammarians[14], who call it a place in Attica, probably mean something more than the mountain; for it is very possible that there were public buildings erected in some particular spot, which, together with other houses and foundries, composed the town of Laurion.

Anaphlystus was one of the chief demi; Thoricus was in early times one of the twelve independent towns, and afterwards became a demus, although by Hecatæus and other later writers it is called a town: in Mela's time, however, it was only a name, for, according to the probable conjecture of Chandler, it sank at the same time with the mines. Leroy, in the year 1754, was driven by contrary winds into a port near a place which, according to his account, was still called Thoricus. He describes it as situated in a plain bounded with hills, into which to the south (according to our maps to the south-west) projects a mountain which he recognised as Laurion[15]. Chandler, on the other hand, considers the modern Cerateia (which Meletius calls a village (*κώμη*), and which, according to Hobhouse, contains about 250 houses) as Thoricus, without however having been upon the spot. Wheler, who suggested another notion, had visited Cerateia, a town which, fifty or sixty years previous to his arrival, before it had been destroyed by corsairs, had been a considerable place, and had possessed certain privileges; but from its situation, this cannot be Thoricus. Spon is entirely mistaken in considering the modern Porto Raphti as the ancient Thoricus. The statement of the modern English writers is undoubtedly true: viz. that the harbour now called Theriko, situated seven miles to the south-east of Cerateia, was the ancient Thoricus; as is now evident since the publication of

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[13] Meursius de Pop. et Pag. Spon, Travels, vol. iii. part ii. p. 153, Corsini Fast. Att. vol. i. p. 248. Even Sigonius, who always shows judgment, although he has left many inquiries uncompleted, omitted Laurion in the list of the demi.

[14] Suidas and Photius.

[15] Strab. ix. p. 274, Hecatæus ap. Stephan. Byzant. in v. Θορικὸς, Plin. Hist. Nat. iv. 11, Mela ii. 3, iv. 7, Wheler, Travels, p. 448, Chandler, Travels, chap. 33, Leroy, Les plus beaux Monumens de la Grèce, ed. 2, vol. i. p. 3. Most of the passages upon Thoricus have been collected by Meursius (de Pop. et Pag.); cf. Duker ad Thucyd. viii. 95.

the remaining part of Stuart's work[16]. The country near that place is mentioned as the particular district of the mines[17]. Æschines, the orator, also mentions an ἐργαστήριον or compartment in the silver mines of Aulon, which place was so called from its forming a long and narrow valley resembling a channel[18].

A mine situated near Maroneia is mentioned by Demosthenes[19]: the identity of the name of this place with that of the Thracian Maroneia, a colony of the Chians, either arose accidentally, or from the name being carried over from Attica to Chios, and thence being introduced into Thrace; to which supposition the hero Maron, who is celebrated in the Odyssey, and from whom the Thracian town is said to have received its name, does not furnish any well-founded objection. Mines or workshops at Thrasyllus are also mentioned by both the above-cited orators. This place received its name from a monument of Thrasyllus (as Harpocration informs us), and must have been situated in the district of Maroneia[20]; for in Demosthenes, the mine near Thrasyllus, as may be gathered from the context, is the same with the mine at Maroneia.

Lastly, in several maps of Attica, the demus called *Besa* is placed in the district of the mines, nearly in the middle between Thoricus and Anaphlystus[21], the position of the place being

[16] Spon, Travels, vol. iii. part ii. p. 135. Stuart ut sup. Hobhouse, Travels, vol. i. p. 411, 420. The unedited Antiquities of Attica, comprising the Architectural Remains of Eleusis, Rhamnus, Sunium, and Thoricus, London, 1817, p. 57.

[17] Plin. xxxvii. 5, Schol. Æsch. ut sup.

[18] Æsch. c. Timarch. p. 121, Suidas in v. αὐλῶνες, Lex. Seg. p. 206, Αὐλὼν τόπος τῆς Ἀττικῆς καλεῖται, ἐπειδὴ ἐπιμήκης καὶ στενὸς ὡς αὐλῷ ἐοικέναι.

[19] C. Pantænet. p. 967, 17, and thence the argument of the same oration, Harpocration, Suidas, Photius, Lex. Seg. p. 279.

[20] Æschines ut sup. calls the district ἐπὶ Θρασύλλῳ, Demosthenes ut sup. p. 973, 29, ἐπὶ Θρασύλλου; Harpocration however in v. ἐπὶ Θρασύλλῳ reads Θρασύλλῳ in the latter place, although from the interpretation ἐπὶ τῷ Θρασύλλου μνήματι the genitive might seem preferable. Meursius Lect. Att. v. 30, accuses Harpocration of confounding the bath of Thrasyllus with this monument; besides this purely arbitrary assumption, he confesses that he has incorrectly referred this place to Amphitrope, to which he was misled by the false derivation of the words in Æschines now long since corrected.

[21] As is laid in the map by Philip Argelatus in the works of Sigonius, vol. v. and in Kitchen's map in Chandler's Travels.

fixed on the authority of a passage of Xenophon. According to this writer, there were, on both coasts, fortifications at Thoricus and Anaphlystus: and if a third fort were placed upon the highest point of "Besa," the two first would be thus connected, and on the alarm of an hostile attack, every person from the mines would easily be able to take refuge in one of the walled places[22]. The meaning of this writer is indeed too obscurely expressed to allow of our drawing any sure inference; the reading moreover is not sufficiently certain, and the term Besa is ambiguous: the latter word may either be the proper name of a place, or signify *a low ground covered with bushes;* it is however by no means improbable that the district received the name of Besa from this particular circumstance, and that this demus should be here sought for; besides which the name Besa is, according to Stuart, still in existence. It may be observed, that by the term *fortifications* we are not to understand long walls, but single castles, in which the labourers might take refuge; the connexion spoken of by Xenophon was caused by the contiguity of the three places, from which the intervening country might be commanded. The works at Thoricus and Anaphlystus are the fortifications at those places,

[22] Xenoph. ibid. 4, 43 sqq. from which I will extract the following words: ἔστι μὲν γὰρ δῆπου περὶ τὰ μέταλλα ἐν τῇ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν θαλάττῃ τεῖχος ἐν Ἀναφλύστῳ, ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἄρκτον τεῖχος ἐν Θορικῷ· ἀπέχει δὲ ταῦτα, ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑξήκοντα στάδια. Εἰ οὖν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων γένοιτο ἐπὶ τῷ ὑψηλοτάτῳ Βήσσης τρίτον ἔρυμα, συνήκοι τ' (not as is commonly read συνήκοιτ') ἂν τὰ ἔργα εἰς ἓν ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν τειχῶν καὶ εἴ τι αἰσθάνοιτο πολεμικὸν, βραχὺ ἂν εἴη ἑκάστῳ εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποχωρῆσαι. Βήσσης was first edited by Stephanus; if the borough is meant, ἐν Βήσῃ would be the most natural expression; but if only a low hill covered with bushes, it would seem to require the article τῆς βήσσης. Valesius (ad Harpocrat. in v. βησῆς) is of opinion that the borough is meant. Strabo ix. p. 293, observes that the borough was written Βῆσα and not Βῆσσα, which is confirmed by inscriptions; but there can be no doubt that the appellative was originally written in the same manner, and that the ancient form was retained in the proper name, while in the other word it soon disappeared. Schneider, whose edition of this work of Xenophon did not appear until after the completion of this Essay, has received Βήσης into the text: Chandler and Hobhouse (ut sup. p. 420), also assume that Besa is here mentioned. [The author says in his collection of Greek Inscriptions, vol. i. p. 290, "De Besa nunc addenda est eximia Isæi auctoritas de Pyrrhi Hered. p. 27, postquam Bekkerus ex libris restituit verum Βήσαζε." Orat. Att. p. 34.—TRANSL.]

which on account of their importance as military posts had been converted into castles. Thoricus had been placed in a state of defence by the Athenians in Olymp. 93, 1 (B.C. 408), perhaps with a view to the protection of the mines[23]: that Anaphlystus was a fort (τεῖχος) is also observed by Scylax in his Periplus; and as Sunium had been fortified in Olymp. 91, 4 (B.C. 413)[24], these places were entirely defended from attacks by sea.

Invasions by land, against which Xenophon's new fort was to be erected, were attended with great difficulties; for, according to the remark of this military writer, the enemies' troops would be forced to pass by the city; and if their numbers were small, they would be cut off by the cavalry and guards in the country; while, by coming in large force, they would both expose their own territory, and be unable to maintain their ground from want of provisions: and even if they were masters of the mines, they would derive no more benefit from the silver ore, than from mere stones. In the second year however of the Peloponnesian war Olymp. 87, $\frac{2}{3}$ (B.C. 430), the Spartans and their allies advanced in the district of Paralos as far as Laurion[25]; and although it is not mentioned that they obtained actual possession of the mines, yet the working of them would probably have been suspended, even if the enemy had not advanced so far. At a later period the fortifying and the continued occupation of Decelea by the Spartans, which was maintained by the advice of Alcibiades, deprived the state of the revenues from Laurion[26], as the regular working of the mines must probably have been thus impeded; the slaves too eloped, and the connexion with the capital was interrupted by the long protracted warfare carried on within the country.

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[23] Xenoph. Hellen. i. 2, 2.
[24] Thucyd. viii. 4.
[25] Ibid. ii. 55.
[26] Ibid. vi. 91.

§ 2. *Period during which the Mines were worked.*

THAT the silver mines of Laurion had been worked in remote antiquity, is certain from the testimony of Xenophon[27]; no one indeed ever attempted even to say at what time the ore was first extracted.

The working of mines had a very early origin both in the East and in Egypt: for as the precious metals generally lay near the surface of the soil, they would naturally attract the attention even of the mere savage wanderer. Man indeed appears to have been originally endowed with an instinct analogous to that possessed by the bee and the beaver; an instinct subservient to the ends of social union (to which man, as Aristotle truly says, is determined by the command of nature), yet at the same time not incompatible with those higher endowments which are requisite for the establishment of civil society; with the advance of civilization however its use and existence gradually disappeared, and the original acuteness in the mental perceptions gave place to a more simple state of these functions; in the same manner that the instinct of animals and the quickness of their senses are diminished by taming. But, next in order to husbandry and the keeping of cattle, the most essential requisite for a social life is the possession of metals. Without therefore, incurring the charge of fanciful speculation, we may infer that, as mankind discovered the food suited to their wants by the instinct of nature and not by accident, in the same way also they were led to seek after metals and to perceive their uses. This supposition is equally removed from two opposite and improbable suppositions, either that the human race was in its earliest stages in a state of brutish savageness, or that it was possessed of a high degree of illumination and wisdom; between which extremes the truth is to be looked for.

Whether the art of mining in general had so remote an origin in Greece is in itself another question. It is certain however that many mines in this country were first worked by

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[27] De Vectig. 4 2.

inhabitants of Asiatic nations, as for instance those of Thasos by the Phœnicians. The Athenian silver mines indeed appear to have been opened long after the emigration which probably took place from Egypt. Whatever Xenophon may say of the early period at which they were worked, the scarcity of silver in the time of Solon proves that no systematic or artificial process of mining could at that time have been established. But in the time of Themistocles, before Xerxes' expedition against Greece, when at the advice of that statesman a large fleet was fitted out from the revenues of the mines for the purpose of the Æginetan war, they must have been worked with considerable activity.

In the age of Socrates we find indeed that a large number of labourers were employed in the mines by private individuals; but the public revenue derived from them was much lower than in earlier times[28]; and consequently the amount of silver obtained was less considerable: notwithstanding which, Xenophon in his Essay upon the Revenues, entertains such exaggerated notions of the excellence of these mines, that he appears to have believed that they were inexhaustible; for he states it as an important point that of the district which contained the silver a small part only was worked out, when compared with that which remained, although the works had been going on from time immemorial; that after innumerable labourers had been employed there, the mines always appeared the same as in the time of their ancestors; and that everything indicated that the number of labourers in them could never be increased beyond the means of profitable employment. The number of the labourers however, according to his own statement, had already begun to diminish. The majority of the mine proprietors were at that time beginners[29]; the working of the mines therefore appears to have nearly ceased before the last years of the life of Xenophon (during which the Essay in question was written), either from the frequency of the wars, or because the poverty of the ores had prevented the proprietors from obtaining a profitable return.

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[28] Xenoph. Memor. Socrat. iii. 6, 12. | [29] Xenoph. de Vectig. 4. 2, 3, 25, 28.

In the age of Philip which immediately succeeded, there were loud complaints of unsuccessful speculations in mining; and subsequent experience showed that the silver mines could be so far exhausted as to leave no hope of an adequate profit. In the first century of the Christian era, Strabo[30] remarks that these once celebrated mines were exhausted; for, as the farther working of them did not yield a sufficient return, the poorer ore, which had been already removed, was smelted, together with the scoriæ from which the metal had been imperfectly separated in former times. Pausanias in the latter half of the second century after Christ makes mention of Laurion, with the melancholy addition that it had once been the seat of the Athenian silver mines.

§ 3. *Ores and Minerals found in the Laurian Mines.*

THE ore from which the silver was obtained is generally called *silver earth* (ἀργυρῖτις γῆ or simply ἀργυρῖτις)[31]; but that by this we are not to understand soft earth, may be collected from an expression of Xenophon, who says that the enemy could make no more use of the ores from these mines than of stones. The word *earth* in Greek is of very general application, and may include ores even of solid stone: the Romans also applied the same term to silver ore[32].

The quality of the ore in the mines of Laurion is nowhere expressly stated: it is possible however to throw some light upon the subject by a few incidental accounts. As the works of Laurion are always called silver-mines, and as neither lead, copper, or any other mineral is ever mentioned, it is evident that, in early times at least, they must have afforded ores extremely abundant in silver, more particularly as the ancients, from their imperfect knowledge of chemistry, could not make

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[30] ix. p. 275. Plutarch. de Def. Orac. c. 43.

[31] Thus Xenophon, compare Pollux vii. 98, Ἀργυρῖτις ἄμμος in the grammarians (as e. g. Lex. Seg. p. 280, in v. μέταλλα) is an inaccurate expression, for earth and sand have not by any means the same import in the language of the ancients.

[32] Plin. xxxiii. 31.

use of ores in which the proportion of silver was inconsiderable. This is also proved by the fact of the ore being called silver earth, and not lead or copper earth. Mines of the precious metals are usually more productive nearer to the surface of the soil than at a greater depth, and the quantity of silver contained in many ores diminishes in proportion as they recede from the surface: therefore when the miners penetrated farther into the interior of the mountain, it is not impossible that they met with ores of inferior quality; which partly explains the diminution in the profit already alluded to. The ore of these mines appears moreover to have occurred for the most part in thick layers, since otherwise the whole mountain would not have been so far excavated that nothing was left but supports for the purpose of safety; whereas ores in which the silver composes the larger part of the substance usually occur in veins.

Other less distinct traces, moreover, would seem to prove that a considerable part of the ore was lead ore containing a portion of silver. It is mentioned by Spon[33], that old men residing in that district remembered a lead mine, which the inhabitants had suffered to fall into neglect, from fear that the Turks might think proper to work it, and by that means subject them to inconvenience. "Lead," he states, "is brought from the neighbouring places of a more perfect quality than the common kind, as the goldsmiths in the process of purification find some silver in it." To this account, however, the statement of Wheler[34] is most strikingly opposed, who in a journey from Porto Raphti along the north-eastern coast of Attica to Sunium, within a short distance from the latter place, arrived at a small mountain, where, according to his statement, a large quantity of copper had been formerly obtained, and the Athenian goldsmiths, as was said, found silver in it: this was not, however, allowed to reach the ears of the Turks, lest the grand seignior should make the inhabitants slaves for the purpose of working

[33] Travels, vol. ii. p. 265.

[34] Ut sup. Hobhouse (ut sup. p. 420), also speaks of copper in this district, but evidently only copying from Wheler, as well as Chandler. Hobhouse likewise saw the heaps of cinders.

the mines. The ashes which he there remarked confirmed him in his belief of this statement: to which he adds the strange remark, that whether there once was in that place a city called Laurion he knows not: if, however, it did exist, it was assuredly built upon the advice of Xenophon, who proposed the erection of a fortress in this place; that probably, however, it was nearer to the sea, where there is an harbour for the carriers who go to Macronisi, the ancient Helena. Both travellers evidently speak of the same fact; if both are right, we must suppose that there was a mixture of ores, in which copper and lead, as is frequently the case, were combined: the mention of emeralds at Thoricus, of which I shall afterwards speak, may indeed be taken as an indication of the existence of copper ore, although the hill of which Wheler speaks was further inland, about the place where Besa is placed. Hobhouse saw at Athens a specimen of the ore found a short time previously, but what it was he does not mention. Clarke, who, from his knowledge of mineralogy, was best fitted to give a solution of the difficulty, could learn nothing of the silver mines[35].

Spon's statement, however, receives confirmation from an account in an ancient author. According to the Second Book of the Œconomics[36] (which, although not the production of the writer to whom it is attributed, is not for that reason undeserv-

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[35] Travels, vol. ii. part ii. p. 577. The quotations from ancient writers made by Walpole in the note on that passage are of very little importance: he also states that the Athenians obtained copper from Laurion; probably however from a misconception of Sophocl. Œd. Col. 57.

[36] Πυθοκλῆς Ἀθηναῖος Ἀθηναίοις συνεβούλευσε τὸν μόλυβδον τὸν ἐκ τῶν Τυρίων παραλαμβάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ ἐπώλουν δίδραχμον, εἶτα τάξαντα αὐτοῖς τιμὴν ἑξαδράχμου οὕτω πωλεῖν. For τάξαντα αὐτοῖς should either be read τάξασιν αὐτοῖς or τάξαντας αὐτούς. The correction which I have adopted was first proposed by Sylburgius; but it is not necessary with the same commentator to write τοῦ Λαυρίου or Λαυρείου, as the mines are called Λαύρεια and consequently also Λαύρια. Salmasius, de Usuris, cap. 9, p. 556, silently follows the true reading: Τυρμιδῶν, the conjecture of Camerarius, does not deserve any notice. Reitemeier, in his learned Treatise upon the Arts of Mining and Founding among the Ancients (vom Bergbau und Hüttenwesen der Alten, Göttingen, 1785), has too hastily considered the lead from Tyre as of Spanish origin. See p. 18. [Mr. Wordsworth, Athens and Attica, p. 208, conjectures ἐκ τῶν ἀργυρίων, which ought rather to be ἀργυρείων.—Transl.]

ing of credit), Pythocles the Athenian counselled the state to buy up the lead from private individuals, at the usual price of 2 drachmas, and having obtained a monopoly, to fix the price at 6 drachmas. According to the common reading, this lead is supposed to come from Tyre; but would it be possible for any person in such a small country as Attica to propose a monopoly of an article of import, which was not necessarily consumed in any large quantities? Again, if imported lead were meant, it would have been mentioned that the state was to buy it of the merchants, and not of private individuals. How much more obvious would it have been to obtain a monopoly of some domestic product of extensive consumption: if Athenian lead was consumed to any great amount in foreign countries, the state would have made a considerable profit, so long, at least, as the buyers did not find a market where they could purchase on more advantageous terms. If, moreover, it is remembered how easily the singular expression τὸν ἐκ τῶν Τυρίων may be altered into the more commodious one of τὸν ἐκ τῶν Λαυρίων, this passage must be considered as a complete proof that the mines of Laurion supplied a considerable quantity of lead; which for evident reasons I will not endeavour to confirm by the fact that litharge is particularly mentioned as coming from the Athenian silver foundries.

Besides lead, and perhaps copper, ores containing zinc were also found at Laurion, as will be shown presently.

By some grammarians these mines are called gold mines, without any mention of silver[37]; and the Scholiast of Aristophanes and Suidas explain the owls of Laurion as gold coins. I do not mean to deny that Athens issued gold coins, and the owl would probably have been the device upon them; but there can be no doubt that the staters or tetradrachms, as well as other silver coins which bore this device, were commonly called *owls of Laurion.* The Scholiast of Aristophanes[38] in another passage also mentions that both gold and silver were found at Laurion; but the testimony of so uncertain a witness cannot

[37] Hesych. in v. Λαύρεια, Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 1091, Suidas in v. γλαὺ ἵπταται. [38] Eq. 361.

have any weight against the silence of all good writers. Meletius also asserts (perhaps on the authority of these writers) that between Sunium and Cerateia, and therefore somewhere near Thoricus, there existed mines of gold and silver. An amusing story preserved in some grammarians relates that the Cecropidæ, misled by a false report, once ascended the mountain Hymettus with an armed force, for the purpose of obtaining possession of the golden sand guarded by the warlike ants, and that after many troubles they returned home, without effecting their object[39]; a tale of equal authority with the statements above noticed. If indeed some small portion of gold was mixed with the silver ore of Laurion, it was far too inconsiderable in quantity to be extracted profitably, with the imperfect knowledge of the art of smelting possessed by the ancients.

The emeralds, the cinnabar, and the sil of Attica, deserve also to be mentioned.

Of twelve kinds of emerald, which is the number assumed by the ancients, three were particularly valued, and would at this time be considered genuine emeralds: the other nine were stones resembling emeralds, and, according to Pliny, were all found in copper mines; the best of these were the Cyprian, which, as well as those of Chalcedon, even Theophrastus calls spurious; *à fortiori* then the same exclusion may be applied to the Athenian, among the defects of which Pliny particularly instances their dead colour, and that their green tint was gradually bleached by the light of the sun. They were found in the silver mines of Thoricus; if therefore Pliny is accurate in his account, as he had just before stated that all the nine spurious kinds were found in copper mines, it follows that at Thoricus copper ore was present in the silver mines[40].

Of cinnabar (*κιννάβαρι*), with the exception of that brought from India, which belonged to the vegetable kingdom, there were, according to Theophrastus[41], two species, the natural,

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[39] Harpocration and Suidas in v. *χρυσοχοεῖον*, and the passage of Eubulus the comic poet there quoted. [See Meineke, Fr. Com. Gr. vol. iii. p. 215.—Transl.]

[40] Concerning the emeralds see Plin. xxxvii. 17, 18, Theophrast. de Lapid. § 46, ed. Hill.

[41] Ut sup. § 103, 104, *ἀνθοφυὲς* and *τὸ κατ' ἐργασίαν*.

found in Spain, which was hard and stony; and the artificial, chiefly made above Ephesus. The material from which the latter was prepared was a shining sand of the colour of scarlet or cochineal (*κόκκος*), which was comminuted and washed down to a fine powder. Callias the Athenian, who worked silver mines at his own expense, found some of this sand in his mines, which he ordered to be collected, thinking from its shining appearance that it contained gold. Finding himself deceived in this expectation, but still admiring the brilliancy of the sand, he hit upon the method of preparing cinnabar from this substance, in Olymp. 93, 4 (B.C. 405)[42]. Consequently, although this artificial cinnabar was not made of quicksilver and sulphur, it was nevertheless real cinnabar: which fact, as far as I am aware, has never been pointed out. For although Theophrastus distinguishes it from the natural, it cannot be inferred that he means the spurious kind, since immediately afterwards[43] he gives it to be understood that it was not some peculiar substance manufactured by an artificial process, but that the preparation of art endeavoured to imitate the work of nature. In the same place he treats of the preparation of quicksilver from cinnabar, without remarking that it was necessary for this purpose to have the natural kind; if, however, quicksilver could be obtained from cinnabar prepared artificially, it was in fact the very substance which we call cinnabar. Pliny[44] also reckons the preparation discovered by Callias as the genuine *minium* or cinnabar, the true test of which was, as he states, its scarlet colour, which distinguished it from the *minium secundarium*, an inferior production of the silver and lead foundries.

But the most complete proof that the artificial cinnabar was derived from an ore of quicksilver is furnished by a comparison of Vitruvius with the two writers already mentioned. The cinnabar above Ephesus was prepared artificially according to the method discovered by Callias: Pliny, upon the authority of a passage of Theophrastus, states with greater accuracy that

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[42] Theophrast. ut sup. Plin. xxxiii. 37. Cf. Corsini Fast. Att. vol. iii. p. 262.

[43] § 105.

[44] xxxiii. 37, 40.

the Cilbian plain was the precise spot of its manufacture; now, according to Vitruvius[45], cinnabar was at this very place prepared, in the manner mentioned by Theophrastus, from a material which consisted in part of cinnabar dust, and partly of indurated quicksilver ore, with intermixed drops of quicksilver in a liquid state. According to Vitruvius, quicksilver flowed from the ore itself when exposed to the action of heat. The only distinction then between cinnabar and the sand from which the artificial cinnabar was prepared, was, that in the latter a foreign substance, as it were, was combined, which was separated by washing (in the same manner that in the inflammable cinnabar ore of Idria the cinnabar is intimately combined with inflammable schist): whereas Theophrastus only calls that natural cinnabar, which was found in an unmixed state. It may be also mentioned, that the *minium secundarium* of Pliny, which was far inferior to the artificial cinnabar of Callias, must have contained cinnabar; for a species of quicksilver, although of an inferior kind, was prepared from it, which, to distinguish it from the genuine *argentum vivum*, was called *hydrargyrus*[46].

Besides the quicksilver ore, which, agreeably to what has been just said, was found at Laurion, there occurred a substance called *Sil*, which was likewise used as a material for dyeing. The Romans obtained it from different places; among others, within their own territory, about twenty Roman miles from the city; but that which came from Attica was most esteemed[47]. If a vein of it was discovered in the silver mines, it was followed in the same manner as one of precious metal; since it was much used for white-washing and also for painting, to which latter purpose it first was applied by Polygnotus and Micon. In the time of Vitruvius it could no longer be procured from Attica. Pliny, who wrote at a later date, speaks of it as an article still in use, either transcribing the statements of earlier writers, as Salmasius supposes, or perhaps because supplies had been again obtained. Salmasius[48] indeed asserts that sil was the same substance with cinnabar; an error into which he was led

[45] vii. 8, 9.

[46] See Plin. xxxiii. 32, 41, and there Hardouin.

[47] Vitruv. vii. 7, Plin. xxxiii. 56, 57.

[48] Salmas. Exercit. Plin. p. 1157 sqq. ed Par.

by combining the account of Callias having collected a sand, with the fact that so great value was attached to the veins of sil in the Athenian mines; and which, when once adopted, he endeavours to support by other still weaker arguments. The editor of Theophrastus *περὶ λίθων* assents to his opinion without examination[49]. But were it not sufficient that Vitruvius and Pliny treat of sil and cinnabar in totally different places, the statements with regard to the two substances are in themselves irreconcileable: cinnabar was sold at Rome for 70 sesterces a pound, and the Attic sil for only 2 denarii or 8 sesterces: the artificial cinnabar was prepared from solid ore or from sand, while sil is described as slime or mud (*limus*), that is to say, soft earth[50].

Vitruvius, whom Salmasius accuses of error, affords us the clearest explanation with regard to the nature of sil; for he states that its Greek name was *ὤχρα*, *i. e.* ochre. Theophrastus[51] distinctly calls *ὤχρα* an earth, which he opposes to sand; and Dioscorides and Zosimus the chemist particularly mention the Athenian ochre[52]. Sil and cinnabar were therefore totally different substances, and by the first (of which the distinguishing marks, as stated by ancient authors, are very obscure) can hardly be understood anything but an iron ochre, of a yellow colour, sometimes of a darker, sometimes of a brighter shade. I may also remark the great improbability of Salmasius's charge against Pliny and Vitruvius, that they confounded sil with cinnabar, the former having been found in the neighbourhood of Rome; and farther, that there is no necessity for tracing the Greek origin of the name sil, as Italy possessed the same substance (though in less perfection) within her own territory.

It may be also observed, that the *Γεωφάνιον*, which was the subject of the oration of Dinarchus against Polyeuctus, was probably a pit from which sil was extracted. The grammarians expressly state that it was a yellowish earth (*γῆ ξανθοτέρα*) used by painters; "perhaps," they add, "raddle (*μίλτος*) or potters' clay, or else earth for other purposes[53]." Ameipsias

[49] Ad § 103.
[50] Plin. xxxiii. 40.
[51] De Lapid. § 71.
[52] Dioscorid. v. 108, Zosimus ap. Salmas. ut sup.
[53] Etym. in v. *γεωφανεῖον*, Lex. Seg.

the Athenian comic poet had also made mention of raddle pits[54], which is by no means inconsistent with what has been said. Farther accounts with regard to the minerals in the Laurian silver mines I have not been able to find[55].

§ 4. *Mining Processes used at Laurion.*

Of the various artificial processes of mining in use at Laurion a better account could be given, if what the followers of Aristotle had written concerning metals and mines were still extant. Theophrastus in his book upon Stones, refers to his earlier work upon Metals, in which they had been treated of in detail; according to the List of Theophrastus's Works by Diogenes, it consisted of two books. It is frequently called the Metallicon, and undoubtingly ascribed to Theophrastus; in one passage, however, in which it is cited by Pollux, he adds, "whether the book is the production of Aristotle or Theophrastus;" although in another place he simply mentions Theophrastus. Probably the treatise was first included among the works of the Stagirite, and was subsequently, after critical inquiries, correctly assigned to his pupil. Although the fragments preserved are inconsiderable, they show that this great natural philosopher had paid a particular attention to mining or the art of founding[56].

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p. 227, Harpocr. Hesych. and Suidas in v. *γεωφάνιον*, and the commentators. Dionys. Halic. in Vit. Dinarchi. The *γεωφάνιον* in the island of Samos, of which Ephorus treated (Harpocr. in v. *γεωφάνιον*, Pollux vii. 199, cf. Marx. Ephor. p. 262 sqq.) differed from this. It might indeed appear from Pollux that Dinarchus had written upon the *γεωφάνιον* of Samos; but the words *ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ Δείναρχος λέγει*, which are wanting in a manuscript, are evidently the production of a later hand; and the speech of Dinarchus against Polyeuctus referred to an offence committed by the latter in Attica, and not in Samos, although this island was at that time settled with Athenian cleruchi. I content myself with merely pointing this out; the space does not admit of a more detailed examination.

[54] Pollux vii. 10, Phot. in v. *μιλτωρυχία: τόπος ἐν ᾧ μίλτος ὀρύσσεται· οὕτως Ἀμειψίας*. Cf. Hesych. in v. *μιλτωρυχία*, and Eustath. ad Il. b 637.

[55] As a circumstance worth remarking, it may be mentioned, that of the Attic honey, which was much esteemed, that made in the neighbourhood of the silver mines held the second rank after that of Hymettus, and bore the name of *ἀκάπνιστον* or *ἄκαπνον*, Strabo ix. p. 275. Compare Plin. Nat. Hist. xi. 15.

[56] Theophrast. de Lapid. § 3, *περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν μεταλλευομένων ἐν ἄλλοις τεθεώρηται*: in this sentence the expression *μεταλλευόμενα* should be remarked, which was intentionally chosen,

His successor, Straton of Lampsacus, treated of the machinery used in mining (*περὶ τῶν μεταλλικῶν μηχανημάτων*)[57], by which we are to understand all the artificial contrivances. Athenæus[58] also mentions a *Metallicon* of an unknown author, named Philon; where it is evident from the context that among other subjects mention was made of the Egyptian mines, which had been described by Agatharchides and Diodorus.

The information given by Reitemeier in his ingenious treatise on the "Arts of Mining and Founding among the Ancients," concerning the system of labour in the Athenian mines, though superior to what he has said upon the other branches of the art, has by no means rendered a more circumstantial investigation superfluous. It will therefore be necessary that the subjects connected with this question, and especially the system of founding, should be considered independently of that essay[59].

The mines at Laurion were worked either by shafts (*φρέατα, putei*) or adits (*ὑπόνομοι, cunei*); and by neither of these two modes of working did they, in the time of Xenophon, arrive at the termination of the ore[60]: for the chambering of the mines timber was probably imported by sea[61], which according to Pliny was the case also in Spain[62]. Hobhouse[63] mentions that one or two shafts have been discovered in a small shrubby plain

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as *μέταλλον* properly signifies a mine. Alexander of Aphrodisias (see Menage ad Diog. Laërt.) also calls the treatise *περὶ τῶν μεταλλευομένων*; it does not however by any means follow from this, that it did not embrace the system of mines and foundries. Diog. Laërt. v. 44, and from him Suidas in v. Θεόφραστος, have the general name *περὶ μετάλλων*, as in later times *μέταλλον* signified both mine and metal, without any distinction. The other places in which the book is quoted are Olympiodorus ad Aristot. Meteor iii. *ὁ μέντοι τούτου* ('Αριστοτέλους) *μαθητὴς ἔγραψεν ἰδίᾳ περὶ ἑκάστου μετάλλου*, Pollux vii. 99, x. 149, Harpocrat. in v. *κεγχρεών*, and thence Suidas and Hesychius in v. *προσφανῆ, σκαρφῶν, σύζωσμα*.

[57] Diog. Laërt. v. 59. This is the true name of the book; the various readings and Menage's attempt at emendation are equally to be rejected.

[58] vii. p. 322 A.

[59] The treatise of the Abbot Paschalis Karyophilus *de antiquis metallifodinis* (Vienna, 1757) I have not been able to refer to; from his Essays *de Marmoribus Antiquis* and *de Thermis Herculanis et de Thermarum usu*, little however can be expected.

[60] Xenoph. de Vectig. 4, 26.

[61] Demosth. c. Mid. p. 568, 17.

[62] xxxiii. 21.

[63] Ut sup. p. 417, the following is the entire passage: "One or two of the shafts of the ancient silver mines, for which this mountainous region was so celebrated, have been discovered in

not far from the sea, on the eastern coast; and if the hole which Chandler[64] saw upon Mount Hymettus, was really, as he conjectures, a shaft, it follows that some at least had a considerable width, for the circular opening was of more than forty feet in diameter; at the bottom of the hole two narrow passages led into the hill in opposite directions. It was also the practice, according to Vitruvius, to make large hollows in the silver mines[65]. The pillars, which were left standing for the support of the overlying mountain, were called ὄρμοι; and more commonly μεσοκρινεῖς[66], as they at the same time served for the divisions between the different compartments, or, as they were called, *workshops*. As these pillars contained ore, the proprietors were tempted by their cupidity to remove them, though by law they were strictly prohibited from doing so: in the time of the orator Lycurgus the wealthy Diphilus was condemned to death for this offence[67]. The opening of new mines was called

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a small shrubby plain not far from the sea, on the eastern coast; and a specimen of one, lately found, was shown to me at Athens."

[64] Travels, chap. 30.

[65] vii. 7.

[66] Vit. x. Orat. in Plutarch. vol. vi. p. 256, ed. Tübingen, Pollux iii. 87, vii. 98, Lex. Seg. p. 280, Phot. in v. who expressly states them to be boundaries. They are called ὄρμοι in Lex. Seg. p. 205, ἀποσέσχεν τοὺς ὄρμους τοῦ μετάλλου: ἀποσέξαι τὸ διασεῖσαι καὶ κινῆσαι. ὄρμοι δέ εἰσιν ὥσπερ κίονες τοῦ μετάλλου, οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν καὶ ὅροι τῆς ἑκάστης μερίδος, ἣν ἐμισθώσατο παρὰ τῆς πόλεως. The paragogic ν of ἀποσέσχεν alone shows that the gloss is corrupt, and if ἀποσέχειν be substituted, this, as well as the aorist ἀποσέξαι, remains unknown and suspicious: but the sense is clear. It refers to the cutting or working of the supports of the mines, by which they were undermined and shaken, so as to create a danger of the overlying mass falling in, which in the Lives of the Ten Orators is called τοὺς μεσοκρινεῖς ὑφελεῖν, and in Lex. Seg. p. 315, ὑπορύττειν τὸ μέταλλον. To the same supports refer two other glosses in Lex. Seg. p. 286, which perhaps belong to one another; ὁμοερκεῖς κίονες: οἱ τῶν μετάλλων κίονες, and ὅροι: ὅτι κατὰ μέρη τινὰ ἐμισθοῦντο τὰ ἀργυρεῖα, ὅροις διακεκριμένα. [In a fragment of a Rhetorical Lexicon, published by Mr. Dobree after his edition of Photius, the following gloss occurs (p. 673); Μεσοκρίνη (μεσοκρινεῖς): οὕτω δὲ λέγονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ γῆν ἔργοις στύλοι, οἳ ὑποβαστάζουσι τὰ βάρη τὰ ἐπάνω τῶν μετάλλων· εἰσὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς γῆς καταλελειμμένα ὑπερείσματα. They are also called κίονες in an Inscription in Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 162.—Transl.] Concerning the supports used in mining by the Romans, see J. C. J. Bethe, Commentatio de Hispaniæ antiquæ re metallica ad locum Strabonis, lib. iii. Göttingen, 1808, 4to. which treatise may be also consulted upon the other technical subjects, for which I have not referred to it.

[67] Vit. Dec. Orat. ut sup.

καινοτομεῖν or καινοτομία[68], and on account of the great risk and expense, no one would willingly undertake it. If the speculator was successful, he was amply remunerated for his undertaking; if unsuccessful, he lost all his trouble and expense: on which account Xenophon proposed to form companies for this purpose, of which I shall afterwards treat. The ancients speak in general terms of the unwholesome evaporation from silver mines[69], and the noxious atmosphere of those in Attica is particularly mentioned[70]; although the Greeks as well as the Romans were acquainted with the use of shafts for ventilation, which the former called ψυχαγώγια[71]. In what manner the water was withdrawn from the mines, we are not informed; it is however probable that the Greeks made use of the same artificial means as the Romans[72]. The removal of the ore appears to have been performed partly by machines and partly by men, as was the case in Spain and Egypt, in which latter country the younger slaves brought the ore through the adits to the surface of the soil: whether however the miners in Attica used leather bags for this purpose, and were on that account called *bag-carriers* (θυλακοφόροι), is, to say the least, uncertain; for according to the grammarians these bags contained their food[73]. The stamping of the ore at the foundries in order to facilitate its separation from the useless parts of the stone, was generally performed in stone mortars with iron pestles. In this manner the Egyptians reduced the gold ore to the size of a vetch, then ground it in hand-mills and washed it on inclined planks, by pouring water over it; which is the account given by a Hippocratean writer of the treatment of gold ore[74].

[68] This expression was translated from the particular sense of opening fresh mines to signify anything new, Poll. vii. 98, Phot. in v. καινοτομεῖν.

[69] Casaubon ad Strab. iii. p. 101.

[70] Xenoph. Socr. Mem. iii. 6, 12, Plutarch. Comp. Nic. et Crass. init.

[71] Lex. Seg. p. 317, and Etym. in v. ψυχαγώγια: αἱ θυρίδες τῶν μετάλλων αἱ πρὸς τὸ ἀναψύχειν γιγνόμεναι.

[72] Concerning these see Reitemeier ut sup. p. 114 sqq. Bethe ut sup. p. 32 sqq. Ameilhon in the Mémoire quoted below, p. 494.

[73] Pollux vii. 100, x. 149, with the commentators, and Hesychius in v. θυλακοφόροι, according to whom they were also called πηροφόροι. Both θύλακος and πήρα generally mean a small bag, such as a travelling bag or a bag for carrying bread.

[74] Diod. xiii. 12, 13. Agatharchides de mari rubro ap. Phot. Bibliothec. p. 1342, Hippocrates de victus rat. 1, 4.

In Spain it was bruised in the same manner, and then, if Pliny does not invert the proper order, first washed and afterwards calcined and pounded; even the quicksilver ore, from which cinnabar was prepared, was similarly treated; that is, first burnt, in which operation a part of the quicksilver evaporated, and then pounded with iron pestles, ground, and washed[75]. In Greece the labourers in the foundries made use of a sieve for washing the comminuted ore, and it is mentioned among the implements of the miners, by the appropriate name *σάλαξ*[76]. This method of treating ore was not only in use in ancient times; but it was the only one employed either during the middle ages or in more recent times, until the discovery of stamp-works[77].

§ 5. *Smelting Operations at Laurion.*

Upon the art of smelting in the foundries of Laurion, nothing definite is known. That the Athenians made use of the bellows and of charcoal is not improbable, the latter indeed may be fairly inferred (notwithstanding the doubts expressed by Reitemeier) from the account of the charcoal sellers, or rather charcoal burners; from which business a large portion of the Acharnians in particular obtained their livelihood.

The art of smelting among the ancients was so imperfect, that even in the time of Strabo, when it had received considerable improvements, there was still no profit to be gained by extracting silver from lead ore in which it was present in small proportions[78]; and the early Athenians had, in comparison with their successors (who were themselves not the most perfect masters of chemistry), so slight a knowledge of the manage-

[75] Plin. xxxiii. 21. *Quod effossum est, tunditur, lavatur, uritur, molitur in farinam:* the addition, *ac pilis tundunt,* appears to refer back to *tunditur,* but its position is such that the passage is perhaps corrupt.

[76] Pollux vii. 97, x. 149.

[77] Upon this subject see Beckmann, History of Inventions, vol. v. part i. num. 3. Chassot de Florencourt upon the Mines of the Ancients (Göttingen, 1785), p. 24 sqq. Reitemeier ut sup. p. 121 sqq.

[78] On this point see Beckmann ut sup. vol. iv. part iii. p. 333, Chassot de Florencourt, p. 37, 51, Reitemeier, p. 133.

ment of ore, that, according to the same writer, not only was that which had been thrown away as useless stone subsequently used; but the old scoriæ were again employed for the purpose of extracting silver[79]. According to Pliny[80], the ancients could not smelt any silver without some mixture of lead (*plumbum nigrum*) or gray lead (*galena, molybdæna*); he appears, however, to mean only ores in which the silver was combined with some other metal to which it has a less powerful affinity than to lead. At Laurion it was not necessary, at least in many places, to add any lead, it being already present in the ores. Pliny states in general terms the manner in which argentiferous lead ores were treated[81]; and there can be no doubt that this was the method adopted in Attica. According to his account the ore was first melted down to *stannum*, a composition of pure silver and lead: then this material was brought to the refining oven, where the silver was separated, and the lead appeared half glazed in the form of litharge, which as well as gray lead the ancients call galena and molybdæna: this last substance was afterwards cooled, and the lead (*plumbum nigrum*, μόλυβδος, to distinguish it from tin, *plumbum album*, or *candidum*, κασσίτερος) was produced.

Here the investigation into the technical part of this question would terminate, were it not necessary to inquire what is meant by the Athenian *spuma argenti*, by κέγχρος and κεγχρεὼν, and, lastly, by the substance called *Lauriotis*, from Laurion.

The *spuma argenti*, which was employed in medicine, was chiefly a product of the silver foundries; and according to some authorities there were three kinds of it; the best called chrysitis, the next argyritis, and the worst molybditis, which appear to have differed principally in the colour, although,

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[79] Strabo ix. p. 275, καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τῆς μεταλλείας ἀσθενῶς ὑπακουούσης τὴν παλαιὰν ἐκβολάδα καὶ σκωρίαν ἀναχωνεύοντες εὕρισκον ἔτι ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀποκαθαιρόμενον ἀργύριον, τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀπείρως καμινευόντων.

[80] xxxiii. 31.

[81] xxxiv. 47. See Beckmann ut sup. vol. iv. part 3, p. 332—335, Chassot de Florencourt, p. 35 sqq. Upon the method of the ancients of striking the metal during the process of fusion, see Reitemeier, p. 79 sqq.

according to Pliny, the first was made from the ore itself, the second from silver (*i.e.* probably it was produced at the smelting of silver); and the third from lead, as at Puteoli. "There is the same difference," he observes, "between it and scoriæ, as between foam and froth.—The former is the impure portion (*vitium*) of the substance given off during the process of purification, the latter when it is already purified." The Athenian was considered the best. Dioscorides and other Greek writers call it lithargyrus[82]. As some writers mentioned by Pliny called a species of it molybdæna, which is the term for litharge, and the Italians and French still call the same substance by this name (*litargirio, litargio, litarge*), the common opinion is certainly probable that *spuma argenti* is the same as litharge; which, as being a separation of the impure part of the ore in the second stage of refinement, and having an unmetallic appearance, might be called the *vitium* of the purified substance, in opposition to the slacks which ran off during the smelting of the ore, and were separated while the ores still contained a large proportion of unmetallic substance, until the metal consisting of silver and lead appeared. Those who were less accurate in their language might at the same time consider litharge as slacks, and therefore lithargyrus as coming under that denomination[83]. *Spuma argenti* was however also distinguished from molybdæna or litharge, for that litharge was called the best which looked like lithargyrus[84]; but in order not to be misled by this statement, it must be borne in mind that by *spuma argenti* and *lithargyrus* we should understand a species of litharge particularly prepared for medicinal purposes, which differed not essentially, but only by a contrary treatment, from the common molybdæna; and this explanation removes all difficulties.

The expressions κέγχρος and κεγχρεὼν are more obscure. The latter is a term used by a plaintiff in an oration of Demosthenes[85] for a separate foundry in the Laurian silver-mines,

[82] Plin. xxxiii. 35, chiefly from Dioscorid. v. 102, comp. Oribasius xii. fol. 228 B. quoted by Hardouin, who however does not entirely agree with the other writers.

[83] See Salmas. Exerc. Plin. p. 1079, 1082.

[84] Dioscorid. v. 100, cf. Plin. xxxiv. 53.

[85] C. Pantænet. p. 974, 15.

without however any account as to its nature. The explanations of the grammarians are so indefinite and obscure that they appear to have had little knowledge of its import. Photius and the compiler of the Rhetorical Lexicon[86] state that *κεγχρεὼν* was a place at Athens, *i.e.* in Attica, where the *ἀργυρῖτις κέγχρος* and the sand from the mines were purified. It might, therefore, mean the works upon which the comminuted ore was washed. In this case it would have been called *κέγχρος* or *millet*, from having been first bruised or washed down to the size of a grain of millet, in the same manner as it is said that in the Egyptian foundries the gold ore was ground down to the size of a vetch: but we are compelled by other statements to give up this idea. Pollux[87] observes that the slacks of iron were called *σκωρία* (which was the general name for all slacks), as the flower of gold was called *ἀδάμας* and the impurity of silver *κέρχνος*; which is only a different form of *κέγχρος*. The latter evidently cannot here mean pounded ore; but must signify a refuse given off in the smelting of the silver ore, as scoria in the case of iron, and adamas in that of gold. The *ἀδάμας* is, according to the clear account of Plato[88], a substance unknown to us, of a black colour, and great brittleness, like copper and silver intimately combined with gold, only separable

[86] Lex. Seg. p. 271. Κεγχρεών: *τόπος Ἀθήνησιν οὕτω καλούμενος, ὅπου ἐκαθαίρετο ἡ ἀργυρῖτις κέγχρος καὶ ψάμμος ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀργυρίων ἀναφερομένη.* Similarly Pliny in the first article.

[87] vii. 90. *Ταύτης δὲ (γῆς σιδηρίτιδος) τὸ καθαρμα σκωρίαν ὠνόμαζον, ὥσπερ τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὸ ἄνθος ἀδάμαντα καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀργυρίων κονιορτὸν κέρχνον.* Κονιορτὸς is *ἀκαθαρσία*: see Salmasius Exerc. Plin. p. 1082.

[88] Polit. p. 303 E, Tim. p. 59 B. In Pliny xxxvii. 15, some diamonds are called *cenchri*, where Salmasius supposes a confusion of the true diamond with this impurity given off in the fusion of gold. Hardouin is of a contrary opinion, and although Pliny as well as his interpreter Salmasius frequently confound different subjects, yet diamonds may really have been called *κέγχροι*, from the small size of grains of millet, in the same manner that another stone in Plin. xxxvii. 13, is called *cenchritis*. I have hoped in vain to find an investigation upon the adamas arising in the fusion of gold in Ameilhon's Mémoire sur l'exploitation des mines d'or, in the Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, vol. xlvi. p. 477 sqq. although in p. 565 sqq. he treats of the smelting and purification of this metal. I may also mention that this memoir might have been more frequently quoted than it has by me, as several points are well explained in it: but most of the subjects treated there are too remote from my purpose, or are already mentioned in other well-known books.

in the fire; and called the *flower of gold* by Pollux, probably from its being an efflorescence arising during the fusion of this metal.

The nature of the impurity which in the fusion of silver was called κέγχρος, cannot be determined with certainty, our knowledge of the smelting processes of the ancients being very imperfect; but the opinion of Salmasius[89] appears to me most probable, that κέγχρος and *spuma argenti* or *lithargyrus* are identical. The different names do not render it necessary to consider the substances as materially unlike, as slight variations determined by the different processes adopted might be differently signified: in what manner, however, the litharge was obtained which bore the name of κέγχρος, we shall presently see. That Pollux should call κέγχρος an impurity of the metal, although, as being litharge, it was a substance that could be applied to various uses, cannot be a matter of surprise; for even the *spuma argenti* is called scoriæ and refuse (*vitium*). If Pollux is correct in classing the adamas with the κέγχρος, we have another reason for considering the latter to be litharge, lithargyrus being called the flower of silver, as adamas the flower of gold. Now Harpocration's obscure explanation of κεγχρεὼν may be reconciled with this supposition. For according to his statement, it means the purifying-place, where the κέγχρος from the metals was cooled, as Theophrastus mentioned[90].

The expression receives some light by comparing what is said by other writers of the *flower of copper* (χαλκοῦ ἄνθος, *flos aeris*), the name of which alone seems to prove some affinity or similarity of origin with lithargyrus, or the *flower of silver*. For when the copper has been smelted, and the last impurity or all the foreign parts have been separated from it,

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[89] Ut sup. p. 1078—1082, in which, however, there is much error and confusion.

[90] Harpocrat. in v. κεγχρεών: τὸ καθαριστήριον, ὅπου τὴν ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων κέγχρον διέψυχον, ὡς ὑποσημαίνει Θεόφραστος ἐν τῷ περὶ μετάλλων. This is copied by Suidas and Photius in the second article. Küster's conjecture ἐργαστήριον for καθαριστήριον, and his acquiescence in the explanation of Photius in the first article, only prove his want of reflection upon the subject.

it is again, for the purpose of finishing the process, fused in the same or another oven, and cooled in water: by this means an efflorescence is formed upon the surface of the metallic cake, which was called the flower of copper: Dioscorides says that it resembles millet in its form (*κεγχροειδὲς τῷ ῥυθμῷ*); Pliny compares it with the scales or pods of millet (*milii squamæ*), and the Scholiast of Nicander with mustard seed[91]. It is easy, therefore, to see that this process is the same in reference to copper as that of which Harpocration speaks in reference to silver, and that the *κέγχρος*, which was produced in the silver foundries, must also have been an efflorescence, in shape like the pod of a vegetable, arising from the cake of silver. In the last stage of the refining of copper, particularly of the inferior kinds, something similar is formed according to the process now in use.

It is probable, therefore, that this *κεγχρεὼν* at the silver foundries was in fact the foundry where the silver which had been already fused was refined: the impurity detached in this stage, was called *κέγχρος*, and perhaps chiefly consisted of glazed lead; and here the silver was again cooled with water. By this method of viewing the subject all difficulty is removed; for that Harpocration should state that the *κέγχρος* and not the metal itself was cooled is quite natural in a grammarian of considerable authority on other subjects, but ignorant of metallurgy. Schneider[92] explains *κέγχρος* to be *granulated metal;* but apparently without reason; nor is it at all probable that silver should have been fused in a granulated form.

Lastly, with respect to the Lauriotis, it will not be necessary to dwell so long on it. The ancients, as is well known, not only include zinc ore and calamine under the name Cadmia, but also the refuse, which in the fusion of ores containing zinc adheres to the sides of the furnace[93], and they expressly remark that the cadmia or refuse was found in silver foundries[94].

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[91] Dioscorid. v. 83, Plin. xxxiv. 24, and there Hardouin and Salmasius ut sup. p. 1078, Schol. Nicand. Ther. 257.

[92] Greek Dictionary in v. *χαλκάνθη*.

[93] See Beckmann, History of Inventions, vol. iii. part 3, num. 3.

[94] Dioscorid. v. 84. From him Plin. xxxiv. 22, and from the latter writer again Isidorus, as quoted by Hardouin.

They mention in connexion with this substance the flower of zinc (*pompholyx*) as the finest and whitest sublimate, and the *spodos*, a similar refuse, but of a harder and coarser texture, and of a darker colour, which was scraped off the walls of the furnace, mingled with ashes and sometimes with charcoal: both, like the *spuma argenti* and the flower of copper, were used in medicine[95]. The spodos of the silver foundries was called Lauriotis[96]; a proof that ores of zinc were present in the mines of Laurion. This spodos of Attica was probably much esteemed, since the refuse of silver foundries (as the ancients remark) was whiter and finer than that which came from the copper foundries.

§ 6. *Whether Laurion coined Money.*

It might be supposed that Laurion was also the mint of Attica, as the Athenian silver coins are called in joke *Laurian owls*[97]; but they received this appellation from the place where the silver was found, and not from the money being coined there; and it is proved incontestably by an ancient inscription that the mint for striking the silver coins (*ἀργυροκοπεῖον*) was in Athens*.

If subordinate corporations in Attica enjoyed the privilege of stamping money, there might be ground for supposing that mints existed in different Athenian towns: and in fact the writers upon coins mention several supposed to have been struck by towns or bodies in Attica, viz., Anaphlystus, the Azetini, Decelea, Eleusis, Eradæ, Laurion, Marathon, and Salamis[98]. There appears, however, to be no reason for supposing that any one of them exercised the right of coining

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[95] Dioscorid. v. 85. Plin. xxxiv. 33. Comp. Galen and Oribasius in the passages quoted by Hardouin.

[96] Plin. xxxiv. 34. At the conclusion of these technical inquiries I should state that I have been assisted in them by the judgment of two scientific friends.

[97] Aristoph. Av. 1106. Schol. Aristoph. Eq. 1091. Hesychius, Suidas, and other collectors of glosses and proverbs.

* See above note A, page 144.—Transl.

[98] See Eckhel D. N. vol. ii. p. 225 sqq.

before the time of the Romans, particularly as a simple investigation sufficiently proves that most of the coins referred to these places are not of Athenian origin.

Who has ever heard of Eradæ or of the Azetini in Attica? which undoubtedly are different from the demi Azenia and Eroiadæ. In order to coin money it was necessary that there should be a corporation: how then could Laurion, which was a mining district, and not a demus, have stamped coins with its name? The supposed inscription *ΛΑΥΡΕΩΝ* upon two coins in the museum of Theupoli must be changed with Sestini into *ΜΥΡΕΩΝ*, and referred to Myra in Lysia, particularly as *ΛΑΥΡΕΩΝ* is not a form derivable from Laurion, which would be *ΛΑΥΡΙΕΩΝ* or *ΛΑΥΡΙΩΤΩΝ*, and not, as Eckhel supposes, *ΛΑΥΡΙΩΝ*. The coins attributed to Anaphlystus belong to Anactorium, with the exception of a copper coin invented by Goltz. The coins marked with the word *ΣΑΛΑΜΙΝΙΟΝ* should be referred to the island of Cyprus, where Pellerin obtained them: and others with the letters *ΣΑ* prove nothing whatever for the Athenian demus. With regard to Marathon, Hardouin alone mentions one coin belonging to it, with the unabbreviated inscription *ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝ ΔΗΜΟΣ*, a circumstance which makes his statement suspicious. He does not mention the place where it was preserved, and nobody has since seen a similar coin; so that, if the whole is not a mere invention, he had perhaps read upon some coin the initial letters of these words, the explanation of which he gives as a fact. It seems utterly inexplicable how the island of Helena or Cranaë, upon which, as far as is known, there was not even a village, should have struck coins. There can be no doubt therefore that the silver coins of Helena are an invention of Goltz; and there is no occasion why other coins of the emperors, with the inscription of the Cranaans, should be referred to the island of Attica: the coin quoted by Hardouin with the wonderfully explicit inscription of *ΕΛΕΝΙΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΡΑΝΑΑΤΩΝ* could hardly have had a real existence: but a copper coin with the words *ΚΡΑΝΑΙΩΝ ΑΘΗ* cannot well be referred to any other place than the Attic Cranaë; it must however belong to the times of the emperors, when Cranaë may perhaps have

been a demus; probably after the tribe of Hadrian had been instituted, additional demi were created in order to fill it. Besides these, there are genuine brass coins of Eleusis and Decelea, which no doubt also belong to the time of the Roman dominion: and after the great fall which Athens sustained under the Romans, it is easy to conceive that the demi were allowed to stamp small copper coins. The coins attributed to Prasia, the demus of Attica, have been already set aside by Eckhel.

§ 7. *Mode of granting the Mines.*

It now remains for us to investigate the following important questions, viz. In whom was the right of property in the mines of Laurion vested? By whom and on whose account were they worked? What advantage did their produce afford to the state and to individuals? And what were the duties, rights, and immunities of the mine proprietors? With regard to all these points nothing will be found in modern writers but confused statements, or assertions unsupported by any satisfactory proof. The account which I propose to give will be derived from distinct authorities, and founded on a close investigation of the subject.

As long as Attica remained free, no direct tax was imposed either upon the produce or value of landed property, except that during the continuance of peace the liturgies, which were necessary for the service of the state and of religion, fell upon property generally, and necessarily for the most part upon visible (*οὐσία φανερὰ*) or landed property, which in case of preparations for war was also liable to the trierarchy and the payment of extraordinary taxes (*εἰσφοραί*). The circumstances however which determined this liability were directly reversed in the case of mines: the proprietor of these paid an annual tax into the public treasury; to the liturgies and extraordinary property taxes from a possession of this kind he contributed nothing. From this fact, which I shall presently put out of doubt, it is fair to infer, agreeably moreover to all accounts on the subject, that mines were not like other lands the freehold

property of the citizens, but in the absolute dominion of the state; and that they were transferred by it to individuals, under certain legal conditions, to make what use of them they should think proper.

The Romans for a considerable period let the mines belonging to the state for a term of years, until it was found more profitable to work them at the public cost[99]. Now that this is the most disadvantageous mode of letting has been proved by the experience both of ancient and modern times; for the tenant works them wastefully and unfairly; he rifles the rich ores, leaving the less productive unworked; and while he endeavours by a large number of labourers to exhaust the mines during the period of his lease, he pays no attention to the pillaring and chambering, without which the value of the mines is much diminished. Nor is it easy to enforce from the tenant a strict compliance with the conditions of the lease; and at the expiration of his term the mines are let at a lower rent, having in the interim lost a considerable portion of their value.

The state of Athens, whether from policy or accident, had avoided this injurious practice: it granted to private individuals the mines in the Athenian territory on perpetual leases, which might be transferred to a third person by inheritance or sale[100], and in short by every kind of legal conveyance. The possession was therefore obtained by the payment of a sum of money once for all, as purchase or entrance money. Thus Demosthenes mentions the buying of mines from the state as the ordinary proceeding, and Pantænetus purchased a mine from the people for 90 minas[101]. This sum cannot have been an annual rent, for as its amount depended upon the produce of the mine, it could not have been definitely stated beforehand.

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[99] Reitemeier ut sup. p. 99 sqq.

[100] Æsch. c. Timarch. p. 121, Demosth. c. Pantænet. passim.

[101] Demosth. ut sup. p. 973, 13, ὅστις ἂν μέταλλον παρὰ τῆς πόλεως πρίηται. And before in the same speech: καταβολὴν τῇ πόλει τοῦ μετάλλου, ὃ ἐγὼ ἐπριάμην ἐννενήκοντα μνῶν. The oration called πρὸς Μήκυθον μεταλλικὸς, falsely ascribed to Dinarchus, began with the words πριάμενοι μέταλλον ὦ ἄνδρες. See Dionys. Dinarch. p. 119, 11, ed. Sylb. Dionysius afterwards calls this μισθώσασθαι, in his own language; which, however, as the sale was only a perpetual lease, is the natural word, and frequently occurs in the grammarians.

There remains now only one objection that can be urged; viz. that it was allowed to open new works without the payment of any purchase money; and that the money paid by Pantænetus might have been for a mine already opened, which the state had obtained by confiscation, an occurrence by no means uncommon; and to confirm this supposition the argument of the speech against Pantænetus[102] might be cited, in which it is stated that the purchase money was paid in silver from the mine, which implies that the mine was already producing metal. But if this grammarian were worthy of credit as to a fact about which he could not have possessed any better knowledge than ourselves, it does not by any means follow that a confiscated mine is intended; for it could scarcely have been compulsory upon a tenant to pay to the state the purchase money of a new mine, if, after having expended his trouble and capital, he was unsuccessful in finding any ore. It is far more probable that any person was allowed to dig for ore in those parts of the mountain which had not yet been alienated, and that he was not compelled to purchase the soil until he found productive ores, and was willing to work them. As the contradictory of this supposition would be absurd, it is manifest that the purchase money even of a newly opened mine might have been paid with silver from the mine itself. Pantænetus however was possessed of other mines besides this one; and it is moreover unnecessary to assume that this silver came directly from the mines.

Lastly, it is stated by Harpocration (who generally follows the authority of Aristotle) that the poletæ had the duty of superintending all sales of public property, particularly those of customs and other duties, of mines, leases, and confiscated property[103]. In this passage the sale of the mines is clearly distinguished from that of leases and of private property accruing to the state, and the mines which were sold must necessarily have been newly opened.

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[102] P. 964, 13.

[103] Harpocrat. in v. *πωληταί. διοικοῦσι δὲ τὰ πιπρασκόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως πάντα, τέλη καὶ μέταλλα καὶ μισθώσεις καὶ τὰ δημευόμενα.* This is transcribed by Suidas, Photius, and Lex. Seg. p. 291.

In this conveyance of public property to a perpetual tenant, the boundaries of the allotment purchased were accurately defined, and a documentary instrument (*διαγραφή*) was taken[104]. For this purpose some knowledge of mine surveying was requisite, which, from the want of the necessary instruments, must have been very imperfect[105].

In addition to the purchase money, the purchaser paid the twenty-fourth part of the produce of the new mine; that is, of the gross, and not the nett produce, as the amount of the latter would have been too inconsiderable[106]. By these means all the disadvantages were avoided which might arise from letting the mines for a term of years. If a tenant exhausted the ore in a short time, the duty upon the metal obtained was augmented; and if he worked the rich ores alone, he injured himself. If the proprietor violated the laws and conditions under which the mine was made over to him, for example, if the annual duty was not paid, the state could resume the mine; if however he did not act contrary to the agreement, this species of property was equally secure with other landed estates. In short the circumstances of the tenure were the same as those, which,

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[104] Harpocrat. Suid. and Zonaras in v. *διαγραφή*. *ἡ διατύπωσις τῶν πιπρασκομένων μετάλλων δηλοῦσα διὰ γραμμάτων ἀπὸ ποίας ἀρχῆς μέχρι πόσου πιπράσκεται πέρατος.* Upon the boundaries comp. Demosth. ut sup. p. 977, and above note 66. [See Corp. Inscript. Gr. No. 162.—Transl.]

[105] See Reitemeier, p. 112 sqq.

[106] Suidas and Zonaras in v. *ἀγράφου μετάλλου δίκη οἱ τὰ ἀργυρεῖα μέταλλα ἐργαζόμενοι ὅπου βούλοιντο καινοῦ ἔργου ἄρξασθαι* (Zonaras more correctly *ἅψασθαι*) *φανερὸν ἐποιοῦντο τοῖς ἐπ' ἐκείνοις τεταγμένοις ὕπο τοῦ δήμου* (*i. e.* the poletæ) *καὶ ἀπεγράφοντο τοῦ τελεῖν ἕνεκα τῷ δήμῳ εἰκοστὴν τετάρτην τοῦ κοινοῦ μετάλλου.* Cf. Harpocr. and Suid. in v. *ἀπονομή*, whose words I will presently quote. That the purchase money and yearly duty were connected is stated by Barthélemy, Anachars. vol. v. chap. 59. Suidas omits the purchase money, according to the usual habit of the grammarians of stating the subject imperfectly; what he says of newly opened works is connected with the fact which he wishes to explain, and it is self-evident that the other proprietors paid the rent of the twenty-fourth part. It cannot be shown that there ever existed any mine which was originally freehold property, and not transferred by the state, and subject to the payment of no tax. It may be observed, that the tax from the smelting furnaces (*ἀπὸ καμίνων*) of which Xenophon speaks (de Vectig. 4, 49) is the rent of the twenty-fourth.

according to the Roman law, regulated the possession of the Vectigalia in the Municipia[107].

We are justified in assuming that all the mines of Laurion were obtained in the manner just stated; of a distinction between those which were held on this tenure and others which were freehold property, I have been able to find no trace. All the large proprietors of mines who are mentioned in ancient authors, such as Nicias, Callias the brother-in-law of Cimon, and the other Callias who discovered the method of preparing cinnabar, together with Diphilus, Timarchus, and before him his father Pantænetus, &c. had only perpetual leases; the statement therefore that the mines before the time of Themistocles were the absolute property of families, rests only upon the misapprehension of Meursius[108]. The state was at all times the exclusive and original owner; nor did it ever use this property in any other manner than by leasing it in perpetuity. There nowhere exists any proof that mines were ever let by the state for a term of years; nor could there have been any stronger motive for working them at the public cost than for the collection of the customs and other taxes: nothing indeed but a gross ignorance of the public policy of Athens could have allowed such a notion to be entertained[109]; and the only fact brought in support of the assertion is, that a revenue was derived by the community from these mines in the age of Themistocles, as if this did not arise from the purchase money and the yearly rents: even Xenophon did not go so far as to recommend that the mines should be worked at the public cost; he is satisfied with proposing[110] that the community might, in imitation of private individuals, procure public slaves, and let them to mine proprietors, in connexion probably with such mines as were not

[107] See Niebuhr, Rom. Hist. vol. ii. p. 376 sqq.

[108] F. A. cap. 7, from Vitruvius vii. 7, where *familiæ* means slaves, nor is the time before Themistocles distinctly alluded to (see note 138). Meursius has been followed by several writers, among others by Chandler, Travels, chap. 30.

[109] As Reitemeier ut sup. p. 70, and Manso, Sparta, vol. iii, p. 495, suppose, Meiners, vom Luxus der Athener, p. 57, correctly remarks that the state of Athens never carried on mining at its own cost.

[110] De Vectig. 4.

as yet alienated; the object being to derive a revenue from the letting of slaves in addition to the rents paid in silver: it can indeed be asserted with safety that this object was never contemplated.

In short the state did not in any manner interfere with mining, except that it enforced its own rights and laws; to these points alone its superintendence applied. The poletæ sold the mines, subject to the payment of the yearly rents. In the observance of the laws all the members of the community had an interest, and were empowered to institute public suits, in the event of their violation. The account given by a modern writer of "a director of the mines" appointed by the public, is, as far as I am aware, wholly devoid of foundation.

It is probable that the gold mines in Thrace, opposite to Thasos, from the time that Athens obtained possession of them, were under similar regulations. Whether the former proprietors retained their property in them, or whether new possessors were introduced by the Athenians either by a free grant or by sale, after the manner of the cleruchiæ, it is certain that the proprietors paid a rent in metal, which practice had probably existed under the former independent government: all new mines were purchased from the people of Athens. But the gold mines in Thasos and the mines of other subject countries were undoubtedly retained by the tributary state; while Athens exacted from them, under the form of tribute, whatever sum it pleased, without interfering with the original right of possession. This however is not the object of our present inquiries*.

§ 8. *Amount of the Proceeds of the Mines accruing to the State, and the manner in which they were disposed of.*

THE purchase money of mines alienated by the state was paid by the buyer directly into the public treasury[111]; but with the annual rent there is some doubt whether this was the case. All the regular duties (even those of which the collection was easy and attended with little expense, and the amount of which

* See above, b. iii. ch. 3.—TRANSL.

[111] Demosth. c. Pantænet. p. 973.

could be judged with tolerable accuracy, as, for example, the protection money and the rents of the public lands) were sold to individuals or companies as farmers-general: are we then to suppose that an exception was made in the case of the twenty-fourth of the silver, the amount of which must necessarily have been very different in different years, and where, without an accurate inspection of the quantity raised, the tenant was able to commit great frauds? It seems therefore probable to me that this duty was sold to a farmer-general by the poletæ; but, although there is little objection to this hypothesis, no distinct authority can be found in favour of it.

It is mentioned in Demosthenes that Eubulus, the well-known manager of the Theorica, had been accused by Mœrocles of unjustly exacting 20 drachmas from "those persons who had purchased the mines[112]." Now there can be no question that the chief farmers of the rents are not here meant by "*the purchasers of the mines.*" We must, therefore, refer these words to those who had obtained possession of the mines themselves, and from the use of the definite article "*the mines,*" it must be supposed that Demosthenes is speaking of some well-known sale of a considerable number of mines, which had taken place a short time before: for it would have been a very affected phrase, and liable to misconception, to denote all the mine proprietors both old and new, by the circumlocution, "those who had purchased the mines," particularly as they are usually called the workers of the mines (*οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις*, or *ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις*): consequently Mœrocles must be considered as having been employed to collect purchase monies, in which capacity he obtained, under some false pretence, 20 drachmas from each purchaser.

When the sausage seller in the Knights of Aristophanes[113] threatens Cleon that he will buy mines, in order, as the Scholiast observes, to obtain favour with the people by enriching the state, he must mean the actual possession of the mines themselves, this being the only transaction by which the state

[112] *Παρὰ τῶν τὰ μέταλλα ἐωνημένων.* Demosth. de fals. leg. p. 435, 5.

[113] Eq. 361, *ἀλλὰ σχελίδας ἐδηδοκὼς ὠνήσομαι μέταλλα.*

would have profited from the intervention of any particular individual; for it would be manifestly indifferent to whom the duties were let; and moreover if the letting of the duty were signified, some more precise expression must necessarily have been employed.

Lastly, it is stated by Ulpian that Meidias had rented *the silver mines* from the state[114]; although the vagueness of the expression would lead one to imagine that he means the chief farmer of the rents, we are compelled to relinquish this notion upon perceiving that the commentator wishes to explain why Meidias imported wood to the mines, for which a chief farmer of the rents could have had no inducement. Was Meidias then a tenant, or proprietor of mines? The use of the article proves nothing against this supposition in a writer of such mean authority. Yet why need a moment's attention be paid to the statements of this Pseudo-Ulpian? Is there any Scholiast that rivals the ignorance and confusion displayed in this chaos of notes? Because Meidias imported timber to the mines, perhaps only to sell it there, or during the time that he was bound to serve the state with his trireme, to indemnify himself for the expenses of the trierarchy by employing his ship in some profitable manner, Ulpian immediately infers, from the words of Demosthenes, that Meidias rented mines. This method of commenting frequently occurs in this writer, and has not always been sufficiently attended to.

In the Athenian revenue the income accruing from the mines was a regular receipt[115]; it arose from the purchase monies and the reserved rent which was paid in silver, and was exclusive of what was received from the market and the public buildings[116]; and consequently its amount depended upon

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[114] Μεμίσθωτο γὰρ τὰ μέταλλα παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἃ ἦν τοῦ ἀργυρίου, p. 685 C, ed. Wolf. Μίσθωσις for the granting a lease of the mines cannot appear an unnatural expression, as the Greek language had no separate term for this idea. See Photius in v. μεσοκρινεῖς, Harpocr. and Suid. in v. ἀπονομή, and above notes 66 and 101. All these instances, however, in which μισθώσασθαι is used of the mines, occur in later writers, viz., the grammarians and Dionysius. The words for it in the ancient authors are ὠνεῖσθαι and πρίασθαι.

[115] Cf. Aristoph. Vesp. 657 sqq.

[116] Xenoph. de Vectig. 4, 49.

the greater or less number of mines sold by the state, upon the quality of the ores, and the greater or less activity with which the working was carried on: by which circumstances the tenant would naturally be guided in the amount of his offer. In the time of Socrates (as has been before remarked) the receipts from this source had already begun to decrease; we have also statements of their amount in the age of Themistocles, but obscurely and inaccurately expressed.

The money accruing from the mines was originally distributed among all the citizens in the same manner as the Theoricon in later times. Every person whose name was registered in the book of the Lexiarchs was entitled to receive his portion[117]. When, however, at the recommendation of Themistocles, the Athenians, instead of thus wasting the public revenue, resolved to apply this money to ship building, in the war against the Æginetans, each person was (as Herodotus states) to have received 10 drachmas for his share[118]. If we reckon with this historian that there were 30,000 citizens in Athens, the whole sum must have amounted to 50 talents; but it will be better to assume 20,000 as the average number of the adult Athenians; and accordingly there were about $33\frac{1}{3}$ talents for the distribution. And that the distribution was made annually might have been presumed from the principles of the Athenian administration, without the testimony of Cornelius Nepos[119]. We are not, therefore, to suppose that the savings of several years are meant, nor merely a surplus; but that all the public money arising from the mines, as it was not required for any other object, was divided among the members of the community[120]. Supposing now that among these revenues no purchase money of mines in actual possession is included, and that the revenues of a whole year are meant, the total of the produce would have annually amounted to more than 800

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[117] Demosth. c. Leochar. p. 1091.

[118] vii. 144.

[119] Themistocl. 2.

[120] I make this remark on account of a passage of Aristides in the second Platon. Oration, on which a sufficiency of absurd fancies has been broached. Cf. Herald. Animadv. in Salmas. Observ. ad I. A. et R. vi. 3, 9. Other passages of later writers which refer to this point of history I pass over, as they contain nothing new.

talents. I say more than 800, as the profit of the chief farmer is not allowed for in the calculation; but according to Polyænus[121], whose account is more explicit, the Athenians wished to divide, as usual, 100 talents arising from the mines; when Themistocles undertook to wean them from this custom, and persuaded them to give a talent apiece to the 100 most wealthy citizens, to be employed by each in the equipment of a vessel; if the vessel was approved of, the talent was not reclaimed, and in the contrary case it was restored to the state, and that thus the Athenians obtained 100 well-built and fast-sailing vessels. Now is this account to be wholly rejected as the mere embellishment of later writers? It might indeed appear preferable to discredit it, when we consider that if the state received a revenue of 100 talents from the mines (exclusively of the occasional receipt of purchase monies), it would imply an annual produce of 2400 talents, a sum which is incredible; though it is certain that many mines in ancient times, for instance, those of Spain and Thasos, produced a very large amount of metal. But in that case could Herodotus have assumed that the Athenians built 200 ships with 33 or 50 talents? or, taking the lowest statement, would this sum have been sufficient for building even 100 triremes? And what was done in the following years with the monies received from the mines, as it is not mentioned that they were afterwards distributed[122]? Herodotus probably thought that the 200 ships were built from the revenues not of one year, but of a term of years. We must also suppose that the 100 talents mentioned by Polyænus were the revenues of several years, which after the adoption of the practice suggested by Themistocles, were no longer distributed, and were laid by that they might be from time to time assigned to each of 100 trierarchs.

This mode of viewing the subject reconciles both narrations, and is moreover, when considered by itself, the most probable; it also shows that the accounts of some writers who mention

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[121] Strateg. i. 30, 5.

[122] Themistocl. 4. Nepos is least of all to be listened to, as he speaks of a war with Corcyra instead of that with Ægina.

100, and of Herodotus who states that 200 ships were built with the revenues from the mines, may be both true, if Themistocles' principle had been followed for a considerable period; for if a longer series of years were taken, twice the number of ships would have been built that is stated by those who referred only to half the number of years. Diodorus[123], in Olymp. 75, 4 (B.C. 477), speaks of a law of Themistocles, which enacted that 20 new triremes should be built annually; this, however, is probably the same fact; and the account, which in other respects may be correct, has been transferred by this careless writer to later times.

§ 9. *Persons entitled to acquire Mines. Value of Single Shares.*

ALTHOUGH the mines were not freehold property, the tenure on which they were held was sufficiently secure. It is therefore probable that the leases of the mines could only be transferred to such as were entitled to the possession of landed property, and consequently only to citizens, isoteles, and proxeni; for the isoteles had a right to the possession of land[124], since, with the exception of political rights, they were upon the same footing as the citizens; whereas the foreigners in the more limited sense (*ξένοι*) and the resident aliens (*μέτοικοι*), neither in Athens nor in any other part of Greece, were entitled to hold landed property. Xenophon proposes that the state should grant to individual resident aliens, who might appear worthy of it, the right of building houses and holding them as property[125]; from which it is evident that by law they were excluded from this privilege; and indeed the right of owning land was generally granted together with the rights of citizenship, of isopolitia and proxenia, by a decree of the people[126]. Hence no resident alien could with safety lend money upon landed property, as he was disqualified from taking

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[123] xi. 43.

[124] Lysias c. Eratosth. p. 395, according to whom Lysias and Polemarchus, both isoteles, possessed three houses.

[125] De Vectig. 2, ad fin.

[126] See the inscriptions cited in b. i. note 665.

possession of it without he became a citizen[127], unless indeed it happened that the community gave a special permission: thus for example, the government of Byzantium, to relieve itself from one of its many pecuniary difficulties, gave the resident aliens the privilege of holding the lands mortgaged to them, on condition that they payed into the public treasury the third part of the money claimed[128].

Now that isoteles as well as citizens were possessed of mines, we know from Xenophon[129]: the requisite privilege of isotelia must thus have been granted by the public to such of the foreigners or resident aliens as rented mines from the state, for the furtherance indeed of its own interest, as it was highly beneficial to the revenue that many mines should be purchased and worked, and consequently that the access to them should be facilitated as much as possible; but without being an isoteles, no resident alien or foreigner could hold a lease of a mine, though he might rent the duties for a term of years[130].

With respect to the number of mine proprietors, there is reason to believe that it was not inconsiderable; in the speech against Phænippus they are mentioned together with the husbandmen as a separate class of producers. Sometimes individuals had one or a few mining shares, as, for instance, Timarchus and Pantænetus and others; sometimes several, as Nicias, Diphilus, and Callias the brother-in-law of Cimon, whose wealth was chiefly derived from the mines.

The values of single shares or work-shops (*ἐργαστήρια*) were different. Pantænetus purchased one from the state for 90 minas[131]; the same person had borrowed 105 minas upon another share, together with 30 slaves, that is, 45 minas upon the slaves of Nicobulus, and a talent upon the mine of Euergus,

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[127] Demosth. pro Phorm. p. 946, 4, *ὁρῶν ὅτι μήπω τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῷ παρ' ὑμῖν οὔσης οὐχ οἷός τε ἔσοιτο εἰσπράττειν ὅσα Πασίων ἐπὶ γῇ καὶ συνοικίαις δεδανεικὼς ἦν.*

[128] Pseud-Aristot. Œcon. lib. ii.

[129] De Vectig. 4, 12, *παρέχει γοῦν (ἡ πόλις) ἐπὶ ἰσοτελείᾳ καὶ τῶν ξένων τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις.* Ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις is the common expression for the mine proprietors. I do not quote the passage 4, 22, as only tenants for a term of years may be there meant.

[130] Plutarch. Alcib. 5.

[131] Demosth. c. Pantæn. p. 973, 5.

for which sum it was bought from another private individual[132]. It is soon after stated that this was not so, and soon after that it was, and presently that the mine was sold together with the slaves for 206 minas[133]. The customary price appears indeed to have been a talent; thus the mine proprietor, for whom the speech against Phænippus was written, when the mine in which he had a share reverted to the state, paid 3 talents, one for each share, when he wished to regain possession of the confiscated property[134]. Nor is this the only instance of several partners in one mine[135]; generally, however, a mining company appears to have been formed by several persons who combined for the purpose of opening a new work; and afterwards, if fortunate enough to meet with ore, they divided the space into different compartments, which were then worked independently, each person possessing a separate share. Thus these partners only bore the expense and loss in common, until they found a sufficiently rich vein of metal. No arrangement of this kind can indeed have been in use before the publication of Xenophon's Essay upon the Revenue[136], for in that tract he recommends that companies should be formed for working new mines, and that the profit or loss should be shared equally by the adventurers; and this judicious proposal appears to have been acted upon. An association of several persons was however sometimes formed for working a single work-shop[137].

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[132] Ibid. p. 976. Nicobulus had lent money upon the slaves, Euergus upon the mine, p. 976, 18; p. 972, 21.

[133] Ibid. p. 981, 8, and p. 970, 3; p. 975, 21; p. 981, 8.

[134] P. 1039, 20, *καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον νῦν ἐμὲ δεῖ τῇ πόλει τρία τάλαντα καταθεῖναι, τάλαντον κατὰ τὴν μερίδα· μετέσχον γὰρ, ὡς μήποτ' ὤφελον, κἀγὼ τοῦ δημευθέντος μετάλλου.*

[135] Cf. Demosth. c. Pantænet. p. 977, 21; 969, 11.

[136] 4, 32.

[137] As may be inferred from Dem. c. Pantæn. p. 969, 11, when the grammarians wish to explain the word *ἀπονομὴ*, they are in doubt whether it means the state's share in the proceeds of the mines, or the portion which each of several sharers in the profit received. If the latter explanation were correct, we must understand a working in common of the same mine. Harpocration, and Suidas who transcribes him, in v. *ἀπονομή*: *ἡ ἀπόμοιρα, ὡς μέρος τι τῶν περιγιγνομένων ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων λαμβανούσης τῆς πόλεως· ἢ ὡς διαιρουμένων εἰς πλείους μισθωτούς* (read *μισθωτὰς*, tenants) *ἵν' ἕκαστος λάβῃ τι μέρος. Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ πρὸς τοὺς Λυκούργου παῖδας πολλάκις.* [The reading *μισθωτὰς* has been received by Bekker into the text of his edition from two MSS.—Transl.]

Upon the boundaries of the mines purchased from the state, the proprietors were required to leave supports, as has been already stated.

§ 10. *Labour of Slaves in the Mines.*

In mining, as in everything where labour was necessary, the actual work was performed by slaves[138]. It cannot be proved that in Greece free citizens ever laboured in mines or foundries under the compulsion of tyrants, as has been asserted[139]. The Romans condemned the offenders who had been enslaved by public ordinance, to work in the mines, in the same manner that criminals of this description are now sent to the mines of Siberia: this method of punishment, however, cannot have existed at Athens, as the community did not carry on any mining at the public expense; nor did it let mines for a term of years together with the labourers, which was only done by private individuals. The master, however, could probably punish his slaves by forcing them to labour in the mines, as well as in the mills; and in general none but inferior slaves were employed in them, such as barbarians and criminals. Their condition was not indeed so miserable as that of the slaves in the Egyptian mines, where the condemned labourers worked without intermission until they were so exhausted as to fall lifeless; but notwithstanding that in Attica the spirit of freedom had a mild and beneficial influence even upon the treatment of slaves, yet myriads of these wretched mortals are said to have languished in chains in the unwholesome atmosphere of the mines[140].

For this degraded state of their fellow creatures the Athenians felt no greater compassion than the other nations of antiquity. In vain we seek in the social relations of the Greeks

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[138] These are the *familiæ* in Vitruv. vii. 7, where see Schneider.

[139] The instance, which Reitemeier (p. 73) adduces is not Grecian, but refers to a Persian satrap named Pythius or Pythes of Celænæ in Phrygia, who is said to have been possessed of an enormous treasure in gold. See Herod. vii. 27 sqq. and the commentators.

[140] Athen. vii. p. 272 E, Plutarch Comp. Nic. et Crass. init. [See above, p. 38, note b.—Transl.]

for traces of the humanity which their arts and their philosophy would indicate; and in the same manner that their treatment of the female sex was, with few exceptions, unworthy and degrading, so by being habituated to slaves from early youth, they had lost all natural feelings of sympathy towards them. No philosopher of antiquity, not even Socrates, raises an objection against the institution of slavery. Plato, in his perfect State, only desires that no Grecians should be made slaves. Aristotle founds the existing usage upon apparently scientific principles. But who would not be willing to pardon the ancients for their hard-heartedness in this point, which is at variance neither with their morality, their religion, nor their international law, if, after Christianity has extended the influence of milder feelings and dispositions, after slavery has been denounced by all moral, religious, and international laws, the nations of Europe felt no shame in again establishing the same institution, and still bargain and stipulate for it in treaties of peace?

As was the case in Italy and Sicily, and has been also in modern times, the insurrection of these hordes of slaves was in Greece neither unfrequent nor unaccompanied with danger. In a fragment of Posidonius, the continuer of the history of Polybius, it is related that the mine slaves in Attica murdered their guards, took forcible possession of the fortifications of Sunium, and from this point ravaged the country for a considerable time; an occurrence, which, if Athenæus expresses himself correctly, must be referred to the time of the first Sicilian servile war, about the year of the city 620 (B.C. 134), at which time the Romans were already in possession of that island[141]. It is, however, more probable that it belongs to the end of the 91st Olympiad, about which time, during the war of Decelea, more than 20,000 slaves, of whom the greater portion were manual labourers, eloped from the Athenians[142]. Yet at that time Sunium could hardly have been a tenable position, as Thucydides would not have failed to mention the capture of it

[141] Athen. ut sup. and Schweighæuser's note.
[142] Thucyd. vii. 27.

by the slaves. It was first fortified in Olymp. 91, 4 (B.C. 413), for the protection of the vessels employed in importing corn, and probably after it had been recaptured from the slaves, whose ravages could scarcely have lasted beyond a summer.

It should be also observed, that of the slaves who worked in the mines, some belonged to the lessees, and for some a rent (*ἀποφορὰ*) was paid to the proprietor[143], the maintenance being provided by the person who hired them. The price of slaves varied, according to their bodily and mental qualities, from half a mina to 5 and 10 minas: a common mining-slave however did not cost at Athens, as Barthélemy asserts, more than from 3 to 6 minas, but in the age of Xenophon and Demosthenes not more than 125 to 150 drachmas[144]. When it is stated that Nicias the son of Niceratus gave a talent for an overseer of his mines[145], we are to understand a person in whom he could repose great confidence, and to whom he might entrust the superintendence of the whole business, so as to be free from the necessity of employing a tenant, in short, a person rarely to be met with; from this therefore nothing can be inferred with regard to the usual price.

Since then slaves were neither dear to purchase nor expensive to maintain, the working of mines was facilitated by the institution of slavery; but as, for the most part, compulsion was the only incentive to labour, and little favour was ever shown to the slaves, the art of mining was necessarily retarded, while the small benefit it received from the exertions of free inspectors or managers, could have been of little avail; and thus the higher character which mining bears in modern times was then altogether wanting. By the hiring of slaves the profit was distributed into various channels, and by this means persons who otherwise would have been unable to advance capital sufficient for so expensive an undertaking, were enabled to engage in this business.

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[143] Andocid. de Myst. p. 19.

[144] This may be obtained by computation from Xenoph. de Vectig. 4, 23, and by an obvious inference from Demosth. c. Pantæn. p. 976. The latter passage has been quoted before. Concerning the different prices of slaves, see b. i. ch. 13.

[145] Xenoph. Soer. Mem. ii. 5, 2.

Many persons had a considerable number of slaves in the mines. Nicias the celebrated general (and not the younger Nicias, as has been erroneously supposed) had 1000 slaves there; Hipponicus the third, the son of Callias the torchbearer, 600; Philemonides, 300; and others according to their circumstances[146]. These wealthy and distinguished persons let their mines to contractors, who were either poor citizens, isoteles, freedmen, or resident aliens[147], or perhaps not unfrequently slaves belonging to the proprietors themselves, upon the condition that the tenant should maintain the slaves, and pay an obolus a day for each, free from all deduction, and should return the full number which he had received. Thus Nicias received from Sosias the Thracian one mina and two-thirds a day, Hipponicus one mina, Philemonides half a mina. According to Xenophon many slaves in the mines were in his time let upon the same conditions[148].

It does not appear probable that a rent of so considerable an amount should have been paid for the slaves alone. Xenophon, in stating the annual profit of 6000 mining-slaves, supposes 360 days of labour, distributing the intercalary month through the several years, and only deducting five holidays. If however we reckon 350 days, and take 140 drachmas as the average price of a common mining-slave, each slave would have produced a return of nearly 50 per cent. ($47\frac{1}{7}$) of his value; which, when compared with the far inferior profit derived from more valuable slaves skilled in some mechanical art, is out of all proportion, though these latter were also supplied by their proprietors with the raw material[149]. And although the masters were without doubt paid for the goods thus furnished, yet the procuring them required an outlay of capital, the profit on which was also to be replaced. Are we to suppose that a worker of mines like Sosias the Thracian would not have been more willing to borrow a sum of money for the purpose of buy-

[146] Xenoph. de Vectig. 4, 14, and thence Athen. vi. p. 272 E.

[147] Cf. Xenoph. ut sup. 4, 22.

[148] Ut sup. 4, 16.

[149] Demosth. c. Aphob. i. p. 816, Æsch. c. Timarch. p. 118, which passages are examined more at length in b. i. ch. 13 (above p. 69).

ing slaves, than to pay away their whole value in the space of two years in the shape of rent? If he was able to hire slaves by giving security, he would have been able to find sureties for a sum of money. The profit upon slaves must indeed have been much higher than upon monied capital, as the proprietor lost unless both capital and interest were replaced before their death; and the usual rate of interest being 12 per cent., slaves must have produced more than this percentage; but how wide is the difference between 14 or 15 per cent. and nearly 50? Is it not then more probable that Nicias and others, who let slaves in the mines upon these terms, received an obolus a head not for the slaves alone, but for the mines also in which they worked? An instance of a lease of a mine jointly with the slaves occurs in the speech against Pantænetus; thirty slaves, together with a workshop, were let for the interest of 105 minas; but the transaction was in fact only fictitious, as the money was in reality lent upon the slaves alone, as will be presently shown: but any fictitious transaction of this sort must have been founded on a real custom.

Are we not also told that Nicias was possessed of several mines? Plutarch indeed remarks[150] that he had wasted his property in this hazardous business; but it is not possible to refer his statement to the letting of slaves, as in that trade no hazard could have existed, the person who hired them being always bound to return the same number that he received, and to provide sureties for the fulfilment of this obligation. To what purpose again did Nicias purchase an inspector of the mines at the price of a talent, if he did not work them at his own expense? He is even said to have maintained a diviner, and to have sacrificed daily for the success of his mines, and procured numerous gangs of slaves, with the sole object of employing them for his own profit. The management of them however would naturally have been troublesome to the anxious disposition of Nicias, occupied as he was with both civil and military concerns, and he therefore divested himself of this care by letting both his mines and slaves; a supposition which is at least more probable

[150] Nic. 4 and Comp. Nic. et Crass. in init.

and simple than that to which we are driven if it is rejected; viz. that Nicias kept a hundred slaves for hire in addition to those who worked in his own mines. According to the former hypothesis, some part of the rent, which amounted to nearly 10 talents a year, must be considered as proceeding from the mines. Xenophon, when he proposes that the state should derive similar advantages from the letting of slaves, probably implies that it should be connected with the letting of such mines as were still unalienated, in which it is evident that the lessee who obtained the metal also paid the rent in silver, which Nicias and the other slave-proprietors would doubtless have demanded from their tenants.

§ 11. *Profits derived from the Working of the Mines.*

So long as the rich ores were not exhausted, the working was extremely profitable to the possessors, especially as the prices of provisions were very low in comparison with that of silver.

Although after the death of Niceratus, who inherited from his father Nicias, less property is said to have been found than was expected, his father was considered as one of the most wealthy citizens: the property of Diphilus, another mine proprietor, who indeed encroached illegally upon the supports of the mines, amounted, at the time that it was confiscated, to 160 talents[151]; an amount of property which for Athens and the age of Lycurgus is very considerable; and when the possessions of Diphilus were in his own hands, they were no doubt still larger, for confiscated property seldom came into the public coffers without suffering some diminution, or being wastefully sold under its proper price. Callias (a person of mean extraction, and not of the celebrated family of Phænippus), who out of love for the sister and wife of Cimon paid Miltiades' fine of

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[151] Vit. Dec. Orat. in Plutarch, vol. vi. p. 252. Of the property of Diphilus each citizen received 50 drachmas, which supposes a number of 19,200 citizens, thus completely agreeing with the most approved statements. The words in the text, ἢ ὡς τινες μνᾶν, do not deserve any consideration, whether they are interpolated or genuine.

50 talents, had also derived his wealth from the mines[152]; and the Callias who discovered the method of preparing cinnabar, was perhaps his grandson, having been, as is manifest from this fact, personally engaged in the working of mines, and consequently cannot have been the extravagant Callias, the son of Hipponicus, nor was he at all connected with this noble family, as Schneider appears to suppose.

We must not, on the other hand, be surprised, if, in subsequent times, especially when the quality of the ores had been impoverished, many proprietors of mines suffered severe losses, particularly when it is remembered that the working of mines was rendered difficult by the want of gunpowder, that the machinery was imperfect and scanty, and that the management of the foundries was so defective that much metal was lost in smelting. At the time when Xenophon wrote his Treatise upon the Revenue, the greater number of the mine proprietors were beginners, who were unable, from want of capital, to open new mines, like the former possessors, though this practice was still allowed by the legal conditions[153]; the proprietors were nevertheless at that time increasing their number of slaves[154]. Not long afterwards, however, in the time of Demetrius Phalereus, there was no want of willingness to devote capital and trouble to the working of the mines; they mined with so much eagerness, says Demetrius, that they thought they would fetch up Pluto himself; but they generally failed to obtain what they sought for, and what they already had they lost[155]; at last therefore they entirely gave up all farther excavation, and only made use of the scoriæ and the rejected stones.

Besides the necessary importation of timber, for which the ports of Thoricus and Anaphlystus and the two harbours of

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[152] Plut. Cim. 4, Nepos Cim. 1. For Schneider's opinion see his note upon Xenoph. de Vectig. 4, 15.

[153] Xenoph. ut sup. 4, 28.

[154] Ibid. 4, 4.

[155] See Demetrius, and from him Posidonius ap. Strab. iii. p. 101, Athen. vi. p. 233 D, cf. Diod. v. 37. The expression of Demetrius contains an enigma, like the Homeric riddle. See the commentators upon the author just mentioned, particularly Casaubon upon Strabo; but as the enigma cannot be solved, I have only been able to give the approximate sense of the passage.

Sunium were employed, the expenses of mining were enhanced in bad seasons by the high prices of corn. Upon most regions which abound in ore nature has laid the curse of sterility[156]; and thus Athens, as being the market of Greece, was in its flourishing times supplied with corn by importation; but when it was blockaded by sea, which frequently took place after the loss of its ascendancy, or if prices were raised by a general failure in the crops, the mine proprietors were the severest sufferers, as they had to maintain large establishments of slaves. The medimnus of corn sold at Athens in the time of Solon for a drachma; in the time of Socrates and Aristophanes the common price was from 2 to 3, and in that of Demosthenes from 5 to 6 drachmas; but in later times prices advanced so greatly that barley sold for 18 drachmas[157]: at this juncture even those mine proprietors were distressed for money, who before had contrived to carry on their business with profit, and they are said to have received assistance from the state; but we are not informed in what manner[158]. We hear however of mines being confiscated about this time[159]; the cause of which doubtless was, that the possessors were unable to fulfil their obligations to the state; while, as the author of the speech against Phænippus says, the agricultural classes were making undue profits.

§ 12. *Some Legal Regulations respecting the Mines.*

Lastly, we may consider some legal regulations respecting the possession of mines.

As the ownership of the mines was vested in the people, no compartment of a mine could be worked without information being given to the public officers; and if this was not done, the party offending was subject to a public action for not having registered his mine (*ἀγράφου μετάλλου δίκη*)[160]; the action

[156] The ancients cite the instances of Thasos (see Archilochus quoted by the interpreters of Herod. vi. 46), and Hispania Felix: in which few places made an exception. Plin. xxxiii. 21, Strabo iii. p. 146.

[157] Orat. c. Phænipp. p. 1039, 18, p. 1044, ad fin. p. 1045, init. p. 1048, ad fin. See b. i. ch. 15.

[158] Ibid. p. 1048, 27.

[159] Ibid. p. 1039, 20 sqq.

[160] Suidas and Zonaras in v. *ἀγράφου*

however could be also commenced by referring the matter to the public assembly (*προβολή*)[161]. Any person buying a share from the state upon the legal conditions was bound to pay the purchase money at the appointed time; if he exceeded his term, he was subject to the common proceedings against public debtors, and therefore to infamy, to imprisonment, and to a fine of double the amount[162]; and if the debt thus doubled was not paid, to forfeiture of property, the debt being also inherited by the children until the payment of the fine. If a mine proprietor did not pay the rent in silver, the farmer-general was of course empowered to institute a public suit against him. There must however have been this difference between the methods of proceeding against a mine proprietor and a public debtor; that in the former case the community only laid claim to the mine for which the *twenty-fourth* was in arrear, and not to the whole property of the defaulter; while the obligation to pay the *purchase money* fell upon the person of the buyer, and by that means upon his whole property; there can therefore be no doubt that if the rent fell in arrear, the defaulter was not liable to the penalty of imprisonment. The speech against Phænippus furnishes a satisfactory example of the confiscation of a mine, in which several persons had a share, without the other property of the proprietors being forfeited to the state[163]; for the person in whose name this speech was composed, possessed other property besides that which was forfeited, which he offers to exchange with Phænippus; and what is more, he had other mines[164], which were not forfeited to the state when the former mine was confiscated. It was only in the case of peculiarly

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μετάλλου δίκη: Εἴ τις οὖν ἐδόκει λάθρα ἐργάζεσθαι μέταλλον, τὸν μὴ ἀπογραψάμενον ἐξὴν τῷ βουλομένῳ γράφεσθαι καὶ ελέγχειν.

[161] See Taylor, Preface to Demosth. against Meidias, who states this from a Cambridge manuscript, which contains additions to Harpocration. [The manuscript has been published by Mr. Dobree at the end of his edition of Photius; and the whole article here alluded to is in p. 676, as follows: Προβολή: *φανερoῦ μέν τινος λανθάνοντος δὲ μήνυσις· Κεκίλιος* (Καικίλιος) *δέ φησιν εἶναι ἣν κατὰ τῶν δημόσια μέταλλα ὑπορυττόντων ἀποφέρουσι ..... δὲ καὶ καθόλου τῶν τὰ κοινὰ κλεπτόντων· καλεῖσθαι δὲ οὕτως καὶ τὰς ἐμπορίκας μηνύσεις.*—TRANSL.]

[162] Demosth. in Pantæn. p. 973.

[163] P. 1039, 22.

[164] See p. 1044.

aggravating circumstances that the state could inflict severer punishment upon persons who failed to pay their rent; for, from the nature of suits of this description, the assignment of the penalty rested with the judges.

In all cases connected with mines, if it appeared that the state had been injured, the mode of proceeding was by a public action, and generally a phasis, which was the form when the injury received had reference to the harbours, to embezzlement, or detention of public property, to custom duties and other taxes, or to sycophancy, and the defrauding of orphans, who were under the immediate protection of the government[165]. An offence which was especially liable to this method of prosecution was the undermining of or encroachment upon the supports[166], which considerably endangered the security of the mines, and also displaced the boundaries. Now the law had not appointed any definite punishment for a large portion of the public offenders, which was particularly the case in all offences prosecuted by phasis; but the accuser fixed the penalty in the memorial which he presented, and the defendant made a counter-assessment (*ἀντιτίμησις*), on which the court exercised its discretion, without being bound by the amount of penalty fixed upon by the litigant parties; the punishment assigned might however be either death, fine, infamy, or banishment; *e. g.*, Diphilus was punished with death, and his property confiscated, for some offence connected with the mines. The phasis, according to Pollux, was brought before the archon, by which we are to understand the archon Eponymus. This archon however was not the president of the court (*ἡγεμὼν δικαστηρίου*) in mining cases: we must therefore either assume that if a phasis was instituted, it was first brought before the archon Eponymus, who then referred it to the tribunal in which the supreme jurisdiction was lodged; or we must limit the assertion of Pollux to the phasis in cases of orphans' property, which

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[165] Pollux viii. 47, Epitome of Harpocration quoted by the commentators upon Pollux, Etymol. Photius, and Suidas, in v. *φάσις*, Lex. Seg. p. 313, 315.

[166] Lex. Seg. p. 315, *φάσις: μήνυσις πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας κατὰ τῶν ὑπορυττόντων τὸ μέταλλον.* Cf. Phot. ut sup.

were certainly introduced by the archon Eponymus[167]. All mining cases, whether proceeded in by phasis or by any other method, were introduced by the thesmothetæ[168]. The court appointed for such causes is called by a grammarian the mining court[169].

The speech against Pantænetus is a paragraphe against a mining action; from this it is evident that a suit like that instituted by Pantænetus as a mining case belonged to the monthly causes (*ἔμμηνοι δίκαι*)[170], that is to say, it was necessary that judgment should be given within a month; the object being no doubt that the mine proprietor might not be too long detained from his business, a preference which was allowed to the mining cases as well as to the proceedings in commercial causes (*ἐμπορικαὶ δίκαι*), and to litigation concerning dowries and between eranistæ (*ἐρανικαὶ δίκαι*)[171]: in commercial cases however, and probably in all others, this regulation was not introduced till after the date of Xenophon's Essay on the Revenue, in which it was proposed that a more rapid progress should be allowed to commercial suits: in the time of Philip the monthly causes are mentioned as if they had not been previously in existence, and were then but lately introduced[172].

Among the *δίκαι μεταλλικαὶ* were included all suits which related to the mines, and particularly to the mining companies, and whatever else was mentioned in the mining law (*μεταλλικὸς νόμος*)[173]. Concerning this law we have no satisfactory account; there are only four heads of which we have any information, namely, of encroachment, of expulsion from the business, of arson, and of armed attack; the two latter were without doubt always the subjects of a public action, and the first might certainly take this form of proceeding, if public property was encroached upon; but it is by no means true that

[167] Pollux viii. 89, &c.

[168] Demosth. c. Pantæn. p. 976, 18, Pollux viii. 88.

[169] *Μεταλλικὸν δικαστήριον*, in the argument to the speech against Pantænetus, p. 965, 24.

[170] Demosth. c. Pantæn. p. 966, 17.

[171] Pollux viii. 63, 101, Harpoc. and Suid. in v. *ἔμμηνοι δίκαι*, Lex. Seg. p. 237.

[172] Xenoph. de Vectig. 3, Orat. pro Halōneso, p. 79, 18 sqq.

[173] The only passage on the subject of the *μεταλλικαὶ δίκαι* is in Demosth. c. Pantæn. p. 976, 977.

all mining causes were brought on as public actions. If Demosthenes expresses himself correctly, the law was divided into these four parts alone[174]; but cases which referred to the mining companies belonged also to the mining suits[175], and as these four heads contain nothing of the kind, we are compelled to suppose that the enactments concerning encroachment and expulsion from labour mainly referred to partners in the same mine divided into different workshops. It is certain from the speech against Pantænetus that private suits between mine proprietors and other private individuals, which referred not to mining, but to any general question of law, with which a mine was incidentally connected, were not of the number of mining cases; as, for example, if a law suit arose for a sum of money lent upon a mine; it is evident indeed that such would necessarily be the case. Moreover the actions for not registering a mine, and non-payment of the entrance money and the rent of the twenty-fourth, did not belong to the mining causes, nor were they mentioned in the mining law: the first doubtless fell under the head of embezzlement of public property; the second was determined by the laws respecting the public debtors; the third was decided according to the laws relating to the farming of the revenue (*νόμοι τελωνικοὶ*), and accordingly the phasis could in such a case be instituted.

The clause in the mining law which prohibited the proprietor from working outside his own boundary, or carrying an adit into another compartment[176], does not require any farther

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[174] Ibid. p. 976, 27,—977, 9.

[175] Ibid. p. 977, 20.

[176] The words in the text are *ἐπικατατέμνειν τῶν μέτρων ἐντός*, p. 977, 10. It has been thought preferable to write *ἐκτὸς*, which certainly makes the sense clearer, but is still an improbable correction. Ἐντὸς appears, like the *citra* of the Romans, to mean both *inside* and *outside*, according as the spectator adopts his station, as Herodotus (iii. 116) says *ἐντὸς ἀπέργονται*: they exclude *without* in reference to us, but *within* in reference to the countries which exclude. Thus *ἐπικατατέμνειν ἐντὸς τῶν μέτρων* means to cut *outside* your own boundaries, but *inside* the boundaries of those whose property is invaded. Another expression for transgressing the boundaries occurs in p. 977, in the words *τοῖς ἕτερον (μέταλλον?) συντρήσασιν εἰς τὰ τῶν πλησίον*. Whether the words *εἰς τὰ τῶν πλησίον* should be struck out is difficult to decide. [See Wordsworth, Athens and Attica, ch. 28, on the *Θορίκιοι ἢ διορύττων* of Antiphanes.—Transl.]

explanation, of which however the other three stand in need; of these one clause relates to persons driving out a mining proprietor from his business (ἐξειλλουσιν ἐκ τῆς ἐργασίας). *Expulsion* (ἐξούλη) is the term in the Athenian law for obtaining possession of another person's property, when wrongfully taken from the legal possessor; and probably it was only used in reference to immoveables[177]. The action brought by the injured party in such a case as this was called the δίκη ἐξούλης; the same form could also be adopted if a man was interrupted in the enjoyment of what he had bought, *i.e.* taken, from the state, or was obstructed in the prosecution of his business[178]. Again, if any person was declared by judicial decision to be the rightful possessor, by which he obtained permission to seize the property of his antagonist, and was obstructed in the seizure by the resistance of the actual possessor, this was considered an act of expulsion just as much as the non-payment of a debt by a private individual to his creditor at the appointed term: in both cases the δίκη ἐξούλης equally obtained[179]. But even without the authority of a judicial decision, the creditor had a right of seizure over the mortgaged property, whether moveable or immoveable, as soon as the term of payment had expired; and if any resistance was made to him in the exercise of this right, the δίκη ἐξούλης might also be instituted, the mortgaged property being considered as his own, as soon as the time had

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[177] According to Hudtwalcker (von den Diäteten, p. 135) who goes upon the authority of Suidas, on *moveable* property as well. But the action for the forcible abstraction of moveable property was the δίκη βιαίων. It is therefore probable that the δίκη ἐξούλης only affected moveables when it was an *actio rei judicatæ*, and when the mortgagee was obstructed in the exercise of the right of seizure upon moveable property. See book iii. ch. 12.

[178] Pollux viii. 59, ἡ δὲ τῆς ἐξούλης δίκη γίγνεται, ὅταν τις τὸν ἐκ δημοσίου πριάμενον μὴ ἐᾷ καρποῦσθαι ἃ ἐπρίατο. Suidas in ἐξούλης δίκη: καὶ ἀπ' ἐργάσιας δὲ εἴ τις εἴργοιτο, δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος δικάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸν εἴργοντα ἐξούλης.

[179] The exercise of the right of seizure upon immoveables and ships is generally called ἐμβατεύειν: but in the case of slaves or other moveable property this expression could not be employed. Of the right of seizure by a judicial verdict, and of the δίκη ἐξούλης for not paying a fine (*actio rei judicatæ*), see Hudtwalcker, von den Diäteten, p. 134 sqq.; and with reference to the decisions of the diætetæ and arbitrators, pp. 152, 183.

expired in which his claims should have been satisfied[180]. In like manner a *δίκη ἐξούλης* could be brought on, if one party asserted that he had purchased anything and laid claim to it on that ground, while another party claimed it as mortgagee[181]; where this method of proceeding would naturally be allowed to the creditor as illegally deprived of his mortgage, if the purchaser did not recognise his title.

Expulsion from a mine might, therefore, be considered either as a seizure or retention of property, or as obstruction in the use of property purchased from the state, and as an impediment in the prosecution of the business. As, however, the mining law contained separate provisions upon this point, expulsion from a mine must have been forbidden under severer sanctions than from other property, or there must have been particular privileges granted to the mine proprietors against persons who by the general law would have been authorized to take possession of their mines. It appears to me probable, that a creditor, who lent money upon mortgage on a mine, could not, as in the case of other mortgaged property, make

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[180] That the creditor had the right of taking possession of the security, after the expiration of the term of payment, without a judicial decision, as Salmasius (de M. U. cap. 13) assumes, can hardly be denied. This is clearly shown by an instance in Demosth. c. Apatur. p. 894, 5, *ἔτυχε δὲ οὗτοσὶ ὀφείλων ἐπὶ τῇ νηὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ τετταράκοντα μνᾶς, καὶ οἱ χρῆσται κατήπειγον αὐτὸν ἀπαιτοῦντες, καὶ ἐνεβάτευσαν εἰς τὴν ναῦν εἰληφότες τῇ ὑπερημερίᾳ*, where there is no question of any previous judicial decision. The passage of the Etymologist in v. *ἐμβατεῦσαι* is not decisive; but Suidas in v. *ἐξούλης* plainly distinguishes the *δίκη ἐξούλης* which was founded upon a judicial verdict, from the suit which the creditor instituted on being obstructed in the exercise of the right of seizure: *ἐδικάζετο δὲ καὶ ἐξούλης καὶ ὁ χρήστης κατέχειν ἐπιχειρῶν κτῆμα τοῦ χρεωστοῦντος καὶ κωλυόμενος ὑπό τινος.* In the agreement of bottomry in Demosth. c. Lacrit. p. 926, the right of seizing the goods without a judicial verdict is granted in a separate clause. Seizure for debt without a judicial decision occurs in the Clouds of Aristophanes, vs. 34.

[181] Pollux viii. 95, *καὶ μὴν, εἰ ὁ μὲν ὡς ἐωνημένος ἀμφισβητεῖ κτήματος, ὁ δὲ ὡς ὑποθήκην ἔχων, ἐξούλης ἡ δίκη.* I do not perceive what is the obscurity which Hudtwalcker (von den Diäteten, p. 143) finds in these words. It may be observed that the same sense is contained in the words of Suidas just quoted, only that Pollux expresses himself more generally, *κωλυόμενος ὑπό τινος.* This *τὶς* is in our case the *ἀμφισβητῶν ὡς ἐωνημένος.*

use of the right of seizure without the decision of a court of justice; and that if he ventured to attempt it without such authority, the debtor could institute the δίκη ἐξούλης against him. . For we find that in cases of money lent upon mines, the mines were not given simply in mortgage, as other landed property, but the creditor was instated as legal possessor by a fictitious sale for the amount of the sum lent, and the debtor was considered as the tenant of the mine upon paying the interest of the principal.

Mnesicles had bought from Pantænetus, the son of Telemachus, a mine together with the slaves belonging to it: Mnesicles was properly the creditor of Pantænetus, but he is represented as proprietor of the mine. For when Euergus and Nicobulus engaged to lend money to Pantænetus upon this mine, Mnesicles and not Pantænetus transferred it to them as vendor; Euergus and Mnesibulus then became the proprietors, and let the mine and slaves to Pantænetus, fixing the interest of the principal as a fictitious rent, and appointing a term for the payment of the money and the conclusion of the purchase[182]. Pantænetus afterwards, wishing to satisfy Euergus and Nicobulus, the purchasers, to whom Pantænetus next transferred the mine, were willing to take it upon the condition that the two former should call themselves the vendors of the mine and the slaves[183]. In no place is there the slightest indication that this formality so frequently repeated, was at all unusual or surprising. To what purpose would have been all these tedious proceedings, if a mortgagee had the right of seizing the mortgaged mine without a judicial decision, and could institute a δίκη ἐξούλης against the debtor for obstruction in the seizure? If, however, the creditor had no right of seizure upon the mine, prudence required that he should call himself the purchaser, in order to have a better legal title to the possession of the mortgaged property, and not to suffer his claims to be dependant upon the uncertainty of a judicial

[182] Demosth. c. Pantæn. p. 967.

[183] Ibid. p. 970, 971, 975. An explanation of the whole case is given by Heraldus Anim. in Salmas. Obser. ad I. A. et R. iv. 3.

decision. Many reasons can be thought of why a preference of this kind should have been granted to the mines in regard to mortgage debts; for example, that the mine proprietor, after having incurred much expense without any return, might not be subsequently deprived of it against his will, just at the time when he was beginning to reap the fruits of his exertions; or else that the working of the mines might not be interrupted to the prejudice of the state by a seizure of this kind. It hardly requires the authority of Demosthenes[184] to state, that expulsion from the lease of a mine taken by one individual proprietor from another, also authorized the institution of a δίκη ἐξούλης, as it was obstructing the proprietor in the prosecution of his business.

The two other heads of the mining law are very obscure. By arson, or *under-burning*, which is the exact meaning of the Greek expression (ἐὰν ὑφάψῃ τις)[185], we might either understand the burning of the wood used for supporting the mine; or the setting fire to the ores (a practice which was well known to the ancients), for the purpose of undermining the pillars which supported the overlying mass, after they had become infirm. To what the prohibition referred of attacking the miners with arms, and what could have been the reason of it, cannot be now ascertained; so far, however, is certain, that armed attack is meant, and not the seizure of the tools or instruments, as Petit imagines[186].

One of the chief preferences enjoyed by the mine proprietors, was the immunity from taxes, which the laws had allowed

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[184] Ibid. p. 968, 6, and p. 974. An instance of the expulsion of a proprietor and not of a mere sub-tenant, was contained in the oration against Mecythus. See Dionys. ut sup. note 101.

[185] Demosth. ut sup. p. 977, 7. Upon the practice of setting fire to the ores as used by the ancients, besides Reitemeier and others, Ameilhon as above p. 490 sqq. may be consulted.

[186] In the first law Petit (Leg. Att. vii. 12) also supposes that the chambering and the pillars of the mines are meant, but expresses himself in a singular manner. The words, ἂν ὅπλα ἐπιφέρῃ, he alters by a most absurd correction: Wesseling has already remarked that arms are meant from the words, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τοὺς κομιζομένους, ἃ προεῖντό σοι, μεθ' ὅπλων ἥκειν νομίζεις. Petit's whole article upon the mining law is as ill executed as most of the other parts of his work.

to property vested in the mines[187]. The fact itself is unquestionable; but as it occurs in the speech against Phænippus, in which mention is made of the relief which the state had granted to the mine proprietors, it might be thought that nothing more was meant than a temporary alleviation for the year in which they had sustained a severe loss; a supposition which would apparently be confirmed by the assertion of Æschines[188], that Timarchus had sold his estates, including two mines, in order, by the concealment of his property, to withdraw himself from the obligation of serving the liturgies. But as Æschines is not accustomed to weigh his words with great exactness, the fear of the liturgies entertained by Timarchus perhaps extended only to his other estates, together with which his mines were only accidentally mentioned; and even if mines did not oblige the possessor to perform liturgies, yet the possession of them strongly confirmed the idea entertained of a man's wealth, and the public opinion on this subject had no inconsiderable influence upon his nomination to the performance of liturgies.

In the speech against Phænippus, however, the orator would not have omitted to remark that the immunity from taxes enjoyed by the mines was only introduced a short time before for the purpose of relieving the possessors, if such had been the case; for as the complainant is particularly earnest in claiming the good will of the people towards the mine proprietors, it would have exactly suited his object to mention the preference recently shown to them; but instead of this, he speaks in a general manner of the laws by which immunity had been granted to the possessors of mines. It is necessary therefore to consider the exemption of the mines from property taxes and liturgies, as established by laws of ancient standing: but whether intended as an encouragement to mining, is another question. Are we to suppose that the people of Athens, from no other motive than that of favouring a particular department of industry, would have exempted a large number of their citizens from all liturgies and taxes for property vested in mines, including moreover the trierarchy, from which no one with the

[187] Orat. c. Phænipp. p. 1044, 17. [188] C. Timarch. p. 121.

exception of the nine archons had an absolute and personal immunity[189]; while from the property taxes, at least according to the statement of Demosthenes, no exemption ever existed? What renders this the more improbable is, that a large portion of the mine proprietors were extremely wealthy at certain times: and that any person might, when he pleased, have withdrawn himself from the public services, by purchasing and working mines.

My opinion is that this immunity was conceded not as an encouragement to mining and mine proprietors, but only upon a legal principle. The mine proprietor was a tenant, who was permitted the use of public property in consideration of the payment of a sum of money, and of a portion of the yearly produce as a fixed rent. But the property taxes and liturgies only fell upon freehold property, while the mines, being conveyed by the people on condition that the tenants made an annual payment to the state, were for this reason considered as tax-free.

Whether slaves were included among the property vested in mines, I do not venture to determine: there being however no reason of any cogency why a tax should not have been imposed upon them, it appears to me more probable that by the property in the silver mines, we are only to understand the mines belonging to a citizen.

A legal consequence of the exemption of the mines from taxes was their exclusion from the property which was made over in the Exchange (*ἀντίδοσις*)[190]. Moveables and immoveables belonging to the two parties were conveyed in the Exchange from one to the other, all such property being liable to property taxes and liturgies, with the exception only of the silver mines, which did not oblige the possessor to perform any of these services.

[189] A temporary exemption from the trierarchy was allowed in certain cases, e. g. orphans were exempt during their minority, and for one year over.

[190] Orat. c. Phænipp. ut sup. See book iv. ch. 16.

[There follows in the original an abstract of Xenophon's proposals with respect to the silver mines in his Essay on the Revenues. But as an account of this plan has been already given at the end of the fourth book[1], the translator has omitted it here, as a needless repetition. He will however take this opportunity of offering a few remarks upon an argument brought forward by Mr. Boeckh both in his Treatise on the Prices of Slaves, and in the above Dissertation[2].

It is stated by Xenophon to have been a common practice in Attica, to let slaves to be employed in the mines at the rate of an obolus a day for each. The proprietor therefore received for one slave 350 oboli, or nearly 59 drachmas a year. Now the selling price of mine-slaves appears, upon the author's computation, to have varied from 125 to 150 drachmas. "Consequently," he says, "capital laid out in this manner produced an annual return of nearly 50 per cent., a rate so disproportionate to the profits obtained by other modes of investment, that the statement of Xenophon must evidently have another meaning:" and he ends by conjecturing, that the rent of the mine in which the slaves worked was included in this payment of an obolus. Now it should be observed that the passage of Xenophon is both explicit and precise[3], and therefore unless the obvious meaning of the words leads to a complete absurdity, there is strong reason for not acceding to this interpretation. Perhaps however, if the circumstances of the letting are more closely examined, the apparent difficulty may be diminished at least, if not altogether removed.

A person engages to supply a large number of slaves for the severest and most unwholesome[4] description of labour, and always to keep that number complete. For this he must speculate in slaves as a dealer speculates in horses; he must pur-

[1] Above, p. 606.

[2] Above, p. 73.

[3] Xenoph. de Vectig. 4, 14. Νικίας ποτὲ ὁ Νικηράτου ἐκτήσατο ἐν τοῖς ἀργυρείοις χιλίους ἀνθρώπους, οὓς ἐκεῖνος Σωσίᾳ τῷ Θρᾳκὶ ἐξεμίσθωσεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ὀβολὸν μὲν ἀτελῆ ἑκάστου τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποδιδόναι, τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν ἴσους ἀεὶ παρέχειν . . . . . ἆρ' οὖν τί τὰ παλαιὰ δεῖ λέγειν; καὶ γὰρ νῦν πολλοί εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀργυρείοις ἄνθρωποι οὕτως ἐκδιδόμενοι.

[4] Above, p. 635, 657.

chase large numbers with a certainty that many will be of very inferior value to others; the sick, the weak, and the aged must be maintained, when their labour is of little value. In Attica moreover there was very considerable danger of the elopement of slaves; and in time of war, when once lost, they could never be recovered. On one occasion too the mine slaves mutinied against their masters, and seized a neighbouring fortress, from which they ravaged the country around for a whole summer; and it is probable that, for this one successful, there were many unsuccessful attempts. It is evident then that all these circumstances, by increasing the risk and expense, would also produce an apparent increase in the amount of profits on capital thus invested.

It would be easy to pursue the subject farther, and to cite parallel cases of apparently high profits in modern times, when indemnification for extraordinary danger or expense is required: but until the author can bring stronger arguments in favour of his conjecture, what has been said appears to be sufficient.]

NOTE.

SINCE the publication of Professor Boeckh's Dissertation on the Laurian Mines, a more accurate description of the district has been given by Mr. Dodwell in his Tour through Greece, from whose account the following notices are extracted.

At a short distance from Thoricus, in his way from Athens, Mr. Dodwell observes, "that in some places the road was elevated like a bank, and had the appearance of being artificial; great part of it being composed of scoria from the silver mines of Laurion (vol. i. p. 534) ..... One hour from Thorikos brought us to one of the ancient shafts of the silver mines; and a few hundred yards further we came to several others, which are of a square form, and cut in the rock. We observed only one round shaft, which was larger than the the others, and of considerable depth, as we conjectured from the time that the stones, which were thrown in, took to reach the bottom (p. 537). Near this are the foundations of a large round tower, and several remains of ancient walls, of regular construction. The traces are so extensive, that they seem to indicate not only the buildings attached to the mines, but the town of Laurion itself, which was probably strongly fortified, and inhabited principally by the people belonging to the mines. ..... We observed several large heaps of scoria scattered about (p. 538). ..... We proceeded over the low part of Laurion, and had some difficulty in finding the way to Sunium, to which there was no regular track, &c. Travelling here by night would be attended with almost certain destruction, owing to the numerous shafts, which, concealed by the weeds and bushes, form a treacherous ambush by the way" (p. 539).

On his return from Sunium, Mr. Dodwell observed, not far from that place, "a great quantity of scoria heaped up near the sea; and a little further inland the shaft of a mine."

Mr. Wordsworth likewise travelled across the district of the Laurion mines, and has described it in his Athens and Attica, ch. 26—28. In ch. 27 he says, "We now pass along the eastern shore towards Thoricos, now Thericó. The hills are scattered over with juniper bushes. The ground which we tread is strewed with rusty heaps of scoria from the silver ore which once enriched the soil. The silver source of these mines, which was once the treasury of the land, is now dried up. On our left is a hill called Scoré, so named from these heaps of scoria with which it is covered. Here the shafts which have been sunk for working the ore are visible, from which the name of the country is derived." And he adds in a note: "Λαύρα, in ancient Greek, is a street or lane: Λαυρεῖον, a place formed of such lanes; *i. e.* a mine of shafts, cut as it were into streets like a catacomb." In ch. 28 he says, "Leaving this morning the hut in which we were lodged at Thoricus, we enter a glen between Mount Koróra on the right and Mount Tibári on the left. The country becomes

more cheerful as we approach the village of Keratiá. Heaps of scoria still occur near the road-side; a peasant who accompanies us calls it by its ancient name (*σκωρία*). These heaps suggest the meaning of the title of a lost comedy by Antiphanes, which was inscribed *Θορίκιοι ἢ διορύττων*. I conceive that the Thoricians were satirized in that play, as guilty of unfair dealing, by *piercing through* from their own into their neighbours' shafts in working their mines for the ore, of which the scoria is now visible near their own village." (See Meineke, Fragm. Com. Gr. vol. iii. p. 56.)

In support of the emendations of the passage of the Aristotelian Œconomics proposed by Professor Boeckh and Mr. Wordsworth (see p. 626, note 36) it may be observed that the ores of this district have been ascertained to contain *lead* as well as *silver*. The following passage is from Walpole's Memoirs relating to Asiatic Turkey, p. 426:—"When Mr. Hawkins was on his voyage to the Euripus, he was detained by the Etesian winds many days on the coast of Attica, and was enabled to make during that time an accurate examination of the mining district. The result of this mineralogical survey was, the discovery of the veins of argentiferous lead ore, with which that part of the country seems to abound." See further Col. Leake's Demi of Attica, p. 65.—TRANSL.

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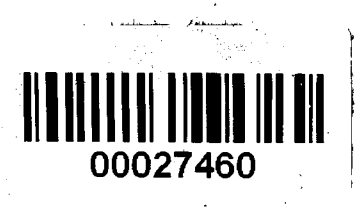
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